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HISTORY

OF

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

PLATE X.



OLD DRAVIDIAN TEMPLE AT MÂMALLAPURAM (page 362).

[*Frontispiece to Volume I.*

HISTORY OF INDIAN AND EASTERN ARCHITECTURE

BY THE LATE JAMES FERGUSSON
C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.I.B.A.
Member of the Society of Dilettanti, etc., etc.

REVISED AND EDITED, WITH ADDITIONS

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

BY JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S[illegible]
Hon. A.R.I.B.A.; Hon. Member of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society [illegible]sponding
Member Batavian Society ; Late Director of the Archæological Survey of India, etc., etc.

AND

EASTERN ARCHITECTURE

BY R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.
Honorary Member of the American Institute of Architects ; Correspondent of the Institute of France

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. I.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

DURING the nine years that have elapsed since I last wrote on this subject,[1] very considerable progress has been made in the elucidation of many of the problems that still perplex the student of the History of Indian Architecture. The publication of the five volumes of General Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports' has thrown new light on many obscure points, but generally from an archæological rather than from an architectural point of view; and Mr Burgess's researches among the western caves and the structural temples of the Bombay presidency have added greatly not only to our stores of information, but to the precision of our knowledge regarding them.

For the purpose of such a work as this, however, photography has probably done more than anything that has been written. There are now very few buildings in India—of any importance at least—which have not been photographed with more or less completeness; and for purposes of comparison such collections of photographs as are now available are simply invaluable. For detecting similarities, or distinguishing differences between specimens situated at distances from one another, photographs are almost equal to actual personal inspection, and, when sufficiently numerous, afford a picture of Indian art of the utmost importance to any one attempting to describe it.

[1] 'History of Architecture in all Countries.' 2nd ed. Murray, 1867. [Now 'History of Ancient and Medieval Architecture.' 3rd ed. 2 vols. Murray, 1893.]

These new aids, added to our previous stock of knowledge, are probably sufficient to justify us in treating the architecture of India Proper in the quasi-exhaustive manner in which it is attempted, in the first 600 pages of this work. Its description might, of course, be easily extended even beyond these limits, but without plans and more accurate architectural details than we at present possess, any such additions would practically contribute very little that was valuable to the information the work already contains.

The case is different when we turn to Further India. Instead of only 100 pages and 50 illustrations, both these figures ought at least to be doubled to bring that branch of the subject up to the same stage of completeness as that describing the architecture of India Proper. For this, however, the materials do not at present exist. Of Japan we know almost nothing except from photographs, without plans, dimensions, or dates; and, except as regards Pekin and the Treaty Ports, we know almost as little of China. We know a great deal about one or two buildings in Cambodia and Java, but our information regarding all the rest is so fragmentary and incomplete, that it is hardly available for the purposes of a general history, and the same may be said of Burma and Siam. Ten years hence this deficiency may be supplied, and it may then be possible to bring the whole into harmony. At present a slight sketch indicating the relative position of each, and their relation to the styles of India Proper, is all that can be well accomplished.

Although appearing as the third volume of the second edition of the 'General History of Architecture,' the present may be considered as an independent and original work. In the last edition the Indian chapters extended only to about 300 pages, with 200 illustrations,[1] and though most of the woodcuts reappear in the present volume, more than half the original text has been cancelled, and consequently at least 600 pages of the present work are original matter, and 200 illustrations—

[1] 'History of Architecture' (1867), vol. ii. pp. 445-756, Woodcuts 966-1163.

and these by far the most important—have been added. These, with the new chronological and topographical details, present the subject to the English reader, in a more compact and complete form than has been attempted in any work on Indian architecture hitherto published. It does not, as I feel only too keenly, contain all the information that could be desired, but I am afraid it contains nearly all that the materials at present available will admit of being utilised, in a general history of the style.

When I published my first work on Indian architecture thirty years ago, I was reproached for making dogmatic assertions, and propounding theories which I did not even attempt to sustain. The defect was, I am afraid, inevitable. My conclusions were based upon the examination of the actual buildings throughout the three Presidencies of India and in China during ten years' residence in the East, and to have placed before the world the multitudinous details which were the ground of my generalisations, would have required an additional amount of description and engravings which was not warranted by the interest felt in the subject at that time. The numerous engravings in the present volume, the extended letterpress, and the references to works of later labourers in the wide domain of Indian architecture, will greatly diminish, but cannot entirely remove, the old objection. No man can direct his mind for forty years to the earnest investigation of any department of knowledge, and not become acquainted with a host of particulars, and acquire a species of insight which neither time, nor space, nor perhaps the resources of language will permit him to reproduce in their fulness. I possess, to give a single instance, more than 3,000 photographs of Indian buildings, with which constant use has made me as familiar as with any other object that is perpetually before my eyes, and to recapitulate all the information they convey to long-continued scrutiny, would be an endless, if not indeed an impossible undertaking. The necessities of the case demand

that broad results should often be given when the evidence for the statements must be merely indicated or greatly abridged, and if the conclusions sometimes go beyond the appended proofs, I can only ask my readers to believe that the assertions are not speculative fancies, but deductions from facts. My endeavour from the first has been to present a distinct view of the general principles which have governed the historical development of Indian architecture, and my hope is that those who pursue the subject beyond the pages of the present work, will find that the principles I have enunciated will reduce to order the multifarious details, and that the details in turn will confirm the principles. Though the vast amount of fresh knowledge which has gone on accumulating since I commenced my investigations has enabled me to correct, modify, and enlarge my views, yet the classification I adopted, and the historical sequences I pointed out thirty years since, have in their essential outlines been confirmed, and will continue, I trust, to stand good. Many subsidiary questions remain unsettled, but my impression is, that not a few of the discordant opinions that may be observed arise principally from the different courses which enquirers have pursued in their investigations. Some men of great eminence and learning, more conversant with books than buildings, have naturally drawn their knowledge and inferences from written authorities, none of which are contemporaneous with the events they relate, and all of which have been avowedly altered and falsified in later times. My authorities, on the contrary, have been mainly the imperishable records in the rocks, or on sculptures and carvings, which necessarily represented at the time the faith and feelings of those who executed them, and which retain their original impress to this day. In such a country as India, the chisels of her sculptors are, so far as I can judge, immeasurably more to be trusted than the pens of her authors. These secondary points, however, may well await the solution which time and further study will doubtless supply. In the meanwhile, I shall have realised a long-cherished dream if I

have succeeded in popularising the subject by rendering its principles generally intelligible, and can thus give an impulse to its study, and assist in establishing Indian architecture on a stable basis, so that it may take its true position among the other great styles which have ennobled the arts of mankind.

The publication of this volume completes the history of the 'Architecture in all countries, from the earliest times to the present day, in four volumes,' and there it must at present rest. As originally projected, it was intended to have added a fifth volume on 'Rude Stone Monuments,' which is still wanted to make the series quite complete; but, as explained in the preface to my work bearing that title, the subject was not, when it was written, ripe for a historical treatment, and the materials collected were consequently used in an argumentative essay. Since that work was published, in 1872, no serious examination of its arguments has been undertaken by any competent authority, while every new fact that has come to light—especially in India—has served to confirm me more and more in the correctness of the principles I then tried to establish.[1] Unless, however, the matter is taken up seriously, and re-examined by those who, from their position, have the ear of the public in these matters, no such progress will be made as would justify the publication of a second work on the same subject. I consequently see no chance of my ever having an opportunity of taking up the subject again, so as to be able to describe its objects in a more consecutive or more exhaustive manner than was done in the work just alluded to.

[1] A distinguished German professor, Herr Kinkel of Zürich, in his 'Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 1876,' has lately adopted my views with regard to the age of Stonehenge without any reservation, though arriving at that conclusion by a very different chain of reasoning from that I was led to adopt.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE late Mr. Fergusson's 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' has now been before the public for more than thirty years, and was reprinted (without his consent) in America, before his death in 1886, and the publishers issued a reprint in 1891. His method of treating the subject he has thus described:—"What I have attempted to do during the last forty years has been to apply to Indian Architecture the same principles of archæölogical science which are universally adopted not only in England, but in every country in Europe. Since the publication of Rickman's 'Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England' in 1817, style has been allowed to supersede all other evidences for the age of any building, not only in Mediæval, but in Byzantine, Classical, and, in fact, all other true styles. Any accomplished antiquary, looking at any archway or any moulding, can say at once, this is Norman, or Early English, or Decorated, or Tudor; and if familiar with the style, tell the date within a few years, whether it belongs to a cathedral or a parish church, a dwelling house or a grange, . . . is not of the smallest consequence, nor whether it belongs to the marvellously elaborate quasi-Byzantine style of the age of the Conqueror, or to the prosaic tameness of that of the age of Elizabeth. Owing to its perfect originality and freedom from all foreign admixture or influence, I believe these principles, so universally adopted in this country, are even more applicable to the Indian styles than to the European."

The successful application of these principles to Indian architecture was entirely his own: no one had dreamed of it

before. It was a stroke of genius to trace out logically the historical sequences of the Hindû monuments and make them tell their own story by means of those guiding principles which he was the first to apply to them, and to elucidate their applicability in a manner that has been borne out since without exception wherever they have been intelligently applied. Though descriptions of Indian monuments may be written in various ways, no one could pretend to take up the systematic study of Indian Architecture without the aid of this work, and no history of the architecture can be scientifically written without appropriating the principles Mr. Fergusson showed how to apply.

My close intimacy with Mr. Fergusson for twenty years, and knowledge of his opinions, may have suggested that I might undertake the revisal of his work; but, when it was first proposed, I was engaged on the preparation of certain volumes of the Archæological Reports of the Indian Survey that had been entrusted to me and I could not then undertake it. On the appointment of a new director for the Surveys, at the close of 1901, the materials were taken out of my hands and my engagement terminated. I was then at liberty to undertake the revision of the work, and in doing so I naturally depended on the like help that had been afforded to Mr. Fergusson himself in 1875, when the resources of the Surveys were at his disposal. But obstruction was raised where it ought hardly to have been expected, and it was due to the good offices of the Right Honourable Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, that this was largely overcome. The materials in the India Office were at once liberally placed at my disposal, and the Government of India requested to favour the work. This, however, caused delay, and subsequent severe illness has protracted the preparation of the work.

It would have been easy to expand this history, but, if it was to answer its purpose as a handbook, it must obviously be restricted within moderate dimensions. My aim has been to condense where practicable and, whilst revising, to make

only such additions from the accessible materials accumulated since 1876, as seemed requisite. The Archæological Surveys have collected vast stores of drawings only a fraction of which has yet been published. Travellers too, influenced partly perhaps by the interest that Mr. Fergusson's volume had created, have published works that have added to our information.

The great advances made in Indian Epigraphy and Palæography during the same period have further enabled us to revise and fix more accurately the dates in the earlier chronology of India; but this has not materially affected the author's chronometric scale of arrangement of the monuments, for where the dates have been somewhat altered, the relative places of the monuments have not required to be changed,—only they have been better adjusted; and in many cases Mr. Fergusson, in his later years, had accepted these corrections.

For much valued aid and information my thanks are due to Mr. Henry Cousens, Superintendent of the Western India Archæological Circle; and to Mr. Alexander Rea of the Madras Circle, from both of whom I have received ungrudging assistance, relative to the districts under their charge.

For Ceylon I am greatly indebted to Lord Stanmore and the Colonial Office, whilst Mr. J. G. Smither, late Government architect, and Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Archæological Commissioner, very kindly have read the proofs and supplied important advice and material for the chapter on the architecture of the Island.

I owe thanks also for valued help to Babû Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., relative to Orissa; and among others to Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A.; Mr. H. C. Fanshawe, C.S.I.; Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E.; Professor Dr. H. Kern, Utrecht; the Right Honble. Ameer 'Ali; Mr. G. F. Williams, State Engineer, Udaypur; Lieut. Fred. M. Bailey, Indian Army; Mr. F. H. Andrews; Dr. L. D. Barnett, and the Rev. Dr. Wm. Millar, C.I.E. To Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., I am indebted for the use of a number of woodcuts.

The history of Indian Architecture has been extended from

610 to 785 pages, and the illustrations in the text increased by 98, besides the addition of 34 plates from photographs.

The chapters on Further India, Java and China have been edited and partly rewritten by Mr. R. Phené Spiers, the editor of Mr. Fergusson's larger work, the 'History of Ancient and Medieval Architecture,' published in 1893. Mr. Spiers has recast these chapters, adding much fresh and important information to each, whilst he has also added a new chapter on the Architecture of Japan. For Burma, Mr. Spiers has had to depend largely upon the few works published during the last thirty years describing the buildings there found, on the photographs in the India Office and on the somewhat meagre notes contained in the 'Progress Reports' of the Archæological Survey.

For Cambodia, Siam and Java, on the other hand, were available the excellent publications of the French Archæological Surveys carried out at first under the supervision of the École Française d'Extrême Orient, and now under the skilled direction of the Archæological Commission of Indo-China, and of the Java Surveys under the direction of the Dutch Government Archæological Commission.

This section occupied 100 pages with 49 woodcuts in the former edition; now, with the addition of Japan, it has been extended to 163 pages, with 67 woodcuts and 31 plates.

J. BURGESS.

EDINBURGH,

February 1910.

NOTE.

One of the great difficulties that met every one attempting to write on Indian subjects forty years ago was to know how to spell Indian proper names. The Gilchristian mode of using double vowels, which was fashionable early last century, had then been done away with, as contrary to the spirit of Indian orthography, though it left a plentiful crop of discordant spellings. On the other hand, Sir William Jones and most scholars, by marking the long vowels and by dots to distinguish the palatal from the dental consonants, had formed from the Roman alphabet definite equivalents for each letter in the Indian alphabets—both Sanskritic and Persian. Lepsius, Lassen, and Max Muller in turn proposed various other systems, which have not found much acceptance; and of late continental scholars have put forward still another scheme, quite unsuited for English use. In this system such names as "Krishna," "Chach," "Rishi," are to be represented by Kṛṣṇa, Cac, Ṛṣi—so pedantic a system is impossible both for cartographer and ordinary reader and, like others, it may well cease to be.

Meanwhile a notable advance towards official uniformity has been made in the spelling of Indian place-names. When the 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' was projected, Government judiciously instructed the editor to adopt the Jonesian system of transliteration as slightly modified by Professor H. H. Wilson, but devoid of the diacritical dots attached to certain consonants. The authorisation of this system in the new maps and Gazetteer, and its use in published works since, has established its claim to acceptance in a work intended for the general reader.

In the following pages, consequently, this system has been used, as nearly as may be, avoiding diacritical marks on consonants, but indicating the long vowel sounds *â*, *î*, *û*, as in Lât, Halebîd, Stûpa, etc., whilst *e* and *o*, being almost always long, hardly require indication.

Thus *a*[1] sounds as in "rural"; *â* as in "tar";
i ,, ,, "fill"; *î* ,, "police";
u ,, ,, "full"; *û* ,, "rude";
e ,, ,, "there"; and *o* ,, "stone".

Only the palatal *s*, as in "sure," is distinguished from the dental, as in "hiss," by the italic form among Roman letters, as in "*s*ikhara," "A*s*oka." A hundred years hence, when Sanskrit and Indian alphabets are taught in all schools in England, it may be otherwise, but in the present state of knowledge on the subject it seems expedient to use some such simple method of indicating, at least approximately, the Indian sounds. Strictly accurate transcription in all cases and of well-known names, however, has not been followed.

In Burmese,—which lisps sounds like *s* and *ch*,—the spellings used in the Gazetteers of Burma have been generally adopted.

[1] The shut vowel, inherent in all consonants of the proper Indian alphabets, was formerly transliterated by almost any English vowel: in "Benares" (for "Banâras"), *e* is used twice for it.

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Buddha preaching. (From a fresco painting at Ajantâ.)



JAMES FERGUSSON.

[*To face page* 1, *Volume I.*

HISTORY

OF

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION.

It is in vain, perhaps, to expect that the literature or the Arts of any other people can be so interesting to even the best educated Europeans as those of their own country. Until it is forced on their attention, few are aware how much education does to concentrate attention within a very narrow field of observation. We become familiar in the nursery with the names of the heroes of Greek and Roman history. In every school their history and their arts are taught, memorials of their greatness meet us at every turn through life, and their thoughts and aspirations become, as it were, part of ourselves. So, too, with the Middle Ages: their religion is our religion; their architecture our architecture; and their history fades so insensibly into our own, that we can draw no line of demarcation that would separate us from them. How different is the state of feeling, when from this familiar home we turn to such a country as India! Its geography is hardly taught in schools, and seldom mastered perfectly; its history is a puzzle;[1] its literature a mythic dream; its arts a quaint perplexity. But, above all, the names of its heroes and great men are so unfamiliar that, except a few of those who go to India, scarcely any ever become so acquainted with them, that they call up any memories which are either pleasing or worth dwelling upon.

Were it not for this, there is probably no country—out of Europe at least—that would so well repay attention as India: none, where all the problems of natural science or of art are presented to us in so distinct and so pleasing a form. Nowhere does nature show herself in such grand and such luxurious

[1] The last thirty years have added greatly to the number and quality of the text-books on Indian history, and the general reader has no longer a valid excuse for ignorance of it.

features, and nowhere does humanity exist in more varied and more pleasing conditions. Side by side with the intellectual Brâhman caste, and the chivalrous Râjput, are found the wild Bhîl and the naked Gond, not antagonistic and warring one against the other, as elsewhere, but living now as they have done for thousands of years, each content with his own lot, and prepared to follow, without repining, in the footsteps of his forefathers.

It cannot, of course, be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece, or the moral greatness of Rome; but, though on a lower step of the ladder, her arts are more original and more varied, and her forms of civilisation present an ever-changing variety, such as are nowhere else to be found. What, however, really renders India so interesting as an object of study is that it is now a living entity. Greece and Rome are dead and have passed away, and we are living so completely in the midst of modern Europe, that we cannot get outside to contemplate it as a whole. But India is a complete cosmos in itself; bounded on the north by the Himâlayas, on the south by the sea, on the east by jungles inhabited by rude tribes, and only on the west having one door of communication, across the Indus, open to the outer world. Across that stream, nation after nation have poured their myriads into her coveted domain, but no reflex waves ever mixed her people with those beyond her boundaries.

In consequence of all this, every problem of anthropology or ethnography can be studied here more easily than anywhere else; every art has its living representative, and often of the most pleasing form; every science has its illustration, and many on a scale not easily matched elsewhere. But, notwithstanding all this, in nine cases out of ten, India and Indian matters fail to interest, because they are to most people new and unfamiliar. The rudiments have not been mastered when young, and, when grown up, few men have the leisure or the inclination to set to work to learn the forms of a new world, demanding both care and study; and till this is attained, it can hardly be hoped that the arts and the architecture of India will interest many European readers to the same extent as those styles treated of in the volumes on ancient and mediæval architecture.[1]

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, it may still be possible to present the subject of Indian architecture in such a form as to be interesting, even if not attractive. To do this, however,

[1] 'History of Architecture in all Countries from the Earliest Times.' By the late Jas. Fergusson, C.I.E., D.C.L., vols. i. and ii., 3rd ed. (1893). Edited by R. Phenè Spiers, F.S.A.

the narrative form must be followed as far as is compatible with such a subject. All technical and unfamiliar names must be avoided wherever it is possible to do so, and the whole accompanied with a sufficient number of illustrations to enable its forms to be mastered without difficulty. Even if this is attended to, no one volume can tell the whole of so varied and so complex a history. Without preliminary or subsequent study it can hardly be expected that so new and so vast a subject can be grasped; but one volume may contain a complete outline of the whole, and enable any one who wishes for more information to know where to look for it, or how to appreciate it when found.

Whether successful or not, it seems well worth while that an attempt should be made to interest the public in Indian architectural art; first, because the artist and architect will certainly acquire broader and more varied views of their art by its study than they can acquire from any other source. More than this, any one who masters the subject sufficiently to be able to understand their art in its best and highest forms, will rise from the study with a kindlier feeling towards the nations of India, and a higher — certainly a corrector— appreciation of their social status than could be obtained from their literature, or from anything that now exists in their anomalous social and political position.

Notwithstanding all this, many may be inclined to ask, Is it worth while to master all the geographical and historical details necessary to unravel so tangled a web as this, and then try to become so familiar with their ever-varying forms as not only to be able to discriminate between the different styles, but also to follow them through all their ceaseless changes?

My impression is that this question may fairly be answered in the affirmative. No one has a right to say that he understands the history of architecture who leaves out of his view the works of an immense portion of the human race, which has always shown itself so capable of artistic development. But, more than this, architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there, consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system, and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense; and that, when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who

have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the uneducated natives of India produce, will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe frequently perpetrate, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can be seen practised side by side — the educated and intellectual European failing because his principles are wrong, the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding because his principles are right. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct *copy* of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose: hence the difference in the result.

In one other respect India affords a singularly favourable field to the student of architecture. In no other country of the same extent are there so many distinct nationalities, each retaining its old belief and its old feelings, and impressing these on its art. There is consequently no country where the outlines of ethnology as applied to art can be so easily perceived, or their application to the elucidation of the various problems so pre-eminently important. The mode in which the art has been practised in Europe for the last three centuries has been very confusing. In India it is clear and intelligible. No one can look at the subject without seeing its importance, and no one can study the art as practised there without recognising what the principles of the science really are.

In addition, however, to these scientific advantages, it will undoubtedly be conceded by those who are familiar with the subject that for certain qualities the Indian buildings are unrivalled. They display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else. They may contain nothing so sublime as the hall at Karnak, nothing so intellectual as the Parthenon, nor so constructively grand as a mediæval cathedral; but for certain other qualities —not perhaps of the highest kind, yet very important in architectural art — the Indian buildings stand alone. They consequently fill up a great gap in our knowledge of the subject, which without them would remain a void.

HISTORY.

One of the greatest difficulties that exist — perhaps the greatest—in exciting an interest in Indian antiquities arises

from the fact, that India has no history properly so called, before the Muhammadan invasion in the 13th century. Had India been a great united kingdom, like China, with a long line of dynasties and well-recorded dates attached to them, the task would have been comparatively easy; but nothing of the sort ever existed within her boundaries. On the contrary, so far as our knowledge extends, India has always been occupied by three or four different races of mankind, who have never amalgamated so as to become one people, and each of these races has been again subdivided into numerous tribes or small nationalities nearly, sometimes wholly, independent of each other—and, what is worse than all, not one of them ever kept a chronicle or preserved a series of dates commencing from any well-known era.[1]

The absence of any historical record is the more striking, because India possesses a written literature equal to, if not surpassing in variety and extent, that possessed by any other nation, before the adoption and use of printing. The Vedas themselves, with their Upanishads and Brâhmanas, and the commentaries on them, form a literature in themselves of vast extent, and some parts of which are as old, possibly older, than any written works that are now known to exist; and the Purânas, though comparatively modern, make up a body of doctrine mixed with mythology and tradition such as few nations can boast of. Besides this, however, are the two great epics, surpassing in extent, if not in merit, those of any ancient nation, and a drama of great beauty, written at periods extending through a long series of years. In addition to these we have treatises on law, on grammar, on astronomy, on metaphysics and mathematics, on almost every branch of mental science—a literature extending in fact to many thousand works, but in all this not one book that can be called historical. No man in ancient India, so far as is known, ever thought of recording the events of his own life, or of repeating the previous experience of others, and it was not till shortly before the Christian Era that they thought of establishing eras from which to date deeds or events.

All this is the more curious because in Ceylon we have, in the 'Dîpawansa,' 'Mahâwansa,' and other books of a like nature,

[1] The following brief résumé of the principal events in the ancient history of India has no pretensions to being a complete or exhaustive view of the subject. It is intended only as such a popular sketch as shall enable the general reader to grasp the main features of the story to such an extent as may enable him to understand what follows. In order to make it readable, all references and all proofs of disputed facts have been here avoided. They will be found in the body of the work, where they are more appropriate. But without some such introductory notice of the political history and ethnography, the artistic history would be nearly, if not wholly unintelligible.

a consecutive history of that island, with dates which, with certain corrections, may be depended upon within certain limits of error, for periods extending from about B.C. 250 to the present time. At the other extremity of India, we have also in the 'Râjataranginî' of Kashmîr, a work of the 12th century, which Professor Wilson characterised as "the only Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of History can with any propriety be applied."[1] It hardly helps us, however, to any ancient historical data, its early chronology being only traditional and confused; but from the beginning of the 9th Christian century, its materials are of great value.[2]

In India Proper, however, we have no such guides as even these, but for written history are almost wholly dependent on the Purânas. They furnish us with a list of kings' names, with the length of their reigns, so apparently truthful that they may, within certain limits, be of use. They are only, however, of one range of dynasties — probably also sometimes contemporary —and extend only from the accession of Chandragupta—the Sandrokottos of the Greeks—about B.C. 320, to the decline of the Andhra dynasty, about the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. It seems possible we may yet find sufficient confirmation of these lists as far back as the 6th century B.C., so as to include the period marked by the life and labours of *S*âkyamuni—the last Buddha—in our chronology, with tolerable certainty. All chronology before that period is as yet merely conjectural. From the period of the Gupta dynasty in the 4th century onwards, when the Purânas began to be put into their present form, in consequence of the revival of the Brahmanical religion, instead of recording contemporary events, they purposely confused them so as to maintain their pretended prophetic character, and prevent the detection of the falsehood of their claim to an antiquity equal to that of the Vedas.

For Indian history after the 5th century we are consequently left mainly to inscriptions on monuments or on copper-plates, to coins, and to the works of foreigners for the necessary information with which the natives of the country itself have neglected to supply us. Inscriptions fortunately are more abundant in India than, perhaps, in any other country, and nearly all of them contain historical information; and, thanks to the great advances made in epigraphy during the last thirty-five years, we are now able to piece together a tolerably accurate historical

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1 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xv. p. 1.

2 Kalhana's 'Râjataranginî' has been very carefully translated and edited with a valuable commentary and notes by Dr. A. M. Stein, 2 vols. (London, 1900).

outline of the course of events from the 3rd century B.C.[1] This is more especially the case for the Dekhan and the north of India; in the Tamil country so much has not yet been done, but this is more because there have been fewer labourers in the field than from want of materials. There are literally thousands of inscriptions in the south which have not been copied, and of those that have been collected only a portion have yet been translated; but they are such as to give us assurance that, when the requisite amount of labour is bestowed upon them, we shall be able to fix the chronology of the kings of the south with a degree of certainty sufficient for all ordinary purposes.[2]

It is a far more difficult task to ascertain whether we shall ever recover the History of India before the time of the advent of Buddha. Here we certainly will find no coins or inscriptions to guide us, and no buildings to illustrate the arts, or to mark the position of cities, while all ethnographic traces have become so blurred, if not obliterated, that they serve us little as guides through the labyrinth. Yet on the other hand there is so much literature—such as it is—bearing on the subject, that we cannot but hope that, when a sufficient amount of learning is brought to bear upon it, the leading features of the history of even that period may be recovered. In order, however, to render it available, it will not require industry so much as a severe spirit of criticism to winnow the few grains of useful truth out of the mass of worthless chaff this literature contains. But it does not seem too much to expect even this, from the severely critical spirit of the age. Meanwhile, the main facts of the case seem to be nearly as follows, in so far as it is necessary to state them, in order to make what follows intelligible.

ARYANS.

At some very remote period in the world's history the Âryas or Aryans[3]—a people speaking an early form of Sanskrit—

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[1] The chronological results have been systematically arranged in that useful handbook.—Duff's 'Chronology of India' (London, 1899).

[2] Almost the only person who had done anything in this direction till forty years ago was the late Sir Walter Elliot. Since 1872 the labours of Drs. Fleet, Bühler, Kielhorn, R. G. Bhândârkar and others have thrown a flood of light on the history of southern as well as northern India; and within the last twenty years Dr. Hultzsch's work among the Tamil inscriptions of Madras has yielded very important chronological and historical information for the south of the peninsula. The Mysore Government has also issued the great 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' under the direction of Mr. Lewis Rice.

[3] We have the word in the 'Aria' and 'Ariana' of the Greek writers, applied to the country lying to the north-east of Persia adjoining Baktriana. The early Zoroastrians called their country 'Airyanavaêjô'—the Aryâ home, and in the Behistun inscriptions it is styled 'Ariya.' See Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' Bd. i. Ss. 5ff.

entered India across the Upper Indus, coming from Central Asia. They were a fair complexioned people as compared with the Aborigines, and for a long time they remained settled in the Panjâb, or on the banks of the Sarasvatî, then a more important stream than now, the main body, however, still remaining to the westward of the Indus. If, however, we may trust our chronology, we find them settled 1500 to 2000 years before the Christian Era, in Ayodhyâ and then in the plenitude of their power. Naturally we look for some light on their early history in the two great Indian epics—the Râmâyana recording the exploits of Râma, King of Ayodhyâ, of the Solar race, and in much later times regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu; and the Mahâbhârata celebrating the contest between the Kurus and Pândus, of the Lunar family. Both are steeped in Brâhman doctrines, almost certainly inserted in later ages among the original legends. It thus becomes very difficult to separate what belongs to the original spirit and aim of the works from the interpolated materials. The Râmâyana is so largely allegorical and cast in the form it has reached us so long after the period to which it refers that it is doubtful whether we can draw any inference with safety from its contents, except that it relates to the spread of Aryan civilisation—which had probably then occupied most of the country north of the Vindhyan range—into southern India, and as far as Ceylon.[1] From a very early period the Aryans had, doubtless, become mixed with aboriginal races, and could not be regarded as pure at this period. But whether they formed settlements in the Dekhan or not, it was opened up to them, and by slow degrees imbibed that amount of Brahmanism which eventually pervaded the south. By B.C. 700, or thereabouts, they had begun to be tolerably well acquainted with the whole of the peninsula.

The events that form the theme of the western epic—the Mahâbhârata—may have occurred almost as early as, or even several centuries later than the times of Râma. It opens up an entirely new view of Indian social life. If the heroes of that poem were Aryans at all, they were of a much less pure type than those who composed the songs of the Vedas, or are depicted in the verses of the Râmâyana. Their polyandry, their drinking bouts, their gambling tastes, and love of fighting, mark them as a very different race from the peaceful shepherd immigrants of the earlier age, and point much more distinctly towards a Tartar, trans-Himâlayan origin, than to the cradle of

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[1] For some account of the probable spread of the Âryas southwards, see Dr. R. G. Bhândârkar's 'Early History of the Dekhan,' in *Bombay Gazetteer* (1895), vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 132ff.

the Aryan stock in Central Asia. We are tempted to ask whether the Pândavas, who conquered in the great strife, were not a confederacy of hostile tribes, headed by a band of warriors of mixed or non-Aryan descent. Their helper and counsellor, Krishnâ, is a divinity unknown to the early Aryans, and with him as an incarnation of Vishnu, the *S*iva, and Brahma, of modern Hindûism, take the place of the older gods. As if to mark the difference of which the warriors themselves felt the existence, they distinguished themselves, by name, as belonging to a Lunar race, distinct from, and generally antagonistic to, the Solar race, which was the proud distinction of the purer and earlier Aryan settlers in India.[1]

By about B.C. 700, we again find a totally different state of affairs in India. The Aryans no longer exist as a separate nationality, and neither the Solar nor the Lunar race are the rulers of the earth. The Brâhmans have become a priestly caste, and share the power with the Kshatriyas, a race of far less purity of descent. The Vai*s*yas, as merchants and husbandmen, have become a power, and even the *S*ûdras are acknowledged as a part of the body politic; and—though not mentioned in the Scriptures—the Nâgas, or Snake people, had become an influential part of the population. They are first mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, where they play a most important part in causing the death of Parikshit, which led to the great sacrifice for the destruction of the Nâgas of Taksha*s*ilâ by Janamejaya, which practically closes the history of the time. Destroyed, however, they were not, for we find Nâga dynasties ruling in various parts of Central India and Râjputâna from the 7th century B.C., till at least the 4th century A.D.[2]

Although Buddhism was first taught probably by one belonging to the Solar race, and of Aryan blood, and though its first disciples were Brâhmans, it had as little affinity with the religion of the Vedas as Christianity had with the Pentateuch, and its fate was the same. The one religion was taught by one of Jewish extraction to the Jews; but it was ultimately rejected by them, and adopted by the Gentiles, who had no affinity of race or religion with the inhabitants of Judæa. Though meant originally, no doubt, for Aryans, the Buddhist religion was ultimately rejected by the Brâhmans, who were consequently eclipsed and superseded by it for nearly a thousand years; and we hear little of them and their religion till they rise again at the court of the great Gupta

[1] Orientalists have expressed very varying opinions as to the historical teachings of the epics. See Weber, 'On the Râmâyana,' etc.

[2] The Nâga or Kârkota dynasty of Kashmîr ruled as late as from about the beginning of the 7th till the middle of the 9th century.

kings in the 4th century A.D., when their religion began to assume that strange shape which it now still retains in India. In its new form it is as unlike the religion of the Vedas as it is possible to conceive one religion being to another; unlike that, also, of the older portions of the Mahâbhârata; but a confused mess of local superstitions and imported myths, covering up and hiding the Vedantic and Buddhist doctrines, which may sometimes be detected as underlying it. Whatever it be, however, it was invented by and for as mixed a population as probably were ever gathered together into one country—a people whose feelings and superstitions it only too truly represents.

DRAVIDIANS.

Although, therefore, as was hinted above, there might be no great difficulty in recovering the main incidents and leading features of the history of the Aryans, from their first entry into India till they were entirely absorbed into the mass of the population some time before the Christian Era, there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that their history would fully represent the ancient history of the country. The Dravidians are a people who, in historical times, seem to have been probably as numerous as the pure Aryans, and at the present day form one-fifth of the whole population of India. They belong, it is true, to a lower intellectual status than the Aryans, but they have preserved their nationality pure and unmixed, and, such as they were at the dawn of history, so they seem to be now.

Their settlement in India extends to such remote pre-historic times, that we cannot feel even sure that we should regard them as immigrants, or, at least, as either conquerors or colonists on a large scale, but rather as aboriginal in the sense in which that term is usually understood. Generally it is assumed that they entered India across the Lower Indus, leaving the cognate Brahui in Baluchistân as a mark of the road by which they came, and, as the affinities of their language seem to be with the Ugrians and Northern Turanian tongues, this view seems probable.[1] But they have certainly left no trace of their migrations anywhere between the Indus and the Narbadâ, and all the facts of their history, so far as they are known, would seem to lead to an opposite conclusion. The hypothesis that would represent what we know of their history most correctly would place their original seat in the extreme south, somewhere

[1] Dr. Caldwell, the author of the 'Dravidian Grammar,' is the greatest and most trustworthy advocate of this view.

probably not far from Madurâ or Tanjor, and thence spreading fan-like towards the north, till they met the Aryans in the northern Dekhan. The question, again, is not of much importance for our present purposes, as we do not know to what degree of civilisation they had reached anterior to the Christian Era, or when they were first able to practise the arts of civilised life with such success as to bring them within the scope of a work devoted to the history of art.[1]

It may be that at some future period, when we know more of the ancient arts of these Dravidians than we now do, some fresh light may be thrown on this very obscure part of history. Geographically, however, one thing seems tolerably clear. If the Dravidians came into India in historical times it was not from Central Asia that they migrated, but from Persia, or some southern region of the Asiatic continent.

Dasyus.

In addition to these two great distinct and opposite nationalities, there exists in India a third, which, in pre-Buddhist times, was as numerous, perhaps even more so, than either the Aryans or the Dravidians, but of whose history we know even less than we do of the two others. Ethnologists have not agreed on a name by which to call them. I have suggested Dasyus,[2] a slave people, as that is the name by which the Aryans designated them when they found them there on their first entrance into India, and subjected them to their sway.[3] Possibly they were partly of Mongol-Tibetan origin, and partly they may have been a mixed race allied to the Dravidians, and now represented by Gonds, Santâls, Bhîls, etc.

The Dasyus, however, were not mere barbarians; for they had towns, and traces of at least a partial civilisation; they had leaders or chiefs possessed of strong fortified retreats, and they possessed treasures of gold and rich jewels.[4] Whoever they were they seem to have been a people of less intellectual capacity, less muscular, and less united than their invaders. When the Aryans first entered India they seem to have found them occupying the whole valley of the Ganges — the whole

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[1] In the 'Râmâyana' the monkey-soldiers are directed to the countries of the Andhras, Pândyas, Cholas, and Keralas, in the south, and are told they will there see the gate of the city of the Pândyas adorned with gold and jewels.

[2] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' pp. 244-247.

[3] 'Dasyu' probably meant 'provincial,' 'aboriginal,' and was used much as 'Gentiles,' 'Pagans,' 'Barbarians,' in early times. They are also termed Yâdvas, of which we may have a survival in the 'Jats.'

[4] Vivian de Saint Martin's 'Étude sur la Géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-ouest de l'Inde, d'après les Hymnes védiques.'

country in fact between the Vindhya and the Himâlaya Mountains. At present they are only found in anything like purity in the mountain ranges that bound that great plain. There they are known as Bhîls, Gonds, Kandhs, Mundas, Orâons, Hos, Kols, Santâls, Nâgas, and other mountain and forest tribes. But they certainly form the lowest underlying stratum of the population over the whole of the Gangetic plain. So far as their affinities have been ascertained, they are with the trans-Himâlayan population, and it either is that they entered India through the passes of that great mountain range, or it might be more correct to say that the Tibetans are a fragment of a great population that occupied both the northern and southern slope of that great chain of hills at some very remote pre-historic time.

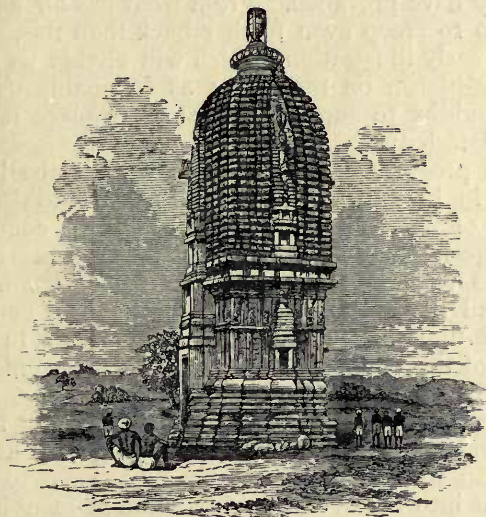
Whoever they were, they were the people who, in remote times, were apparently the worshippers of Trees and Serpents;[1] but what interests us more in them, and makes the enquiry into their history more desirable, is that it was where the people were largely of this aboriginal stock that Buddhism seems to have been most readily adopted, and it is largely among allied races that it is still adhered to. In Ceylon, Tibet, Burma, Siam, and China—wherever a people allied to the Mongol or Tibetan family exists, there Buddhism flourished and still prevails. But in India a revival of Brahmanism abolished it.

Architecturally, there is no difficulty in defining the limits of the Dasyu province: wherever a square tower-like temple exists with a perpendicular base, but a curvilinear outline above, such as that shown in the woodcut (No. 1), there we mav feel certain of the existence, past or present, of a people of Dasyu extraction. No one can accuse the pure Aryans of introducing this form into India, or of building temples at all, or of worshipping images of *S*iva or Vishnu, with which these temples are filled, and they consequently have little title to confer their name on the style. The Aryans had, however, become so impure in blood before these temples were erected, and were so mixed up with the aboriginal tribes whose superstitions had so influenced their religion and their arts that they accepted their temples with their gods. Be this as it may, one thing seems tolerably clear, that the regions occupied by the Aryans in India were conterminous with those of the Dasyus, or, in other words, that the Aryans conquered the whole of the aboriginal or native tribes who occupied the plains of northern India, and ruled over them to such an extent as materially to

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[1] See 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. iv. pp. 5f.

influence their religion and their arts, and also very materially to modify even their language. So much so, indeed, that after some four thousand years of domination we should not be surprised if we have some difficulty in recovering traces of the original population, and could probably not do so, if some fragments of the people had not sought refuge in the hills on the north and south of the great Gangetic plain, and there have remained fossilised, or at least sufficiently permanent for purposes of investigation.



1. Hindû Temple, at Bahulârâ, near Bânkurâ.

*S*AI*S*UNÂGA DYNASTY, ABOUT B.C. 650 TO 318.

Leaving these, which must, for the present at least, be considered as practically pre-historic times, we tread on surer ground when we approach the period when Buddha was born, and devoted his life to solve the problem of suffering and transmigration. There seems little reason for doubting that he was born about the year 560, taught during the reign of Bimbisâra, the fifth king of the *S*ai*s*unûga dynasty, and died B.C. 480,[1] at the age of eighty, in the eighth year of Ajâta*s*atru, the sixth king.[2] New sources of information regarding these

[1] Dr. J. F. Fleet, in 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1906, pp. 984f. places the death or Nirvâna of Buddha in B.C. 482, with other connected dates in accordance with it. For our purpose the dates given are quite near enough.

[2] The 'Matsya Purâna' alone inserts the reigns of Kanvâyana—nine years—and Bhûmimitra — fourteen years — between Bimbisâra and Ajâta*s*atru.

times are opening out, and we may before long be able to recover a fairly authentic account of the political events of that period, and as perfect a picture of the manners and the customs of those days. It is too true, however, that those who wrote the biography of Buddha in subsequent ages so overlaid the narrative of his life with fables and absurdities, that it is now difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff; but we have sculptures extending back to within three centuries of his death, at which time we may fairly assume that a purer tradition may have prevailed. From what has already occurred, we may hope to creep even further back than this, and eventually to find early illustrations which will enable us to exercise so sound a criticism on the books as to enable us to restore the life of Buddha to such an extent as to place it on a basis of credible historicity.

Immense progress has been made during the last fifty or sixty years in investigating the origin of Buddhism, and the propagation of its doctrines in India, and in communicating the knowledge so gained to the public in Europe. More, however, remains to be done before the story is complete, and divested of all the absurdities which subsequent commentators have heaped upon it. Still, the leading events in the life of the founder of the religion are simple, and now sufficiently well ascertained for all practical purposes.[1]

The founder of this religion was claimed by tradition as one of the last of a long line of kings, known as the Solar dynasties, who, from a period shortly subsequent to the advent of the Aryans into India, had held paramount sway in Ayodhyâ —the modern Oudh. About the 12th or 13th century B.C. they were superseded by another race of much less purely Aryan blood, known as the Lunar race, who transferred the seat of power to capitals situated in the northern parts of the Doâb. But the tradition of the royal birth of *S*âkyamuni can hardly be sustained historically. He seems to have been born at Kapilavastu, at the foot of the Himâlayas, as the son of

[1] The most pleasing of the histories of Buddha, written wholly from a European point of view, is that of Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Paris. Of those partially native, partly European, are those of Bishop Bigandet, from the Burmese legends, and the 'Romantic History of Buddha,' translated from the Chinese by the Rev. S. Beal. The 'Lalita Vistara,' translated by Foucaux, is more modern than these, and consequently more fabulous and absurd. In more recent years a large literature has appeared on the subject. Prof. H. Oldenberg's 'Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order,' translated from the German by W. Hoey (1882) supplies an able critical estimate of the teacher. Dr. H. Kern's 'History of Buddhism in India' has been translated into French by G. Huet (Paris, 1901-1903); and W. W. Rockhill's 'Life of Buddha, and the Early History of his Order,' 1884, are also valuable works.

a petty chief. For twenty-nine years he is represented as enjoying the pleasures, and following the occupations, usual to the men of his rank and position; but at that age, becoming painfully impressed by the misery incident to human existence, he determined to devote the rest of his life to an attempt to alleviate it. For this purpose he forsook his parents and wife, abandoned friends and the advantages of his position, and, for the following fifty years, devoted himself steadily to the task he had set before himself. Years were spent in the meditation and mortification supposed to be necessary to fit him for his mission; the rest of his long life was devoted to wandering from city to city, teaching and preaching, and doing everything that gentle means could effect to disseminate the doctrines which he believed were to regenerate the world, and take the sting out of human misery.

He died, or, in the phraseology of his followers, entered Nirvâna or Parinirvâna — was absorbed into nothingness — at Ku*s*inârâ, in the eightieth year of his age, about 480 years B.C.

With the information that has accumulated around the subject, there seems no great difficulty in surmising why the mission of *S*âkyamuni was so successful as it proved to be. He was born in an age when the purity of the Aryan races, especially in eastern India, had become so deteriorated by intermixture with aborigines, and with less pure tribes coming from the north, that their power, and consequently their distinctive influence was fading away. At that time, too, the native and mixed races had acquired such a degree of civilisation as led them to claim something like equality with their Aryan masters. In such a condition of things the preacher was sure of a willing audience who ignored caste, and taught that all men, of whatever nation or degree, had an equal chance of reaching happiness, and ultimately Nirvâna, by the practice of virtue: in a word—to be delivered from the wearisome bondage of ritual or caste observances and the depressing prospect of interminable transmigration. Aboriginal or Turanian Dasyus, perhaps even more readily than the mixed Aryans, would hail him as a deliverer, and by the former the new religion was specially adopted and propagated, whilst that of the Brahman Aryans was, for a time at least, overshadowed and obscured.

It is by no means clear how far Buddha was successful in converting the multitude to his doctrines during his lifetime. At his death, the first synod or council was held at Râjagriha, and five hundred monks of a superior order, it is said, were

assembled there on that occasion,[1] and if so they must have represented a great multitude. But the accounts of this, and of a second convocation, said, by the southern Buddhists, to have been held one hundred years afterwards at Vaiśâlî, are of doubtful authenticity. Indeed, the whole annals of the Śaiśunâga dynasty from the death of Buddha till the accession of Chandragupta, *cir.* B.C. 320, are about the least satisfactory of the time. Those of Ceylon were falsified in order to make the landing of Vijaya, the alleged first conqueror from Kalinga, coincident with the date of Buddha's death, while a period of some length elapsed between the two events.[2] We have annals, and we may possibly recover inscriptions[3] and sculptures belonging to this period, and though it is most improbable we shall recover any architectural remains, there are possibly materials existing which, when utilised, may suffice for the purpose.

The kings of this dynasty seem to have been considered as of a low caste, and were not, consequently, in favour either with the Brâhman or, at that time, with the Buddhist; and no events which seem to have been thought worthy of being remembered, except the second convocation—the fact of which is doubtful—are recorded as happening in their reigns, after the death of the great Ascetic—or, at all events, of being recorded in such annals as we possess.

MAURYA DYNASTY, B.C. 320 TO 180.

The case was widely different with the Maurya dynasty, which was certainly one of the most brilliant, and is fortunately one of the best known, of the ancient dynasties of India. The first king was Chandragupta, the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, to

[1] See Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha,' p. 156; Kern's 'Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde,' tom. ii. pp. 253ff. (French trans.).

[2] There is an error of about sixty years in the usual date—B.C. 543, derived from the Singhalese chronicles, which is elsewhere corrected. The revised date may not be precisely correct, but it must be approximately so.

[3] We have no very early Hindû coins; the earliest are square or oblong punch-marked pieces, which seem to date from about a century before Alexander, and supply no historical data. The late Mr. Ed. Thomas supposed a coin, bearing the name of Amoghabhûti, a Kuninda, belonged to one of the nine Nandas with whom this dynasty closed ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' N.S., vol. i. pp. 447ff.). It is now known that such





coins do not belong to a date earlier than about B.C. 100. The earliest coins of historical value for India are those of the Græco-Baktrians and their contemporaries or successors on the north-west frontier.

whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador by Seleukos, the successor of Alexander in the western parts of his Asiatic empire. It is from his narrative—now unfortunately lost—that the Greeks acquired almost all the knowledge they possessed of India at that period.[1] The country was then divided into 120 smaller principalities, but the Maurya residing in Palibothra (Pâtaliputra)—the modern Pâtna—seems to have exercised a paramount sway over the whole. It was not, however, this king, but his grandson, the great A*s*oka (B.C. 262 to 225), who raised this dynasty to its highest pitch of prosperity and power. Though utterly unknown to the Greeks, we have from native sources a more complete picture of the incidents of his reign than of any ancient sovereign of India. The great event that made him famous in Buddhist history was his conversion to that faith, and the zeal he showed in propagating the doctrines of his new religion. He did, in fact, for Buddhism, what Constantine did for Christianity, and at about the same distance of time from the death of the founder of the faith. From a struggling sect he made it the religion of the State, and established it on the basis on which it lasted supreme for nearly 1000 years. In order to render his subjects familiar with the doctrines of his new faith, he caused a series of edicts embodying them to be engraved on rocks near Peshâwar, in Gujarât, in the valley of the Dûn under the Himâlayas, in Hazâra, in Katak and Ganjâm, in Mysore, and other places. He held a great convocation or council of the faithful in his capital at Pâtaliputra, and, on its dissolution, missionaries were sent to spread the religion in the Yavana country, whose capital was Alexandria, near the present city of Kâbul. Others were despatched to Kashmîr and Gandhâra ; one was sent to the Himawanta—the valleys of the Himâlaya, and possibly part of Tibet ; others were despatched to the Mahâratta country, and to Mysore, to Vanavâsi in Kanara, and to Aparântaka or the north Konkan. Two missionaries were sent to Suvarnabhûmi, now known as Thatun on the Sitang river, in Pegu, and, tradition says, his own son and daughter were deputed to Ceylon.[2] All those countries, in fact, which might be called foreign, were then sought to be converted to the faith. He also formed alliances with Antiokhos the Great, Antigonos, and with Ptolemy Philadelphos, Alexander of Epeiros, and Magas of Cyrene,

[1] For this period, see M'Crindle's 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' (1877) ; the 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (1896) ; and 'Ancient India as described in Classical Literature' (1901).

[2] All these particulars, it need hardly be said, are taken from the 12th and 15th chapters of the 'Mahâwansa,' which relates the traditions of a time six centuries and more before its composition.

for the establishment of hospitals and the protection of his co-religionists in their countries. More than all this, he built innumerable topes or stûpas and monasteries all over the country; and, though none of those now existing can positively be identified as those actually built by him, there seems no reason for doubting that the sculptured rails at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut, the caves at Barâbar in Bihâr, some of those at Udayagiri in Katak, and the oldest of those in the Western Ghâts were all erected or excavated during the existence of this dynasty, if not under himself. These, with inscriptions and such histories as exist, make up a mass of materials for a picture of India during this dynasty such as no other can present; and, above all, they offer a complete representation of the religious forms and beliefs of the kings and people, which render any mistake regarding them impossible.[1] It was Buddhism, but without a deified Buddha, and with Tree and Serpent worship cropping up in every unexpected corner.

There is certainly no dynasty in the whole range of ancient Indian history that would better repay the labour of an exhaustive investigation than that of these Maurya kings. Not only were they the first in historical times who, so far as we know, united nearly the whole of India into one great kingdom, but they were practically the first who came in contact with European civilisation and Western politics. More than even this, it is probably owing to the action of the third king of this dynasty that Buddhism, from being the religion of an obscure sect, became, at one time, the creed of so large a proportion of the human race, and influenced the belief and the moral feelings of such multitudes of men in Asia.

It is to this dynasty, and to it only, that must be applied all those passages in classical authors which describe the internal state of India, and they are neither few nor insignificant. Though the Hindûs themselves cannot be said to have contributed much history, they have given us, in the 'Mudrâ-Râkshasa,'[2] a poetical version of the causes of the revolution that placed the Mauryas on the throne. But, putting these aside, their own inscriptions supply us with a perfectly authentic contemporary account of the religious faith and feelings of the period; while the numerous bas-reliefs of the rails at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut afford a picture of the manners, customs, and costumes of the day, and a gauge by which we can measure their artistic status and judge how far their art was indigenous, how far influenced by foreign

[1] For fuller information about Aśoka reference may be made to Edm. Hardy's 'König Asoka,' and V. A. Smith's 'Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India.'

[2] Wilson's 'Hindu Drama,' in his 'Works,' vol. xii, pp. 151 *et seqq.*, edition 1871.

elements. The dates of the kings of this dynasty are also approximately known, and the whole framework of their history depends so completely on contemporary native monuments, that there need be no real uncertainty regarding any of the outlines of the picture when once the subject is fairly grasped and thoroughly handled.

It is the firmest standpoint we have from which to judge of Indian civilisation and history, whether looking to the past or to the future, and it is one that gives a very high idea of the position at which the Hindûs had arrived before they came practically into contact with the civilisation of the West.

*S*UNGA DYNASTY, B.C. 180 TO 70.
KÂNWÂYANA DYNASTY, B.C. 70 TO 36.

History affords us little beyond the lengths of the kings' reigns for the next two dynasties, and we are obliged to trust to the general correctness with which these are recorded in the Purânas, and by degrees we are collecting inscriptions, and we know of caves that belong to their time, so that we may hope to breathe life into what has hitherto appeared only a dry list of names. Possibly the Kânwâs had usurped the power of the *S*ungas, so that the two families may have been nominally contemporary during the period assigned to the latter, and that both came to an end about 40 B.C. Anyhow we know that the Andhras had risen to power on the decline of the Mauryas. These dynasties were not, however, apparently known to the Greeks, and possibly, being Buddhist, are passed over in comparative silence in the Purânas. It is thus only from their monuments that we can hope to recover their history. Up to the present time, the most important inscription discovered is that of a prince Dhanabhûti who "in the time of the *S*ungas" erected a gateway at the Bharaut stûpa.

ANDHRA DYNASTY, ABOUT B.C. 170 TO A.D. 220.

The dynasty that ruled the Dekhan at least, contemporary with these Rois fainéants is — after the Mauryas — the most important of all those about this period of Indian history. To the classical authors they are known as the Andræ, in the Purânas as Andhrabhrityas, and in the inscriptions as *S*âtakarnis or *S*âtavâhanas; but under whatever name, notwithstanding occasional periods of depression, they played a most important part in the history of India, during more than four centuries. They were a South-Indian dynasty, first mentioned in a

Khandagiri inscription about B.C. 150.[1] Their capital was at Dhânyakataka, on the lower Krishnâ, close to Amarâvatî; but, at a later date, they had a second capital at Paithan on the upper Godâvarî. They ruled over Mâlwâ and the Dekhan from sea to sea, but about the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century the provinces north of the Narbadâ seem to have been conquered by *S*aka satraps, who were overthrown about A.D. 125, by Gautamîputra *S*âtakarni, who raised the dynasty to the height of its power. The kings of this race have, however, left many and most interesting inscriptions in the western caves, and traces of their existence occur in many parts of India.

Architecturally, their history begins with the gateways of the Tope at Sânchi; the southern of these was almost certainly erected during the reign of the first *S*âtakarni about the middle of the 2nd century before our era—and the other three in the course of that century. It ends with the completion of the rail at Amarâvatî, which was probably commenced in the 1st century, and completed before the end of the 2nd.[2]

Between these two monuments there is no great difficulty in filling up the architectural picture from the caves, at Nâsik, Kanheri and Ajantâ, and other places in western India, and more materials may still eventually be discovered.

The history of this dynasty is more than usually interesting for our purposes, as it embraces nearly the whole period during which Buddhism reigned almost supreme in India. It became a State religion, it is true, somewhat earlier under A*s*oka, but there is no reason for believing that the Vedic religion or Brahmanism then vanished. During four or five centuries, however, after the A*s*oka Era we have not a trace of a Hindû building or cave, and, so far as any material evidence goes, it seems that Buddhism at the time was the predominant religion of the land. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the Hindû cult was wholly obliterated, but it was dormant, and in abeyance, and, to use a Buddhist expression, the yellow robes shone over the length and breadth of the land.

It was during the rule of these Andhras, though not by them, that the fourth convocation was held by Kanishka, in the north of India, and the new doctrine, the Mahâyâna,

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[1] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 88-89.

[2] For fuller details of the Sânchi and Amarâvatî Stûpas, the reader is referred to 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' which is practically devoted to a description of them. For a further account of Amarâvatî, and a rectification of the dates in accordance with later discoveries, reference may be made to 'The Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeta Stûpas' (1887); and to Dr. R. G. Bhândârkar's 'Early Dekhan Dynasties' in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i. pt. ii.

introduced by Nâgârjuna—a change similar to that made by Gregory the Great when he established the Church, as opposed to the primitive forms of Christianity, at about the same distance of time from the death of the founder of the religion. This convocation was probably held about B.C. 40. Certain at least it is, that it was about, or very soon after, that time that Buddhism was first practically introduced into China, Tibet, and Burma, and apparently by missionaries sent out from this as they were from the A*s*oka convocation.

KSHATRAPAS OF KÂTHIÂWÂR, A.D. 120 TO 388.
GUPTAS, 320 TO ABOUT 535.
VALABHIS, ABOUT 600 TO 770.

The Andhras disappear from history early in the 3rd century; the Kshatrapas of Gujarât held sway in the west for a century and a half longer, when they were superseded by the Gupta dynasty who, at the end of the 4th century of our era, seem to have attained to the position of lords paramount in northern India. They date their inscriptions, which are numerous and interesting, from an era established by the Gupta king, Chandragupta I., dating 242 years after the *S*aka era of A.D. 78, or in 320; but it was not apparently till under the third king, Samudragupta, about 380, that they really obtained the empire of northern India, which they retained till the death of Skandagupta, about the year 465, or it may be a little later.[1]

It was during the reign of the Guptas that Fah Hian visited India (A.D. 400). As his objects in doing so were entirely of a religious nature, he does not allude to worldly politics, nor give us a king's name we can identify; but the picture we gather from his narrative is one of peace and prosperity in so far as the country is concerned, and of supremacy generally for his religion. Heretics are, it is true, mentioned occasionally, but they are few and far between. Buddhism was then the religion of the north, especially in the north-west of India; but even then there were symptoms of a change in the central provinces and outlying parts of the country.

It is during their rule that we first perceive in high places the germs of that change which was gradually creeping over the religious system of India. That the Guptas were not inimical to Buddhism may be inferred from the gifts that Amarakârdava, an officer of Chandragupta II., made to the

[1] The Guptas and their inscriptions have been dealt with by Dr. J. F. Fleet, in his work, 'Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings,' Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. iii.

stûpa at Sânchi in the year A.D. 412, and recorded on the rail of that Monument, but their other inscriptions, on the lâts at Allahabad, Junâgadh, and Bhitarî, show a decided tendency towards Hindûism of the Vaishnava form, but which was still far removed from the wild extravagances of the Purânas. There seems little doubt that the boar at Eran, and the buildings there, belong to this dynasty, and are consequently among the earliest if not the very oldest temples in India, dedicated to the new religion, which was then raising its head in defiance to Buddhism.

From their coins and inscriptions, we may feel certain that the Guptas possessed, when in the plenitude of their power, the whole of northern India with the province of Gujarât, but how far the boasts of Samudragupta (370-380) on the Allahabad pillar were justified is by no means clear. If that inscription is to be believed, the whole of the southern country as far as Ceylon, together with, or up to the borders of Âsâm and Nepâl, were subject to their sway. However brilliant it may have been, their power was of short duration. Gujarât, with Kâthiâwâr, from about A.D. 500, was held by the Maitrakas of Valabhî, at first as feudatories of the Guptas, but, as the paramount power declined, the Valabhî chiefs gradually assumed independence, and founded a separate kingdom, which sometimes included western Mâlwâ, and lasted into the middle of the 8th century.

Although it was evident in the time of the Guptas that a change was creeping over the religious belief of India, it was not then that the blow was struck which eventually proved fatal, but by a dynasty which succeeded them in Central India.

THE SIXTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

The Gupta power seems to have given way before the inroads of *S*akas or Huns, chiefly under Toramâna and his son Mihirakula, who succeeded him about 515, and was a bitter persecutor of the Buddhists in the North-West. A coalition was formed against him, and under Ya*s*odharman of Ujjain he was totally defeated about 530. At this period the 'Râjataranginî' describes Vikramâditya-Harsha of Ujjain as sole sovereign of India, the destroyer of the *S*akas, and patron of poets, who placed Mâtrigupta on the throne of Kashmîr. It is possible that this Ya*s*odharman and Vikramâditya are only *birudas* or titles of the same sovereign, who may have ruled till 550 or thereabouts.[1] Further, the period seems to suggest

[1] Târânâtha states that Vikramâditya-Harsha abolished the teaching of the Mlechchhas, massacring them at Multân, and was succeeded by *S*îla. The Man-

that this may have been that Vikramâditya, who, by his liberality and magnificence, acquired a renown among the Hindûs, only second to that obtained by Solomon among the Jews. By his patronage of literature and his encouragement of art, his fame spread over the length and breadth of the land, and to this day his name is quoted as the symbol of all that is great and magnificent in India. What is more to our present purpose, he was an undoubted patron of the Brahmanical religion, and no tradition associates his name directly or indirectly with anything connected with Buddhism. Unfortunately we have no buildings which can be attributed to him. But the main fact of a Brahmanical king reigning and acquiring such influence in Central India at that time may be significant of the declining position of the Buddhist religion at that period.

His successor, Pratâpasîla-Sîlâditya's reign would fall about the end of the 6th century, and he is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang as a patron of Buddhism.[1] But it was usual with Hindû kings to show favour to the various sects among their subjects indiscriminately, and the Chinese pilgrim's statement that during his long reign of about sixty years he honoured the Buddhists and their doctrines, is no proof of his personal religious creed.

In the beginning of the next century, after a short period of anarchy, we find another Sîlâditya, Harsha-varddhana, seated on the throne of Kanauj, and, during a prosperous reign of about forty years (606-646), exercising supreme sway in that country. It was during his reign that the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang visited India, and gave a much more full and graphic account of what he saw than his predecessor Fah Hian. Nothing can be more characteristic of the state of religious feeling, and the spirit of toleration then prevailing, than the fête given by this king at Prayâga or Allahabad in the year 643, at which the kings of Valabhî and Kâmarupa (Âsâm) were present. The first days of the festival were devoted to the distribution, among the followers of Buddhism, of the treasures accumulated during the previous five years, and then came the turn of the Brâhmans, who were treated with equal honour and liberality; then followed the fête of the other sects, among whom the Jains appear conspicuous. All were feasted and

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dasor inscriptions of A.D. 532 - 534, describe Yasodharman as one who ruled from the Brahmaputra to the western ocean, and to whom even Mihirakula paid homage. King Bhoja, the patron of Kâlidâsa and others, may be the same prince under a third name; and Ballâlamisra says he reigned for fifty-five or fifty-six years.

[1] Conf. 'Journal des Savants,' Oct. 1905, pp. 534-548; and Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 261, 267.

fêted, and sent away laden with gifts and mementoes of the magnificence and liberality of the great king.

Pleasant as this picture is to look upon, it is evident that such a state of affairs could hardly be stable, and it was in vain to expect that peace could long be maintained between a rising and ambitious sect, and one which was fast sinking into decay; apparently beneath the load of an overgrown priesthood. Accordingly we find that ten years after the death of Harsha troubles supervened as prophesied,[1] and the curtain soon descends on the great drama of the history of northern India, not to be raised again for nearly three centuries. It is true, we can still follow the history of the Valabhîs for some time longer, and it would be satisfactory if we could fix the date of their destruction with precision, as it was the event which in the Hindû mind is considered the closing act of the drama. If it was destroyed by a foreign enemy, it must have been by the Moslim — perhaps by some expedition under Amru ibn Jamâl, the general of Hashâm, ibn Amru al Taghlabî, who was ruler of Sindh about 757 to 776.[2] Valabhî was a flourishing city in 640, when visited by Hiuen Tsiang, and from that time, till the end of next century, the Moslims were in such power on the Indus, and their historians tell us the events of these years in such detail, that no other foreigner could have crossed the river during that period. If it perished by some internal revolution of convulsion, which is probable, it only shared the fate that overtook all northern India about this period. Strange to say, even the Moslims, then in the plenitude of their power during the Khalîfat of Baghdâd, retired from their Indian conquests, as if the seething cauldron were too hot for even them to exist within its limits.

The more southern dynasty of the Western Chalukyas seem to have retained their power down to about 757, and may, up to that time, have exercised a partial sway to the north of the Narbadâ, but after that we lose all sight of them for more than two centuries till 973 when the dynasty was restored under Taila II.; while, as a closing act in the great drama, the 'Râjataranginî' boastfully represents the king of Kashmîr—Lalitâditya Muktâpîda (*cir.* 725-762)—as defeating Ya*s*ovarman of Kanauj, conquering India from north to south, and subjecting all the five kingdoms, into which it was nominally divided, to his imperious sway.

We need not stop now to enquire whether this was exactly

[1] 'Vie et Voyages de Hiouen Thsang,' trans. by Stanislas Julien, tom. i. p. 215; or Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 156.

[2] Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India,' vol. i. p. 444.

what happened or not. It is sufficient for present purposes to know that about the middle of the 8th century a dark cloud settled over the north of India, and that during the next two centuries she was torn to pieces by internal troubles, which have left nothing but negative evidence of their existence. During that period the Râshtrakûta kings in the Dekhan, having overthrown the Western Chalukyas, extended their dominions from the Vindhyas to the Tungabhadrâ and Krishnâ rivers, if not even farther south, waging war with the Cholas. But after fully two centuries of successful domination, they were overthrown in 973 by the later Châlukyas of Mahârâshtra. In the north were a number of smaller kingdoms as the Chandellas in Bundelkhand, the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Paramâras of Mâlwâ, the Pâlas of Bengal, etc.

When light again appears in the middle of the 10th century the scene is wonderfully changed. Buddhism had practically disappeared in the north and west at least, though it still lingered on in Bengal, and Jainism had supplanted it in most places; but the mass of the people had become followers of Vishnu or *S*iva. New dynasties had arisen which, though they try to trace their lineage back to the troublous times when Valabhî fell, were new to Indian history. Old India had passed away, and the history of modern India was about to open. The old dynasties had become extinct, and the Râjput races were gaily stepping forward to assume their places — too soon, alas! to be engaged in a life or death struggle with the most implacable foe to their race and religion that India has ever known. It was a cruel Nemesis that their victories over the Buddhists should soon have been followed by the fatal siege of Somnâth in 1025, and the fight on the banks of the Ghaghar in 1193, which practically laid India at the feet of the Moslim invader, and changed the whole course of her subsequent career. But, as hinted above, with the appearance of the Moslim on the scene, our chronological difficulties cease, and the subject need not therefore be further pursued in this introduction.

Immigrations.

From the above brief sketch of ancient Indian history it may be gathered that it is doubtful whether we shall ever be able to clothe with solid flesh the skeleton of history which is all we possess anterior to the advent of Buddha. It is also possible that pious frauds may have so confused the sequence of events between his death and the rise of the Mauryas, that

there will be great difficulty in restoring that period to anything like completeness. But for the thousand years that elapsed between "the revenge of Chanakya" and the fall of Valabhî the materials are ample, and when sufficient industry is applied to their elucidation there is little doubt that the whole may be made clear and intelligible. It does not fall within the scope of this work to attempt such a task; but it is necessary to endeavour to make its outlines clear, as, without this being done, what follows will be utterly unintelligible; while, at the same time, one of the principal objects of this work is to point out how the architecture, which is one important branch of the evidence and the best aid we can have to the teaching of history, may be brought to bear on the subject.

No direct evidence, however, derived only from events that occurred in India itself, would suffice to make the phenomena of her history clear, without taking into account the successive migrations of tribes and peoples who, in all ages, so far as we know, poured across the Indus from the westward to occupy her fertile plains.

As mentioned above, the great master fact that explains almost all we know of the ancient history of India is our knowledge that two thousand years or more before the birth of Christ a Sanskrit-speaking nation migrated from the valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes. They crossed the Indus in such numbers as to impress their civilisation and their language on the whole of the north of India, and this to such an extent as practically to obliterate, as far as history is concerned, the original inhabitants of the valley of the Ganges, whoever they may have been. At the time when this migration took place the power and civilisation of Central Asia were concentrated on the lower Euphrates, and the Babylonian empire never seems to have extended across the Karmanian desert to the eastward. The road, consequently, between Baktria and India was open, and nations might pass and re-pass between the two countries without fear of interruption from any other people.

If any of the ancient dynasties of Babylonia extended their power towards the East, it was along the coast of Gedrosia, and not in a north-easterly direction. It is, indeed, by no means improbable, as hinted above, that the origin of the Dravidians may be found among some of the Turanian peoples who occupied southern and eastern Persia in ancient times, and who may, either by sea or land, have passed to the western shores of India. Till, however, further information is available, this is mere speculation, though probably in the direction in which truth may hereafter be found.

When the seat of power was moved northward to Nineveh,

the Assyrians seem to have occupied the country eastward of the Caspian in sufficient force to prevent any further migration. At least, after—say B.C. 1000—we have no further trace of any Aryan tribe crossing the Indus going eastward, and it seems mainly to have been a consequence of this cutting off of the supply of fresh blood that the purity of their race in India was so far weakened as to admit of the Buddhist reform taking root, and being adopted to the extent it afterwards attained.

During the period of the Akhæmenian sway (B.C. 558-334) the Persians certainly occupied the countries about the Oxus in sufficient strength to prevent any movement of the peoples. So essentially indeed had Baktria and Sogdiana become parts of the Persian empire, that Alexander was obliged to turn aside from his direct route to conquer them, as well as the rest of the kingdom of Darius, before advancing on India.

Whether it were founded for that purpose or not, the little Greek kingdom of Baktria was sufficiently powerful, while it lasted, to keep the barbarians in check; but when, about or after B.C. 160, the Yue-chi and other cognate tribes invaded Sogdiana—driving out the *S*akas, who next invaded Baktria, and finally, about half a century later, the Yue-chi conquered the whole of Baktria,[1] they opened a new chapter in the history of India, the effects of which are felt to the present day.

It is not yet quite clear how soon after the destruction of the Baktrian kingdom these Turanian tribes conquered Kâbul, and occupied the country between that city and the Indus. Certain it is, however, that they were firmly seated on the banks of that river before the Christian Era, and under the great king Kanishka of the Kushana tribe had become an Indian power of very considerable importance. The date of this king is, unfortunately, one of those puzzles that still remain to be finally solved. It has been held that he was the founder of the *S*aka Era, A.D. 78, and that his reign must be placed in the last quarter of the 1st century of our era.[2] But this era is only employed generally in the south and east; and it now seems almost certain that Kanishka's reign began in B.C. 58—the epoch of what was once known as the 'Mâlava era,' and later as the 'Vikrama Samvat,' the reckoning in common use in northern India.[3]

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[1] See Vivien de St Martin's 'Les Huns blancs,' Paris, 1849; Franke, 'Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und skythen Centralasien' in 'Abhandlungen der könig... preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften,' 1904—summarised in 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxxv. (1906), pp. 33-47; 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1907, p. 676.

[2] Fergusson, in 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' N.S. xii. pp. 259-285; Oldenberg in 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. x. pp. 213-227.

[3] Fleet in 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1906, pp. 979-992.

It also appears certain that the power of these Kushan kings spread over the whole of the Panjâb, and extended as far at least as Mathurâ on the Jumnâ, before the commencement of the Christian Era. Apparently the last of them was Vâsudeva, who ruled at least till A.D. 42. Soon after him we meet with the name of a king Guduphara or Gondophernês, which appears also in the legend of the Apostle Thomas: an inscription of the 26th year of his reign is dated in the 103rd of the era, or A.D. 47[1]—when his rule must have extended into the north of the Panjâb. Next there followed two (if not three) kings named Kadphises, who may have ruled till the end of the century, after which northern India was divided into separate kingdoms and tribal governments till the rise of the Guptas in the 4th century.

Before the end of the first century another horde, known to us only from coins and inscriptions in which they call themselves Kshaharâtas or Kshatrapas, occupied the whole of the province of Gujarât; one of the first of them—Nahapâna, for whom we have dates about A.D. 119 and in 124—extended his power over part of Mâlwâ and the Nâsik district. He was overthrown by the Andhra king, Gautamîputra *S*âtakarni, and deprived of the districts south of the Narbadâ. Soon after, we find another Kshatrapa, named Chashtana, ruling in Mâlwâ, and his successors founded a kingdom of their own. They date their coins and inscriptions from the *S*aka Era, A.D. 78, and the series extends from about 140 to 388 A.D. It thus happens that this dynasty of Kshatrapas were only finally disposed of by the rise of the Guptas.

The whole external history of northern India, from the time of Kanishka to that of Ahmad Shâh Durâni (1761) is a narrative of a continuous succession of tribes of Skythian origin, pouring across the Upper Indus into India, each more Turanian than the one that preceded it, till the whole culminated in the Mughal conquest of India, in the 15th century, by a people as distinct in blood from the Aryans as any that exist.

Of the older races, it seems probable that the Yavanas must be distinguished from the Turanians. They were not Greeks, though their name may be merely a mispronunciation of Ionian. The term seems to have been applied by Indian authors to any foreign race coming from the westward who did not belong to one of the acknowledged kingdoms known to them. The Kambojas seem to have been a people inhabiting the country between Kandahar and Kâbul, who, when the tide was setting

[1] Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India.' English ed. p. 84.

eastward, joined the crowd, and sought settlements in the more fertile countries within the Indus.

The *S*akas were well known to classical authors as the Sacae, or Skythians. They were pressed on at first by the Yue-chi, and became apparently most formidable during the earlier centuries of the Christian Era.

Another important horde were the Ephthalites or White Huns, who came into India apparently in the 5th century, and one of whose kings, named Gollas, if we may trust Cosmas Indicopleustes, was the head of a powerful state in northern India, about the year 530.[1] They, too, seem to have been conquered about the same time by the Hindûs, and, as the *S*akas, if not the Hûnas,[2] were Buddhists, it may have been their destruction that first weakened the cause of that religion, and which led to its ultimate defeat a little more than a century afterwards.

During the dark age, 750 to 950, we do not know of any horde passing the Indus. The Muhammadans were probably too strong on the frontier to admit of its being done, and after that age they—and they only—conducted the various invasions which completely changed the face and character of northern India. For seven centuries they were continued, with only occasional interruptions, and at last resulted in placing the Muhammadan power supreme, practically, over the whole of India, but only to fall to pieces like a house of cards, before the touch of Western civilisation. All this, however, is written, and written so distinctly, in so many books, that it need not be recapitulated here.

Southern India.

If the records of the ancient history of northern India are unsatisfactory and untrustworthy, those of the southern part of the peninsula are much more so. The Dravidians have no ancient literature like that of the Vedas. They have no traditions which point to any seat of their race out of India, or of their having migrated from any country with whose inhabitants they can claim any kindred. So far as they know, they are indigenous and aboriginal. The utmost extent to which even their traditions extend is to claim for their leading race of kings —the Pândyas—a descent from Arjuna, one of the heroes of

[1] 'Christian Topography of Cosmas,' translated by Dr. J. W. M'Crindle (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. 370-371. This Gollas seems probably the same as Mihirakula or Mihiragula.

[2] We can hardly hope to discriminate among these foreign invaders between Hûnas, Turushkas, *S*akas, Shâhis, Daivaputras, etc., and may regard them together as Indo-Skythians.

the Mahâbhârata. He, it is said, when on his travels, married a princess of the land, and she gave birth to the eponymous hero of their race, and hence their name. But in later times all the dynastic families got genealogies framed to trace their descent from gods and early heroes. It is true, indeed, that they produce long lists of kings, which they pretend stretch back till the times of the Pândavas. These were examined by the late Professor Wilson in 1836, and he conjectured that they might extend back to the 5th or 6th century before our era.[1] But all that has since come to light has tended to show that even this may be an over-estimate of their antiquity. If, however, "the Choda, Pada, and Keralaputra" of the second edict of Asoka represent the Cholas, Pândyas, Cheras, of more modern times, this triarchy existed in the 3rd century B.C. In fact, all we really do know is that, in classical times, there was a "Regio Pandionis" in the country afterwards known as the Pândyan, kingdom of Madhurâ, and it has been conjectured that the king who sent an embassy to Augustus in B.C. 27[2] was not a Porus, which would indicate a northern race, but this very king of the south. Be this, however, as it may, we do know, by the frequent mention of this country by classical authors, that it was at least sufficiently civilised in the early centuries of our era to carry on a considerable amount of commerce with the western nations, and there is consequently no improbability that one or more powerful dynasties may then have been established in the south. If one, that dynasty was certainly the Pândyan. The Chola and the Chera became important states only at a later date—preceded by the Pallavas.

The discovery in 1892, by Mr. L. Rice, of a copy of the Asoka inscriptions so far south as Mysore, indicates that even in the 3rd century B.C., the Kanarese country was in communication with, and subject to, the Maurya empire;[3] and the civilisation of the north must even then have penetrated into the south.

When we turn to their literature we find little to encourage any hope that we may penetrate further back into their history than we have hitherto been able to do. Dr Caldwell ascribes the oldest work in the Tamil, or any southern language, to the 8th or 9th century of our era,[4] and it undoubtedly belongs to the Jains, who are originally a

[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iii. p. 202.

[2] For an exhaustive description of this subject see Priaulx, 'The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, and the Indian Embassies to Rome' (London, 1873), pp. 65-87. We are now in a position to prove a connection between the north of India and Rome at that time. With the south it seems to have been only trade, but of this hereafter.

[3] 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. xi. pp. 1f.

[4] 'Dravidian Grammar,' 2nd ed. London, 1875, pp. 129 *et seqq.*

northern sect. According to the same authority, it was superseded by a Vaishnava literature about the 12th or 13th century, and that again made way for one of *S*aiva tendency about the latter date. There is no trace left of any Buddhist literature in the south, and but little, consequently, that would enable us to connect the history of the south with the chronology of Ceylon or northern India, nor am I aware of the existence of ancient Buddhist monuments south of the Krishnâ river which would help us in this difficulty.[1]

Not having passed through Baktria, or having lived in contact with any people making or using coins, the Dravidians had none of their own, and consequently that source of information is not available. Whatever hoards of ancient coins have been found in the Madras Presidency have been of purely Roman origin, brought there for the purpose of trade, and buried to protect them from spoliation.

The inscriptions, which are literally innumerable all over the Presidency, are the one source from which we can hope that new light may be thrown on the history of the country, but, with the exception of the edicts of A*s*oka found in Mysore, none of these inscriptions hitherto brought to light go further back than the 5th or 6th century, and it is not clear that earlier ones may be found.[2] It is, at all events, the most hopeful field that lies open to future explorers in these dark domains; and, by the labours of epigraphists within the last thirty years, most important light has been derived from them for the mediæval history of southern India. Those on the raths of Mâmallapuram and the caves at Bâdâmi, are in Sanskrit, and consequently look more like an evidence of the northern races pushing southward than of the southern races extending their influence northward.

From a study of the architecture of the south we arrive at the same conclusions as to the antiquity of Dravidian civilisation that Dr Caldwell arrived at from a study of their literature. The most important Buddhist monument yet discovered in the

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[1] The Buddhist tower at Negapattam, destroyed in 1867, will be noticed in Book I. chap. vi. p. 206.

[2] The Government of Mysore, with laudable beneficence, employed Mr. L. Rice with a staff of pandits for many years, collecting and publishing the inscriptions found in the state. The results fill twelve volumes, forming the 'Epigraphia Carnatica' (1886-1905), and when properly studied and analysed, these must yield valuable results. For Madras, Dr. E. Hultzsch was engaged in 1886 to collect the Tamil, Kanarese, and Telugu inscriptions of the Presidency, and the results of his work were published in six fasciculi of 'South Indian Inscriptions' (3 vols. 1890-1903), and, partly — with numerous Sanskrit records from the other presidencies,—in the 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. iii. *et seqq.* Previous to 1894, many Sanskrit and Canarese inscriptions were published in the 'Indian Antiquary' (vols. i.-xxiii.), and in the 'Epigraphia Indica,' vols. i. and ii.

Presidency is that at Amarâvatî, on the Krishnâ ; and from that vicinity northwards to Orissa there are remains showing that there must have been flourishing communities there both of Buddhists and Jains in early times. Whether the prevalence of such structures in this region was due to a colony or settlement formed by the northern Buddhists, at or near their port of departure for Java and their eastern settlements, may be doubted. The Andhras who ruled over the districts, were either Buddhists or very liberal patrons of the sect. At Guntupalle in the Godâvarî district have been found a group of rock-cut caves, a structural chaitya, and a stûpa, whilst at Chezarla, in the Nellor district, another chaitya has been discovered almost entire, though now used as a Hindû shrine.[1] And remains of stûpas have been excavated in the Kistna district—at Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Gudivâda, Guntupalle and Ghantasâlâ ;[2] unfortunately they have been utterly destroyed — some within living memory.[3]

The rock-cut temples at Bâdâmi and Mâmallapuram are the works of Hindûs in the 6th and 7th centuries, and the structural temples of Kailâsanâth and Vaikunthaperumâl at Conjivaram are of nearly the same age, and, with some others, they help materially to illustrate the history of the style till the 8th century. From that time forward their building activity was enormous. The style culminated in the 16th and 17th centuries, to perish in the 18th.

When the history of the south does acquire something like consistency it takes the form of a triarchy of small states. The eldest and most important, that of Madurâ — so called after Mathurâ (or Muttra) on the Jamnâ—was also the most civilised, and continued longest as a united and independent kingdom.

The Cholas rose into power on the banks of the Kâverî, and to the northward of it, about the year 1000, though no doubt they existed as a small state about Conjivaram for some centuries before that time. The third, the Chera, were located on the west coast, extending from the Tulu country southwards, and including Malabar and most of Travankor. Tradition assigns to them a dynasty of kings called Perumâls which ended in the 9th century. Chola and Chalukya inscriptions speak of their being frequently defeated, but we have no inscriptions of any

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[1] See below Book I. chap. v. p. 166. These very interesting structures were surveyed several years ago, but the results have not yet been fully published. The caves are Buddhist of an early type.

[2] 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities,' by A. Rea, 1894 ; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 323-329.

[3] The Gudivâda and Bhattiprolu stûpas, were demolished by the Public Works officers about thirty-six years ago, for bricks to use in road-making, and the marbles of the latter were built into the walls and floor of the Vellatûr sluice, or burnt for lime.—'Madras Government Orders,' No. 1620, of 1st Nov. 1878.

Chera sovereign and, as yet, know very little for certain of their history. With the other southern states, they were, however, superseded, first by the Cholas, about A.D. 1000, and finally eclipsed by the Hoysala Ballâlas, a century or so afterwards. These last became the paramount power in the south, till their capital—Halebîd—was taken, and their dynasty destroyed by the Muhammadans, in the year 1310.

With the appearance of the Muhammadans on the scene the difficulties of Indian chronology disappear in the south, as well as in the north. From that time forward the history of India is found in such works as those written by Firishta or Abul Fazl, and has been abstracted and condensed in numerous books in almost every European language. There are still, it must be confessed, slight discrepancies and difficulties about the sequence of some events in the history of the native principalities.[1] These, however, are not of such importance as at all to affect, much less to invalidate, any reasoning that may be put forward regarding the history or affinities of any buildings, and this is the class of evidence which principally concerns what is written in the following pages.

Sculpture.

In order to render the subject treated of in the following pages quite complete, it ought, no doubt, to be preceded by an introduction describing first the sculpture and then the mythology of the Hindûs in so far as they are at present known to us. There are in fact few works connected with this subject more wanted at the present day than a good treatise on these subjects. When Major Moor published the 'Hindû Pantheon' in 1810, the subject was comparatively new, and the materials did not exist in this country for a full and satisfactory illustration of it in all its branches. When, in 1832, Coleman published his 'Mythology of the Hindûs,' he was enabled from the more recent researches of Colebrooke and Wilson, to improve the text considerably, but his illustrations are very inferior to those of his predecessor. Moor chose his from such bronzes or marbles as existed in our museums, and from an important private collection he formed principally in western India.[2] Coleman's were generally taken from modern drawings, or the tawdry plaster images made for the Durgâ pujâ of Bengali Bâbûs.[3] By the aid of photography

[1] Much information on the history of these states will be found in Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India,' and in other recent works.

[2] His collection, brought from Bombay a century ago, is still preserved by his descendants in Suffolk.

[3] Similarly the small work—'Hindû Mythology, Vedic and Puranic,' by W. J. Wilkins (Calcutta, 1893), is illustrated solely from modern bazar pictures.

any one now attempting the task would be able to select perfectly authentic examples from Hindû temples of the best age. If this were done judiciously, and the examples carefully reproduced, it would not only afford a more satisfactory illustration of the mythology of the Hindûs than has yet been given to the public, but it might also be made a history of the art of sculpture in India, in all the ages in which it is known to us.

From its very nature, it is evident that sculpture can hardly ever be so important as architecture as an illustration of the progress of the arts, or the affinities of nations. Tied down to the reproduction of the immutable human figure, sculpture hardly admits of the same variety, or the same development, as such an art as architecture, whose business it is to administer to all the varied wants of mankind, and to express the multifarious aspirations of the human mind. Yet sculpture has a history, and one that can at times convey its meaning with considerable distinctness. No one, for instance, can take up such a book as that of Cicognara,[1] and follow the gradual development of the art as he describes it, from the first rude carvings of the Byzantine school, till it returned in the present day to the mechanical perfection of the old Greek art, though without its ennobling spirit, and not feel that he has before him a fairly distinct illustration of the progress of the human mind during that period. Sculpture in India may fairly claim to rank, in power of expression, with mediæval sculpture in Europe, and to tell its tale of rise and decay with equal distinctness; but it is also interesting as having that curious Indian peculiarity of being written in decay. The story that Cicognara tells is one of steady forward progress towards higher aims and better execution. The Indian story is that of backward decline, from the sculptures of the Bharaut and Amarâvatî topes, to the illustrations of Coleman's or Wilkins's 'Hindû Mythology.'

When Hindû sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails at Bodh-Gayâ, and Bharaut B.C. 200 to 250, it is thoroughly original, almost without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed—at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculpture known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and, where grouped together, combine to express the action intended with singular felicity.

[1] 'Storia della Scultura, dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al seculo di Napoleone.' Venezia, 1813.

For an honest purpose-like pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found elsewhere.

The art had apparently begun to decline when the gateways at Sânchi were executed somewhat later; but whether this was not mainly due to the more refractory character of the stone, and a different school of workmen, it is hard to say. They may then have gained a little in breadth of treatment, but it had lost in delicacy and precision. Its downward progress was, however, arrested, apparently by the rise, in the extreme north-west of India, of a school of sculpture strongly impregnated with the traditions of classical art. The Græco-Baktrians, driven out by the Yue-chi, continued to hold some sort of domination in Afghanistan till not very long before our era, and a vast interchange of ideas was, at that period, carried on between the east and west by means of newly-opened highways. Thus Greek models and art became familiar, and when once a demand arose for such workmanship, a school of art would appear. For the present it is sufficient to know that a quasi-classical school of sculpture did exist in the Panjâb, and to the west of the Indus during the first four centuries after Christ, and it can hardly have flourished there so long, without its presence being felt in India.[1]

Its effects were certainly apparent at Amarâvatî in the 1st and 2nd centuries, where a school of sculpture was developed, partaking of the characteristics of both those of Central India and of the west. Though it may, in some respects, be inferior to either of the parent styles, the degree of perfection reached by the art of sculpture at Amarâvatî may probably be considered as the culminating point attained by that art in India.

When we meet it again in the early Hindû temples, and later Buddhist caves, it has lost much of its higher æsthetic and phonetic qualities, and frequently resorts to such expedients as giving dignity to the principal personages by making them double the size of less important characters, and of distinguishing gods from men by giving them more heads and arms than mortal man can use or understand.

All this is developed, it must be confessed, with considerable vigour and richness of effect in the temples of Orissa and of Mysore, down to the 13th or 14th century. After that, in the north it was checked by the presence of the Moslims; but, in the south, some of the most remarkable groups and statues—and they are very remarkable—were executed after this time,

[1] For some account of Buddhist art in Gandhâra and of early Indian sculpture, see Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' Eng. translation (Quaritch, 1901). A work on 'Indian Sculpture and Painting,' by Mr E. B. Havell, has recently been published by Mr Murray.

and continued to be executed, in considerable perfection, down to the middle of the 18th century.

As we shall see in the sequel, the art of architecture continues to be practised with considerable success in parts of India remote from European influence; so much so, that it requires a practised eye to discriminate between what is new and what is old. But the moment any figures are introduced, especially if in action, the illusion vanishes. No mistake is then possible, for the veriest novice can see how painfully low the art of sculpture has fallen. Were it not for this, some of the modern temples in Gujarât and Central India are worthy to rank with those of past centuries; but their paintings and their sculptured decorations excite only feelings of dismay, and lead one to despair of true art being ever again revived in the East.

To those who are familiar with the principles on which these arts are practised, the cause of this difference is obvious enough. Architecture being a technic art, its forms may be handed down traditionally, and its principles practised almost mechanically. The higher phonetic arts, however, of sculpture and painting admit of no such mechanical treatment. They require individual excellence, and a higher class of intellectual power of expression, to ensure their successful development. Architecture may, consequently, linger on amidst much political decay; but, like literature, the phonetic arts can only be successfully cultivated where a higher moral and intellectual standard prevails than, it is feared, is at present to be found in India.

Mythology.

Whenever any one will seriously undertake to write the history of sculpture in India, he will find the materials abundant and the sequence by no means difficult to follow; but, with regard to mythology, the case is different. It cannot, however, be said that the materials are not abundant for this branch of the enquiry also; but they are of a much less tangible or satisfactory nature, and have become so entangled, that it is extremely difficult to obtain any clear ideas regarding them; and it is to be feared they must remain so, until those who investigate the subject will condescend to study the architecture and the sculpture of the country as well as its books. The latter contain a good deal, but they do not contain all the information available on the subject, and they require to be steadied and confirmed by what is built or carved, which alone can give precision and substance to what is written.

It is remarkable that, with all the present day activity in every branch of Sanskrit research, so very little has been done for the illustration of mythology, which is so intimately

connected with the whole literature. It would be a legitimate part of the duty of the Archæological Surveys to collect materials on a systematic plan for this object; and the production of illustrations has now become so easy and inexpensive that photographs from original materials of a satisfactory class might readily be published to supply this most pressing desideratum. The details of the emblems and symbols of the numerous divinities of the pantheon could also be collected, along with the delineations, by those familiar with such symbols. All this could easily be accomplished, and it is consequently hoped it may before long be attempted.[1]

Much of the confusion of ideas that prevails on this subject no doubt arises from the exaggerated importance it has been the fashion to ascribe to the Vedas, as explaining everything connected with the mythology of the Hindûs. It would, indeed, be impossible to over-estimate the value of these writings from a philological or ethnological point of view. Their discovery and elaboration have revolutionised our ideas as to the migrations of races in the remote ages of antiquity, and established the affiliation of the Aryan races on a basis that seems absolutely unassailable; but it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the Aryans are a race of strangers in India, distinct from the Indian peoples themselves. They may, as hinted above, have come into India some three thousand years before Christ, and may have retained their purity of blood and faith for many generations; but with the beginning of the political Kaliyug —or, to speak more correctly, at the time of the events detailed in the Mahâbhârata, say 1200 years B.C.—they had lost much of both; while every successive wave of immigration that has crossed the Indus during the last three thousand years has impaired the purity of their race. From this cause, and from their admixture with the aborigines, it may probably be with confidence asserted that there is not now five per cent.—perhaps not one — of pure Aryan blood in the present population of India, nor, consequently, does the religion of the Vedas constitute one-twentieth part of the present religion of the people.[2]

With the Vedas, however, we have very little to do in the present work. The worship they foreshadow is of a class too purely intellectual to require the assistance of the stonemason and the carver to give it expression. The worship of the

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[1] Numerous excellent illustrations exist among the materials already accumulated by the Archæological Surveys in Southern and Western India and in the Calcutta Museum — but, at present, there seems little prospect of their publication.

[2] For the mythology of the Vedas, see Professor A. A. Macdonell's 'Vedic Mythology' in the 'Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde,' in Bd. iii. A useful general handbook is Dowson's 'Dictionary of Hindu Mythology.'

Aryans was addressed to the sun and moon; the firmament and all its hosts; the rain-bearing cloud; the sun-ushering dawn. All that was beautiful in the heavens above or beneficent on earth, was sung by them in hymns of elevated praise, and addressed in terms of awe or endearment as fear or hope prevailed in the bosom of the worshipper.[1] Had this gone on for some time longer than it did, the objects worshipped by the Aryans in India might have become imaged as gods, like those of Greece and Rome, endowed with all the feelings and all the failings of humanity. In India it was otherwise; the deities were dethroned, but were not degraded. There is no trace in Vedic times, so far as at present known, of Indra or Varuna, of Agni or Ushas, being represented in wood or stone, or of their requiring houses or temples to shelter them. It is true indeed that the terms of endearment in which they are addressed are frequently such as mortals use in speaking of each other; but how otherwise can man express his feeling of love or fear, or address his supplication to the being whose assistance he implores?

The great beauty of the Veda is, that it stops short before the powers of nature are dwarfed into human forms, and when every man stood independently by himself, and sought through the intervention of all that was great or glorious on the earth, or in the skies, to approach the great spirit that is beyond and above all created things.

Had the Aryans been a numerical majority in India, and able to preserve their blood and caste in tolerable purity, the religion of India could hardly ever have sunk so low as it did, though it might have fallen below the standard of the Veda. What really destroyed it was, that each succeeding immigration of less pure Aryan or of Turanian races rendered their numerical majority relatively less and less, while their inevitable influence so educated the subject races as to render their moral majority even less important. These processes went on steadily and uninterruptedly till, in the time of Buddha, the native religions rose fairly to an equality with that of the Aryans, and afterwards for a while eclipsed it. The Vedas were only ultimately saved from absolute annihilation in India, by being connected with the Vaishnava and *S*aiva superstitions, where their inanimate forms may still be recognised, but painfully degraded from their primitive elevation.

When we turn from the Vedas, and try to investigate the origin of those religions that finally absorbed the Vedas in

[1] The ritual of the Veda is chiefly, if not wholly, addressed to the elements, particularly to fire.—H. H. Wilson, 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii. p. 194; ibid., p. 614. Conf. Bergaigne, 'La Religion Védique'; Oldenburg, 'Die Religion des Veda,'

their abominations, we find our means of information painfully scanty and unsatisfactory. As will appear in the sequel, all that was written in India that is worth reading was written by the Aryans; what was built was built by Turanians and Dravidians. But the known buildings extend back only to the 3rd century B.C., while the books may be ten centuries earlier, and, as might be expected, it is only accidentally and in the most contemptuous terms that the proud Aryans even allude to the abject Dasyus or their religion. What, therefore, we practically know of them is little more than inferences drawn from results, and from what we now see passing in India.

Notwithstanding the admitted imperfection of materials, it seems to be becoming more and more evident, that we have in the north of India one great group of native religions, which we know in their latest developments as the Buddhist, Jaina, and Vaishnava religions. The first named we only know as it was taught by *S*âkyamuni before his death about 480 B.C., but no one I presume supposes that he was the first to invent that form of belief, or that it was not based on some preceding forms. The Buddhists themselves, according to the shortest calculation, admit of four preceding Buddhas —according to the more formal accounts, of twenty-four. A place is assigned to each of these, where he was born, and where he died, the father and mother's name is recorded, and the name, too, of the Bodhi-tree under whose shade he attained Buddhahood. The dates assigned to each of these are childishly fabulous, but they may have been real personages, whose dates extended back to a very remote antiquity.[1]

The Jains, in like manner, claim the existence of twenty-four Tîrthankars, including Mahâvîra the last. Their places of birth and death, ages and numbers of converts, are equally recorded, all are in northern India, though little else is told of them; but, from their fabulous ages, stature, and the immeasurable periods of the past when they are said to have lived—they can only be looked on as purely fabulous. The series ends with Mahâvîra, who was the contemporary of *S*âkyamuni, and is said to have died before him at Pâwâ in Bihâr.

The Vaishnava series is shorter, consisting of only ten Avatârs; but it, too, closes at the same time, Buddha himself being the ninth, whilst the last is yet to come. Its fifth

[1] A list of the twenty-four Buddhas, with these particulars, is given in the introduction to Turnour's 'Mahâwansa,' introd. p. 32. See also Spence Hardy's 'Manual of Budhism,' 2nd. ed. pp. 96ff. Representations of six or seven of their Bodhi-trees, with the names attached, have been found at Bharaut and Ajantâ, showing at least that more than four were recognised.

Avatâr takes us back to Râma, who, if our chronology is correct, may have lived B.C. 2000; the fourth—Narasimha, or the man lion—may possibly point to the time the Aryans entered India. The three first deal with creation and events anterior to man's appearance on earth. In this respect the Vaishnava list differs from the other two. They only record the existence of men who attained greatness by the practice of virtue, and immortality by teaching the ways of emancipation from rebirths. The Vaishnavas brought their god to earth, to mix and interfere in mundane affairs in a manner that neither the earlier Aryan nor the Buddhist dreamt of, and so degraded the earlier religion of India into the monstrous system of idolatry that now prevails in that country.

No attempt, so far as I know, has been made to explain the origin of the *S*aiva religion; it was, however, most probably an aboriginal superstition assimilated by the Brâhmans. The earliest authentic written allusion to it seems to be that of the Indian ambassador to Bardisanes (*cir.* A.D. 220), who described a cave in the north of India which contained an image of a god, half-man, half-woman.[1] This is beyond doubt the Ardhanârî*s*a form of *S*iva, so familiar afterwards at Elephanta and in every part of India. The earliest engraved representations of this god seem to be those on the coins of Kadphises II. (about 80 to 90 A.D.), where the figure with the trident and the Bull certainly prefigure the principal personage in this religion.[2] Besides all this, it seems now tolerably well ascertained, that the practice of endowing gods with a multiplicity of limbs took a much greater development in Tibet and the trans-Himâlayan countries than in India, and that the wildest Tantric forms of Durgâ and other divinities or demons are more common and more developed in Nepal and Tibet than they are even in India Proper.[3] If this is so, it seems pretty clear, as the evidence now stands, that *S*aivism is an aboriginal or northern superstition—possibly introduced into India by some of the northern hordes who migrated into India long before the Christian Era.

It is also only too true that no attempt has yet been made to ascertain what the religion of the Dravidians was before they adopted either the Jaina or the Vaishnava or *S*aiva forms of religion. It is possible that among the *Pându Kallus*, and other forms of 'Rude Stone Monuments' that are found every-

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[1] Stobæus, 'Physica,' Gaisford's ed. p. 54; see also Priaulx, 'India and Rome,' p. 153; Burgess, 'Rock-Temples of Elephanta,' 8vo ed. p. 67.

[2] Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua,' plates 10, 11; P. Gardner's 'Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,' pp. 124-128, plate 25, and introd. p. 50.

[3] Compare Grünwedel's 'Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei.' Buddhist figures have been subjected to the same treatment as the Hindû gods: to make them demoniac.

where in the south, we may find the fossil remains of the old Dravidian religion before they adopted that of the Hindûs. These monuments, however, have not been examined with anything like the care requisite for the solution of a complex problem like this, and till it is done we must rest content with our ignorance.[1]

In the north we have been somewhat more fortunate, and enough is now known to make it clear that, so soon as enquirers apply themselves earnestly to the task, we may know enough to make the general outline at least tolerably clear. When I first published my work on 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' in 1869, no one suspected, at least no one had hinted in type, that such a form of religion existed in Bengal. Since that time, however, so much has been written on the subject, and proofs have accumulated with such rapidity, that few will now be bold enough to deny that Trees were worshipped in India in the earliest times, and that a Nâga people did exist, especially in the north-west, who had a strange veneration for snakes. In the Buddhist legends, Buddha is constantly represented as converting Nâgas, and whilst a superhuman character is ascribed to them, they doubtless represent people of Turanian descent.[2] Further, snake worship is prevalent still, especially among the lower castes, and, though to a less extent, yet somehow connected with it, is the veneration of trees.[3] It is also quite certain that underlying Buddhism we everywhere find evidence of a stratum of Tree and Serpent Worship. Sometimes it may be repressed and obscured, but at others it crops up again, and, to a certain extent, the worship of the Tree and the Serpent, at some times and in certain places, almost supersedes that of the founder of the religion himself.

The five, or seven, or thousand-headed Nâga is everywhere

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[1] A book was published in 1873 by the late Mr. Breeks, of the Madras Civil Service, on the Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris, which gives a fuller account of these "rude stone monuments" than any other yet given to the public. It can hardly, however, be accepted as a solution of the problem, which requires a wider survey than he was able to make. See also Fergusson's 'Rude Stone Monuments' (1872), pp. 455-499.

[2] The Nâgbansis of Chutia Nâgpur, who appear to have come from about Gorakhpur in northern Bihâr, are evidently of an early Nâga or snake-worshipping race.

[3] In Malabar, "a clump of wild jungle trees luxuriantly festooned with graceful creepers is usually found in the south-west corner of the gardens of all respectable Malayâli Hindûs. The spot is left free to nature to deal with as she likes; every tree and bush, every branch and twig is sacred. This is the '*vishâttum kâvu*' (poison shrine) or '*nâga kotta*' (snake shrine). Usually there is a granite stone (*chittra kuta kallu*) carved after the fashion of a cobra's hood set up and consecrated in this waste spot."—Logan's 'Malabar,' vol. i. p. 183. For some account of Trees worshipped in Western India, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix. pt. i. pp. 382-388.

present in the temples of the Jains, and pervades the whole religion of the Vaishnavas.[1] In the great act of creation the Nâga performs the principal part in the churning of the ocean, and in almost every representation of Vishnu he appears either as supporting and watching over him, or as performing some subsidiary part in the scene. It is, in fact, the Nâga that binds together and gives unity to this great group of religions, and it is the presence of the Tree and Serpent worship underlying Buddhism, Jainism, and Vaishnavism that seems to prove almost incontestably that there existed a people in the north of India, whether we call them Dasyus, Kolarians, or by any other name, who were Tree and Serpent worshippers, before they adopted any of the later Hindû forms of faith. Nothing can be more antagonistic to the thoughts and feelings of a pure Aryan race than such forms of worship, and nothing more completely ante-Vedic than its rites.[2] We seem, then, almost forced to assume that it was an aboriginal superstition in the north of India, and it was the conversion of the people to whom it belonged that gave rise to that triarchy of religions that have competed with each other in the north during the last two thousand years.

This solution of the difficulty has the further advantage that it steps in at once clearly to explain what philology is only dimly guessing at, though its whole tendency, as well as that of ethnology, now seems in the same direction. If this view of the mythology be correct, it seems certain that there existed in the north of India, before the arrival of the Aryans, a people whose affinities were all with the Tibetans, Burmese, Siamese, and other trans-Himâlayan populations, and who were not Dravidians, though they may have been intimately connected with one division at least of the inhabitants of Ceylon.

Both the pre-Aryan races of India belonged to the

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[1] Snake worship may have been introduced into the south from the north; and it has been remarked that snake images are very frequent about Jaina temples in Mysore and Kanara. At Negapatam is a temple dedicated to Nâganâth, and at Subrahmanya in South Kanara, at Nâgarkoil, at Manârchâl in Travankor, and elsewhere, are also snake temples much resorted to. No Brâhman ever officiates in a Nâga temple. See also Thurston, 'Ethnographic Notes in Southern India,' 1906, pp. 283-293.

[2] Though *S*iva is always represented with a black snake as one of his symbols there does not seem to be any very close connection between Snake worship and *S*aivism, though there are some coincidences that may point that way; in Kanara, Nâga images are set up facing the east, under the shade of two pîpal trees — a male and female growing together and married with proper rites. Beside them grow a margosa and bilva tree as witnesses; now these latter trees are more or less consecrated to *S*iva. On the other hand no trace of Tree-worship seems to be mingled with the various forms of adoration paid to this divinity. The *tulasi* or basil is sacred to Vishnu.

Turanian group; but, as hinted above, the Dravidians belonged to a different and more westerly branch of that great family of mankind.

These, however, are speculations which hardly admit of proof in the present state of our knowledge, and would consequently be quite out of place here, were it not that some such theory seems indispensable to explain the phenomena of the architectural history of India. That of the north is so essentially different from that of the south that they cannot possibly belong to the same people. Neither of them are Aryan; and unless we admit that the two divisions of the country were occupied by people essentially different in blood, though still belonging to the building races of mankind, we cannot possibly understand how they always practised, and to the present employ, styles so essentially different. Until these various ethnographical and mythological problems are understood and appreciated, the styles of architecture in India seem a chaos without purpose or meaning. Once, however, they are grasped and applied, their history assumes a dignity and importance far greater than is due to any merely æsthetic merits they may possess. Even that, however, is in many respects remarkable, and, when combined with the scientific value of the styles, seems to render them as worthy of study as those of any other people with whose arts we are acquainted.

STATISTICS.

It would add very much to the clearness of what follows if it were possible to compile any statistical tables which would represent with anything like precision the mode in which the people of India are distributed, either as regards their religious beliefs or their ethnographical relations. The late census of 1901 has afforded a mass of material for this purpose, but the information is distributed through some thirty folio volumes, in such a manner as to make it difficult to abstract what is wanted so as to render it intelligible to the general reader. Even, however, if this were done, the result would hardly, for several reasons, be satisfactory. The uneducated masses have hazy ideas even with regard to their religion, and can hardly be expected to know to which of the larger sections of Hindûism their particular sect belongs. Hence, in the tables we are given the enumeration of the members of numerous Hindû sects, but not classified under *S*aiva, Vaishnava, etc., though these larger groups are the most interesting for us.

The census results for all India may be briefly stated as follows:

British Provinces in India .	221,409,000	. . 75¼ per cent.
Burma	10,490,000	. . 3½ „
Native States . . .	62,462,000	. . 21¼ „
TOTAL . .	294,361,000	

Notwithstanding difficulties or defects, it may be useful to state here that the population of the whole of India, inclusive of Burma—when arranged by religions—was found to stand as follows:

Hindûs of all sects . .	207,147,000, or 7-10ths
Musalmâns . . .	62,458,000, or fully 1-5th
Buddhists—mostly in Burma	9,477,000, scarcely 1-30th
Primitive or Animistic .	8,584,000, about 1-34th
Christians	2,923,200, about 1-99th
Sikhs	2,195,300, about 1-134th
Jains	1,334,200, about 1-220th
Parsis, Jews, and others .	242,300, about 1-1200th

The tables of this census also afford us some information with regard to the distribution of races among the people, though it could not be expected that the ethnological survey should yet be able to organise a satisfactory census of the races, though the distribution of languages helps us somewhat. Here, however, it is to be borne in mind that, especially in northern India, many aboriginal or non-Aryan tribes have changed their language for one of the Sanskritic family spoken by their neighbours. Hence we must regard the Indo-Aryan group of languages as including a vast number of people of Turanian and mixed descent. The tables show that upwards of 221,000,000 speak Indo-Aryan tongues—including Baloch, Pashtu, Marâthi, Bengâli, etc.—that is about three-fourths of the entire population, whilst close on 60,000,000 or a fifth are Dravidians and Kolarians, Gonds, Brahuis, etc., which the census has grouped together as a Dravida-Munda group. Lastly, the Indo-Chinese and Malayan, including Tibetan, Burmese, etc., number 11,720,000, or about four per cent. of the whole.

The first linguistic group includes, of course, the Muhammadans; but we know that many of the Moslims of India were recruited from slaves purchased and brought up in the creed of their masters. In Bengal especially, where they are most numerous, they are Bengalis pure and simple, many perhaps most, of whom have adopted that creed quite recently from motives it is not difficult to understand or explain.

Though there may consequently be 62,458,000 of Musalmâns in India at the present day, we may feel quite certain that not one-half of this number are immigrants or the descendants of emigrants who entered India during the last eight centuries.

The same is probably true of the Turanian races, who entered India in the first ten centuries after our era. It is scarcely probable that they were sufficiently numerous to be the progenitors of thirty millions of people, and, if they were so, the mothers, in nine cases out of ten, were most probably natives of India.

Of the Aryans we know less; but, if so great a number as forty millions can trace anything like a direct descent from them at the present day, the amount of pure Aryan blood in their veins must be infinitesimally small. Yet, though their blood may be diluted, the influence of their intellect remains so powerfully impressed on every institution of the country that, had they perished altogether, their previous presence is still an element of the utmost importance in the ethnic relations of the land.

Another census may enable us to speak with still more precision with regard to these various divisions of the mass of the people of Hindustan, but meanwhile the element that seems to be most important, though the least investigated hitherto, is the extent of the aboriginal race. It has been so overlooked, that putting it at a hundred millions may seem an exaggeration. Its intellectual inferiority has kept it in the background, but its presence everywhere seems to me the only means of explaining most of the phenomena we meet continually, especially those connected with the history of the architecture of the country. Except on some such hypothesis as that just shadowed forth, I do not know how we are to account for the presence of certain local forms of buildings we find in the north, or to explain the persistence with which they were adhered to.

When from these purely ethnographic speculations we turn to ask how far religion and race coincide, we are left with still less information of a reliable character. As a rule, the Dravidians are *S*aivas, and *S*aiva in the exact proportion of the purity of their blood. In other words, in the extreme south of India they are immensely in the majority. In some districts of the Madras Presidency they are as 6 or 7 to 1 of the followers of Vishnu, and generally in the south, 2 to 1; but as we proceed northward they become equal, and in some of the northern districts of the Madras Presidency the proportions are reversed.

In Bengal, and wherever Buddhism once prevailed, the

Vaishnava sects are, as might be expected, the most numerous. Indeed if it were not that so much of the present Hindû religion is an importation into the south, and was taught to the Dravidians by Brâhmans from the north, it would be difficult to understand how the Vaishnava religion ever took root there, except in succession to Buddhism itself, which existed to a considerable extent, but where it, too, was an importation. If, however, it be correct to assume that *S*aivism had its origin to the northward of the Himâlayas, among the Tartar tribes of these regions, there is no difficulty in understanding its presence in Bengal to the extent to which it is found to prevail there. But, on the other hand, nothing can be more natural than that an aboriginal Nâga people, who worshipped trees and serpents, should become Buddhists, as Buddhism was originally understood, and, being Buddhists, should slide downwards into the corruptions of the present Vaishnava form of cult, which is that most fashionable and prevalent in the north of India.

One of the most startling facts brought out by the census, is that about one-third of the population of Eastern Bengal are Muhammadan—25,500,000, out of 74,750,000—while in the United Provinces the Muhammadans are scarcely more than 1-6th—4,567,000 among 25,430,000; and in Madras little more than 1-15th. It thus looks more like a matter of feeling than of race; it seems that as the inhabitants of Bengal were Buddhists, and clung to that faith long after it had disappeared in other parts of India, they came in contact with the Moslim religion before they had adopted the modern form of Vaishnavism, and naturally preferred a faith which acknowledged no caste, and freed them from the exactions and tyranny of a dominant priesthood. The Muhammadan religion is in fact much more like Buddhism than are any of the modern Hindû forms, and when this non-Aryan casteless population came in contact with it and they were free to choose, after the mysterious evaporation of their old beliefs, they adopted the religion most resembling that in which they had been brought up. It is only in this way that it seems possible to account for the predominance of the Moslim religion in Lower Bengal[1] and in the Panjâb, where the followers of the Prophet outnumber the Hindûs, in the proportion of 3 to 2, or as 14,000,000 in a population of 20,300,000.

[1] In Bihâr and West Bengal, the Muhammadans number 4,050,000, or less than 14 per cent. of the population, whilst in Central, North, and East Bengal, they number 20,870,000 or quite 60 per cent., and in East Bengal alone, there are 66 per cent. of Moslims or 11,220,000; in several of the districts they form quite three-fourths of the population.

Where *S*aivism held its place or crept in was apparently among those races who were Dravidians or Turanians, or had affinities with the Tartar races, who immigrated from the north long before the Muhammadan conquest.

To most people these may appear as rash generalisations, and at the present stage of the enquiry would be so in reality, if no further proof could be afforded. After reading the following pages, I trust most of them at least will be found to rest on the basis of a fair induction from the facts brought forward. It might, consequently, have appeared more logical to defer these statements to the end of the work, instead of placing them at the beginning. Unless, however, they are read and mastered first, a great deal that is stated in the following pages will be unintelligible, and the scope and purpose of the work can be neither understood nor appreciated.[1]

[1] For a fuller statement of the author's views on Ethnography as applied to Architectural art, see his 'History of Architecture in all Countries,' 3rd ed. vol. i. introd. pp. 52-85.



2. Nâga people worshipping the Triratna emblem of Buddha, on a fiery pillar. (From a bas-relief at Amarâvatî.)



3. *S*rî or Gaja Lakshmî, seated on a Lotus, with two Elephants pouring water over her. (From a modern sculpture from Indor.)



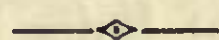
Bamian
Hupian
Charikar
Kabul
KAMBOJA
GANDHARA
KASHMI
Charsadda
Takht-i-Bahai
Mansahra
Peshawar
Shahbazgarhi
Shahdheri
Manikyala
Sialkot
Qandahar
Jalandhar
Harappa
Multan
Sthanesvar
Sui Vihar
R. Indus
Delhi
SINDHU
Bairath
Thal Rukhan
Mathura
Bhinmal
GUJARAT
Dhamnar
Anandapur
Kholvi
KACHHH
MALAVA
Ujjain
Sanchi
Dhar
SAURASHTRA
Bagh
Dhank
Girnar
Wala
Narbada R.
Bharoch
Junagadh
Talaja
Tapti
Sana
Pitalkhora
Ajanta
MAHARASHTRA
Nasik
Elura
Supara
Aurangabad
Kanheri
Junnar
Karle
Kuda
Mahad
Ter
KONKAN
Chipalun
Kalyani
Karhad
R. Krishna
Kolhapur
Lakkundi
Siddapur
Banavasi
KERALA
PAND



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BOOK I.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION AND CLASSIFICATION.

It may create a feeling of disappointment in some minds when they are told that there is no stone architecture in India older than two and a half centuries before the Christian Era; but, on the other hand, it adds immensely to the clearness of what follows to be able to assert that India owes the introduction of the use of stone for architectural purposes, as she does that of Buddhism as a state religion, to the great A*s*oka, who reigned from about B.C. 265 to 228.

It is not, of course, meant to insinuate that the people of India had no architecture before that date; on the contrary, it can be proved that they possessed palaces and halls of assembly, perhaps even temples, of great magnificence and splendour, long anterior to A*s*oka's accession; but, like the buildings of the Burmese at the present day, they were all in wood. Stone, in those days, seems to have been employed only for the foundations of buildings, or in engineering works, such as city walls and gates, or bridges or embankments; all else, as will appear from the sequel, were framed in carpentry. Much as we may now regret this, as all these buildings have consequently perished, it is not so clear, as it may at first appear, that the Indians were wrong in this, inasmuch as, in all respects, except durability, wood is a better building material than stone. It is far more easily cut and carved, larger spaces can be covered with fewer and less cumbrous points of support than is possible with stone, and colour and gilding are much more easily applied to wood than to stone. For the same outlay twice the space can be covered, and more than twice the splendour obtained by the use of the more perishable material, the one great defect being that it

is ephemeral. It fails also in producing that impression of durability which is so essential to architectural effect; while, at the same time, the facility with which it can be carved and adorned tends to produce a barbaric splendour far less satisfactory than the more sober forms necessitated by the employment of the less tractable material.

Be this as it may, it will, if I mistake not, become quite clear when we examine the earliest "rock-cut temples" that, whether from ignorance or from choice, the Indians employed wood and that only, in the construction of their ornamental buildings, before A*s*oka's time.[1] From this the inference seems inevitable that it was in consequence of India being brought into contact with the western world, first by Alexander's raid, and then by the establishment of the Baktrian kingdom in its immediate proximity, that led to this change. We do not yet know precisely how far the Baktrian kingdom extended towards the Indus, but we feel Greek influence on the coinage, on the sculpture, and generally on the arts of India, from an early date, and it seems as if we might be able to fix with precision not only the dates, but the forms in which the arts of the Western world exerted their influence on those of the East. Meanwhile it may be sufficient to state here that we know absolutely nothing of the temples or architecture of the various peoples or religions who occupied India before the rise of Buddhism,[2] and it is only by inference that we know anything of that of the Buddhists before the age of A*s*oka. From that time forward, however, all is clear and intelligible; we have a sufficient number of examples whose dates and forms are known to enable us to write a fairly consecutive history of the architectural style during the 1000 years Buddhism was prevalent in India, and thence to trace its various developments in the extra Indian countries to which it was carried, and where it is still practised at the present day.[3]

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[1] These remarks must not be taken as applying to sculpture also. It is quite true that no stone sculptures have yet been found in India of an earlier date than the age of A*s*oka; but, as will be seen in the sequel, the perfection the Indian artists had attained in stone sculpture when they executed the bas-reliefs at Bharaut (B.C. 200), shows a familiarity with the material that could only be attained by long practice.

[2] No mention of temples, or, indeed, of buildings is, I believe, found in the Vedas, and though both are frequently alluded to, and described in the Epic Poems and the Purânas, this hardly helps us; first because, like all verbal descriptions of buildings, they are too vague to be intelligible, and secondly, because there is no proof that the passages containing these descriptions may not have been interpolated after — possibly long after—the Christian Era.

[3] I believe I was the first to ascertain these facts from a personal inspection of the monuments themselves. They were communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society in a paper I read on the 'Rock-cut Temples of India,' in 1842. Every subsequent research, and every increase of our knowledge, has tended to confirm those views to such an extent that they are not now disputed by any one acquainted with the literature of the subject.

This being the case, it would be in vain to look for any earlier architecture of any importance in India before Asoka's time: such could be expected only in countries where stone had been in use from the very earliest times. The Aryans, who were dominant before the rise of Buddhism, wrote books and expressed their ideas in words, like their congeners all the world over, but they do not seem successfully to have cultivated the æsthetic arts, or to have sought for immortality through the splendour or durability of their buildings. That was the aspiration of the Turanian and other races, and we owe it to this circumstance that we are enabled to write with any certainty the history of their rise and fall as evidenced in their architectural productions.

There is no *à priori* improbability that the Dravidian races of the south of India, or the indigenous races of the north, may not have erected temples or other buildings at a very early date, but if so, all that can be said is that all trace of them is lost. When we first meet the Buddhist style it is in its infancy—a wooden style painfully struggling into lithic forms—and we have no reason to suppose that other styles were then more advanced. When, however, we first meet them, some six or seven centuries afterwards, they are so complete in all their details, and so truly lithic in their forms, that they have hitherto baffled all attempts to trace them back to their original types, either in the wood or brick work, from which they may have been derived. So completely, indeed, have all the earlier examples been obliterated, that it is now doubtful whether the missing links can ever be replaced. Still, as one single example of a Hindû temple dating before the Christian Era might solve the difficulty, we ought not to despair of such being found, while the central provinces of India remain so unexplored as they are. Where, under ordinary circumstances, we ought to look for them, would be among the ruins of the ancient cities which once crowded the valley of the Ganges; but there the ruthless Moslim or the careless Hindû have thoroughly obliterated all traces of any that may ever have existed. In the remote valleys of the Himâlaya, or of Central India, there may, however, exist remains which will render the origin and progress of Hindû architecture as clear and as certain as that of the Buddhist; but till these are discovered, it is with the architecture of the Buddhist that our history naturally begins. Besides this, however, from the happy accident of the Buddhists very early adopting the mode of excavating their temples in the living rock, their remains are imperishably preserved to us, while it is only too probable that those of the Hindû, being in less durable forms, have disappeared. The former, therefore,

are easily classified and dated, while the origin of the latter, for the present, seems lost in the mist of the early ages of Indian arts. Meanwhile, the knowledge that the architectural history of India commences about B.C. 250, and that all the monuments now known to us are Buddhist, or of cognate sects, for at least five or six centuries after that time, are cardinal facts that cannot be too strongly insisted upon by those who wish to clear away a great deal of what has hitherto tended to render the subject obscure and unintelligible.

Classification.

For convenience of description it will probably be found expedient to classify the various objects of Buddhist art under the five following groups, though of course it is at times impossible to separate them entirely from one another, and sometimes two or more of them must be taken together as parts of one monument.

1st. *Stambhas or Lâts.*—These pillars are common to all the styles of Indian architecture. With the Buddhists they were employed to bear inscriptions on their shafts, with emblems or animals on their capitals. With the Jains they were generally Dîpdâns, or lamp-bearing pillars, but sometimes supporting quadruple figures of a Jina; with the Vaishnavas they as generally bore statues of Garuda or Hanumân; with the *S*aivas they bore the tri*s*ula symbol or were Dîpdâns and flag-staffs; but, whatever their destination, they were always among the most original, and frequently the most elegant, productions of Indian art.

2nd. *Stûpas or Topes.*—These, again, were primarily relic-shrines, but may be divided into two classes, according to their destination: first, Stûpas proper, or monuments containing relics of Buddha or of some Buddhist saint;[1] secondly, the stûpas or towers erected to commemorate some event or mark some sacred spot dear to the followers of the Buddha. If it were possible, these two ought to be kept separate, but no external signs have yet been discovered by which they can be distinguished from one another, and till this is so, they must be considered, architecturally at least, as one.[2]

[1] The Jains in very early times had stûpas and worshipped at them. Even still the *Samosaranas* in some of their temples at *S*atrunjaya, Girnâr, Âbû, etc., are survivals of the earlier stûpas. They were also known as 'Chaityas'—as stûpas are still called in Nepal and Tibet.—Bühler, 'Legend of the Jaina Stûpa at Mathurâ'; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. plates at pp. 314-321; 'Actes du Vienna Congrès Int. Orient.' vol. iii. pt. ii., plate at p. 142; and *infra* pp. 111, 130.

[2] Dâgaba is a Singalese word applied to a stûpa, from the Sanskrit "dhâtu," a 'relic,' 'element,' and "garbha" (in Pâli "gabbho") a 'womb,' 'receptacle,'

3rd. *Rails.*—These must be recognised as one of the most important features of Buddhist architecture. Generally they are found surrounding Topes, but they are also represented as enclosing sacred trees, temples, pillars, and other objects. It may be objected that treating them separately is like describing the peristyle of a Greek temple apart from the cella. The Buddhist rail, however, in early ages at least, is never attached to the tope, and is used for so many other, and such various purposes, that it will certainly tend to the clearness of what follows if they are treated separately.

4th. *Chaityas*[1] *or Assembly Halls.*—Chaitya is a more general term than stûpa, and may be applied to any building of the nature of a religious monument, but more correctly to the second division of stûpas, or those commemorative of acts, miracles, etc., or not funerary.[2] But it has further been restricted so as to correspond with the churches of the Christian religion: their plans, the position of the altar or relic casket, the aisles, and other peculiarities are the same in both, and their uses are identical in so far as the ritual forms of the one religion correspond to those of the other.

5th. *Vihâras or Monasteries.*—With the Buddhists and Jains a Vihâra was a hall where the monks met and walked about; afterwards these halls came to be used as temples, and sometimes became the centres of monastic establishments. Like the Chaityas, they resemble very closely the corresponding institutions among Christians. In the earlier ages they accompanied, but were detached from, the Chaityas or churches. In later times they were furnished with chapels in which the service could be performed independently of the Chaitya halls which may or may not be found in their proximity.

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or 'shrine.' Dhâtugarbha is thus the relic-receptacle or inner shrine, and is strictly applicable only to the dome of the stûpa, sometimes called the "anda" or egg. 'Dhâtus' were not merely relics in the literal sense, but memorials in an extended acceptation, and were classified as—corporeal remains; objects belonging to the teacher, as his staff, bowl, robe, holy spots, etc.; and any memorial, text of a sacred book, cenotaph of a teacher, etc. Stûpas are known as Chaityas in Nepal, and as Dâgabas in Ceylon.

[1] The word Chaitya, like Stûpa, means primarily a heap or tumulus, but it also means a place of sacrifice or religious worship, an altar—from *chitâ*, a heap, an assemblage, etc. Properly speaking, therefore, the chaitya caves ought perhaps to be called "halls containing a chaitya," or "chaitya halls," and this latter term will consequently be used wherever any ambiguity is likely to arise from the use of the simple term Chaitya.

[2] All structures of the nature of sanctuaries are Chaityas, so that sacred trees, statues, religious inscriptions and sacred places come also under this general name.

CHAPTER II.

STAMBHAS OR LÂTS.

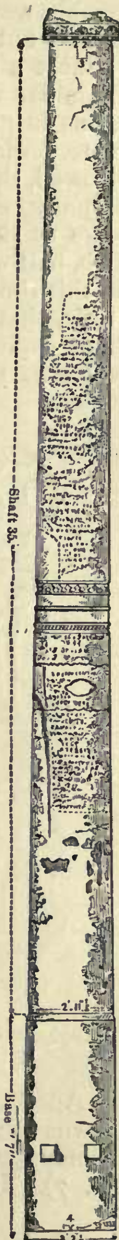
It is not clear whether we ought to claim a wooden origin for these, as we can for all the other objects of Buddhist architecture. Certain it is, however, that the lâts of Asoka, with shafts averaging twelve diameters in height, are much more like wooden posts than any forms derived from stone architecture, and in an age when wooden pillars were certainly employed to support the roofs of halls, it is much more likely that the same material should be employed for the purposes to which these stambhas were applied, than the more intractable material of stone.

The oldest authentic examples of these lâts that we are acquainted with, are those which King Asoka set up in the twenty-seventh year after his consecration—the thirty-first of his reign — to bear inscriptions conveying to his subjects the leading doctrines of the new religion he had adopted. The rock-cut edicts of the same king are dated in his twelfth year, and convey in a less condensed form the same information—Buddhism without Buddha—but inculcating respect to parents and priests, kindness and charity to all men, and, above all, tenderness towards animal life.[1]

The best known of these lâts is that removed from Topra in Ambâla district, and set up in 1356, by Fîroz Shâh Tughlak, in his Kotila at Delhi, without, however, his being in the least aware of the original purpose for which it was erected, or the contents of the inscription. A fragment of a second was found lying on the ridge, north of Delhi, where it had been set up by Fîroz

[1] These inscriptions have been published in various forms and at various times by Sanskrit scholars, such as Burnouf, Kern, Senart, Bühler, etc. Among these reference may be made to É. Senart, 'Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi' (2 vols.) Paris, 1881-1886; Bühler, in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vols. i. and ii.; and 'Archæological Survey of Southern India,' vol. i. Among other things, they explain to us negatively why we have so little history in India in these days. Asoka is only busied about doctrines. He does not even mention his father's name; and makes no allusion to any historical event, not even those connected with the life of the founder of the religion. Among a people so careless of genealogy, history is impossible.

Shâh, in his hunting lodge; and was re-erected in 1867.[1] Two others exist in Champâran district at Radhia, and Mâthia,[2] and a fragment of another was recognised—utilised as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the Civil Service. The most complete shaft, however, is that which, in 1837, was found lying on the ground in the fort at Allahabad, and then re-erected with a pedestal, from a design by Captain Smith.[3] This pillar is more than usually interesting, as in addition to the A*s*oka inscriptions it contains one by Samudragupta (A.D. 380 to 400), detailing the glories of his reign, and the great deeds of his ancestors.[4] It seems again to have been thrown down, and was re-erected, as a Persian inscription tells us, by Jahângir (A.D. 1605), to commemorate his accession. It is represented without the pedestal (Woodcut No. 4). The shaft, it will be observed, is more than 3 ft. wide at the base, diminishing to 2 ft. 2 in. at the summit, which in a length of 33 ft.[5] looks more like the tapering of the stem of a



4. Lât at Allahabad.



5. Assyrian honeysuckle ornament from capital of Lât, at Allahabad.

tree—a deodar pine, for instance—than anything designed in stone. Like all the others of this class, this lât has lost its crowning ornament, which

[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. vi. p. 794. It had been brought from Mîrath in 1356.

[2] The first of these is known as the Lauriyâ-Ararâj or Bakhira pillar, being at the village of Lauriyâ about a mile from the temple of Mahâdeva Ararâj, the shaft of which rises nearly 40 ft. above the water level; and the second is the Lauriyâ Navandgarh lât, 3 miles north of Mâthia. Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. i. pp. 67 and 73; xvi. plate 17; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 245ff.

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. vi. plate 40, at p. 798.

[4] Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions,' pp. 1-17.

[5] These dimensions are taken from Capt. Burt's drawings published in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii. pp. 105-123 and plate 3.

probably was a Buddhist emblem—a wheel or the triratna ornament[1]—but the necking still remains (Woodcut No. 5), and is almost a literal copy of the honeysuckle ornament we are so familiar with as used by the Greeks with the Ionic order. In this instance, however, it is hardly probable that it was introduced direct by the Greeks, but is more likely to have been borrowed, through Persia, from Assyria, whence the Greeks also originally obtained it. The honeysuckle ornament, again, occurs as the crowning member of a pillar at Sankîsâ, in the Doâb, half-way between Mathurâ and Kanauj (Woodcut No. 6), and this time surmounting a capital of so essentially Persepolitan a type, that there can be little doubt that the design of the whole capital came from Persia. This pillar, of which the greater part of the shaft is lost, is surmounted by an elephant, but so mutilated that even in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mistook it for a lion, if this is indeed the effigy he was looking at, as General Cunningham supposes,[2] which, however, is by no means so clear as might at first sight appear.



6. Capital at Sankîsâ. (From a Drawing by Gen. Cunningham.)



7. Capital of Lât in Tirhut. (From a Drawing by Capt. Kittoe.)

Another capital of a similar nature to that last described crowns the Lauriyâ Navandgarh lât in Champâran—this time surmounted by a lion of bold and good design (Woodcut No. 7). In this instance, however, the honeysuckle ornament

[1] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plates 9, 10, 10a, *et passim.*

[2] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 274, plate 46.

is replaced by the more purely Buddhist ornament of a flock of the sacred hansas or geese. In both instances there are cable ornaments used as neckings, and the bead and reel so familiar to the student of classical art. The last named form is also, however, found at Persepolis. These features it may be remarked are only found on the lâts of Asoka, and are never seen afterwards in India, though common in Gandhâra and on the Indus for long afterwards, which seems a tolerably clear indication that it was from Persia that he obtained those hints which in India led to the conversion of wooden architecture into stone. After his death, these classical features disappear, and wooden forms resume their sway, though the Persian form of capital long retained its position in Indian art. Whatever the Hindûs copied, however, was changed, in the course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own tastes.

To the preceding five we have to add four more lâts found in recent years. These are: (1) one at Râmpurwâ near Pipariyâ, also in Champâran district, on the edge of the Tarai, discovered in 1881, but not quite excavated; (2) at Niglîva in the Nepâl Tarai, about 18 miles north from Chilliyâ in Basti district, a broken pillar, bearing an inscription by Asoka, stating that it had marked the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha; (3) at Rummindeî about 13 miles south-east from the preceding and north of Paderiyâ, the lower 22 ft. of a lât, discovered by Dr. A. Führer in 1896, and bearing an inscription stating that it marked the spot where Sâkyamuni was born,[1] and (4) a large fragment and capital found, about three years ago, at Sârnâth, bearing a portion of an Asoka inscription.

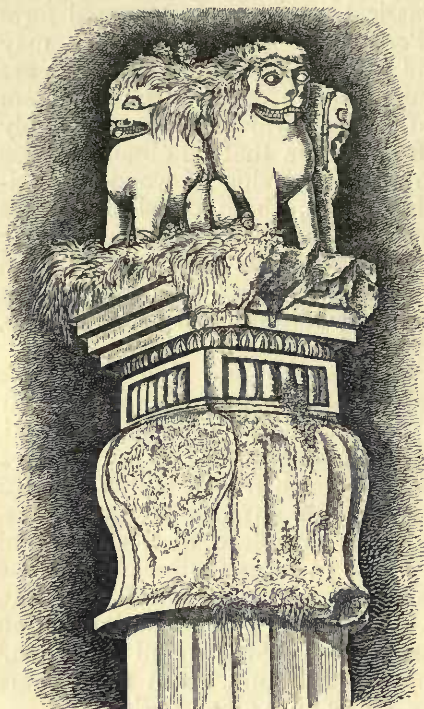
It is more than probable that each of these Asoka lâts stood in front of, or in connection with some stûpa, or building of some sort; but all these have disappeared, and the lâts themselves have—some of them at least—been moved more than once, so that this cannot now be proved. So far, however, as can now be ascertained, one or two stambhas stood in front of, or beside each gateway of every great tope, and one or two in front of each chaitya hall. At least we know that six or seven can be traced at Sânchi, and nearly an equal number at Amarâvatî,[2] and in the representation of topes at the latter place, these lâts are frequently represented both outside and inside the rails.

At Kârlê, one still stands in front of the great cave sur-

[1] Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. xvi. pp. 110f. and plate 28; Führer, 'Buddha Sâkyamuni's Birthplace,' pp. 27f., 33f., and plates 4-6. There is also a fragment of a stambha at the great Sânchi stûpa, with remains of an Asoka inscription on it.

[2] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plates 1, 5, 89 and 90.

mounted by four lions, which, judging from analogy, once bore a chakra or wheel, probably in metal.[1] (Woodcut No. 8.) A corresponding pillar probably once stood on the opposite side of the entrance bearing some similar emblem. Two such are represented in these positions in front of the great cave at Kanheri, which is a debased copy of the great Kârlê cave.[2]



8. Capital of the Lion pillar at Kârlê. (From a sketch by Mr. H. Cousens.)

The lât at Eran and the iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi, though similar in many respects to those just described, seem certainly to belong to the era of the Guptas during the 5th century of our era — the latter about 415, and the former in A.D. 484 — and to be dedicated to the Vaishnava creed, and in consequence belong to a subsequent chapter. That at Pathârî in Bhopal bears a much obliterated inscription of a Râshtrakûta king, Parabala, dated in A.D. 861.[3]

This is a meagre account, it must be confessed, of Buddhist lâts, which probably at one time could be counted by hundreds in the important Buddhist localities in Bengal; but it is feared we shall hardly be able to add many more to our list. They are so easily overthrown and so readily utilised in populous localities, that all trace of most of them has probably been irrecoverably lost, though one or two more examples may possibly be found in remote, out-of-the-way places.

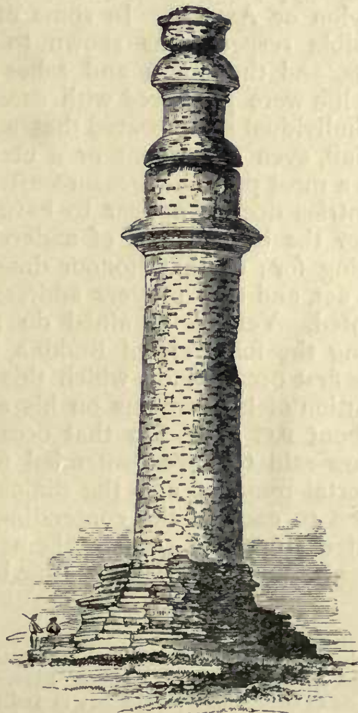
There is no instance, so far as I am aware, of a built monumental pillar of ancient date now standing in India. This is sufficiently accounted for by the ease with which they

[1] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plate 42.

[2] In the description accompanying Daniell's view of this cave he says: "On the pillar to the right, above the capital, is a group of lions, from the centre of which a few years since arose the chakra . . . though not the least appearance of it at present remains."

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii. pp. 305f.; Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. x. p. 70; Kielhorn, in 'Nachrichten Göttingen Gesellschaft: Phil. Hist. Kl.,' 1901, pp. 519f.

could be thrown down and their materials removed, when they had lost the sanctity which alone protected them. There are, however, two such pillars among the topes of Kâbul, and evidently coeval with them, now called the Sûrkh Minâr and the Minâr Chakri (Woodcut No. 9). These are ascribed by the traditions of the place to Alexander the Great, though they are evidently Buddhist monuments, meant to mark some sacred spot, or to commemorate some event, the memory of which has passed away. There can be little doubt that their upper members are meant to be copies of the tall capitals of the Persepolitan pillars, which were probably common throughout this part of Asia, but their shape and outline exhibit great degeneracy from the purer forms with which that architecture commenced in India, and which were there retained in their purity to a much later period than in this remote province. No reliable data seem to exist for ascertaining what the age of these monuments may be. It probably was the 3rd or 4th century of our era, or it may be even earlier.



9. Minâr Chakri, Kâbul.
(From a Drawing by Mr. Masson, in Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua.')

CHAPTER III.

STÛPAS.

CONTENTS.

Relic Worship—Bhilsâ Topes—Topes at Sârnâth and in Bihâr—Amarâvatî Stûpa—Gandhâra Topes—Jalâlâbâd Topes—Mânikyâla Stûpa.

THERE are few subjects of like nature that would better reward the labour of some competent student than an investigation into the origin of Relic Worship and its subsequent diffusion over the greater part of the old world. So far as is at present known, it did not exist in Egypt, nor in Greece or Rome in classical times, nor in Babylon or Assyria. In some of these countries the greatest possible respect was shown to the remains of departed greatness, and the bones and ashes of persons who were respected in life were preserved with care and affection;[1] but there was no individual so respected that a hair of his head, a tooth, or a toe-nail, even a garment or a utensil he had used, was considered as a most precious treasure after his death. In none of these countries does it appear to have occurred to any one that a bone or the begging-pot of a deceased saint was a thing worth fighting for; or that honour done to such things was a meritorious act, and that prayers addressed to them were likely to be granted. Yet so ingrained do these sentiments appear to be among the followers of Buddha, that it is difficult to believe that the first occasion on which this sentiment arose, was at the distribution of his remains on his attaining Nirvâna at Kusinagara, about B.C. 480. On that occasion, eight cities or principalities are said to have contended for the honour of possessing his mortal remains, and the difficulty was met by assigning a portion to each of the contending parties, who are said to have erected stûpas to contain them in each of their respective localities.[2] None of these can now be identified with

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[1] Examples of this may be cited in the reverence of the Athenians for the remains of Theseus and Oedipus, and the honours paid to those of Demetrius; but this bears no analogy to the relic-worship of India and Central Asia.

[2] These were Râjagriha, Vaiśâlî, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Râmagrâma, Vethadîpa, Pâvâ, and Kuśinârâ.—'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 15; S. Hardy's 'Eastern Monachism,' p. 221.

The fame of this distribution seems to

certainty—everything in future ages being ascribed to Asoka, who, according to popular tradition, is said to have erected the fabulous number of 84,000 relic shrines, or towers to mark sacred spots.[1] Some of these may be those we now see, or are encased within their domes; but if so, they, like everything else architectural in India, are the earliest things we find there. It is true, the great pagoda—the Shwê Dagon at Rangûn—is said to contain relics of all the four Buddhas of the present Kalpa, the staff of Kakusandho; the water-dipper of Konâgamano; the bathing garment of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama Buddha;[2] but supposing this to be true, we only now see the last and most modern, which covers over the older erections. This is at least the case with the great dâgaba at Bintenne, near Kandy, in Ceylon, in which the thorax-bone of the great ascetic is said to lie enshrined. The 'Mahâwansa,' or Buddhist history of Ceylon, describes the mode in which this last building was raised, by successive additions, in a manner so illustrative of the principle on which these relic shrines arrived at completion, that it is well worth quoting:—"The chief of the Devas, Sumana, supplicated of the deity worthy of offerings for something worthy of worship. The Vanquisher, passing his hand over his head, bestowed on him a handful of his pure blue locks from the growing hair of the head. Receiving it in a superb golden casket, on the spot where the divine teacher had stood, he raised an emerald stûpa over it and bowed down in worship.

"The thero Sarabhû, at the demise of the supreme Buddha, receiving at his funeral pile the Thorax-bone, brought and deposited it in that identical dâgaba. This inspired personage caused a dâgaba to be erected twelve cubits high to enshrine it, and thereon departed. The younger brother of King Devânampiyatissa (B.C. 244), having discovered this marvellous dâgaba, constructed another encasing it, thirty cubits in height. King Dutthagâmini (*cir.* B.C. 96), while residing there, during his subjugation of the Malabars, constructed a dâgaba, encasing that one, eighty cubits in height." Thus was the "Mahiyangana

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have reached Europe at least as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, inasmuch as Plutarch ('Moralia,' p. 1002, Dübner, ed., Paris, 1841) describes a similar partition of the remains of Menander, among eight cities who are said to have desired to possess his remains; but as he does not hint that it was for purposes of worship, the significance of the fact does not seem to have been appreciated. Conf. 'Questions of King Milinda' in 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. xxxv. introd. p. 20.

[1] 'Mahâwansa,' p. 26, 'Hiouen Thsang,' tom. ii. p. 417; Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 87-88.

[2] Account of the great bell at Rangun. —Hough, 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xiv, p. 270.

dâgaba completed."[1] It is possible that at each successive addition some new deposit was made; at least most of the topes examined in Afghanistân and the Panjâb, which show signs of these successive increments, seem also to have had successive deposits, one above the other.

Of the four canine teeth of *S*âkyamuni, one is said to have been honoured among the Devas or gods, another among the Nâgas or water-spirits, the third was carried to Gandhâra,[2] and the fourth to Kalinga. Little or nothing is related of the first three; the most celebrated is the left canine tooth. At the original distribution it is said to have fallen to the lot of Orissa, and to have been enshrined in a town called from that circumstance "Dantapura." This, most probably, was near the modern town of Kalingapatam; or possibly, as has been supposed, the celebrated temple of Jagannâth, which now flourishes at Purî, may be on the site of the temple to which the tooth belonged. Be this as it may, it seems to have remained there in peace for more than eight centuries, when Guha*s*iva, the king of the country, being attracted by some miracles performed by it, and by the demeanour of the priests, became converted from the Brahmanical cult, to which he had belonged, to the religion of Buddha. The dispossessed Brâhmans thereon complained to his suzerain lord, resident at Pâtaliputra, in the narrative called only by his title Pându. He ordered the tooth to be brought to the capital, when, from the wonders it exhibited, he was converted also; but this, and the excitement it caused, led to its being ultimately conveyed surreptitiously to Ceylon, where it is said to have arrived about the year 310; and in spite of various vicissitudes, its representative still remains in British custody, the palladium of the kingdom, as it has been regarded during the last sixteen centuries.[3]

Almost as celebrated was the begging-pot of *S*âkyamuni, which was long kept in a dâgaba or vihâra erected by Kanishka at Peshâwar, and worshipped with the greatest reverence.[4] After

[1] Abstracted from the 'Mahâwansa,' chap. 1.

[2] It was preserved at Nagara or Nagarahâra near Jalâlâbâd, where Fah-Hian, A.D. 400, in his 13th chapter describes it as perfect. Hiouen Thsang, 'Mémoires,' tome ii. p. 97, describes the stûpa as ruined, and the tooth having disappeared.—Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. p. 92.

[3] The principal particulars of this story are contained in a Singalese work called the 'Daladâvamsa,' translated by Sir Mutu Comara Swamy. See also 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' (N.S.) vol. iii. pp. 132 *et seqq.*; 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' pp. 174 *et seqq.*; S. Hardy's 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 224ff; and Dr J. Gerson da Cunha's 'Memoir on the History of the Tooth Relic,' in 'Journal of the Bombay Br. Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xi. pp. 115-146.

[4] 'Foé Koué Ki,' ch. xii. pp. 77, 82, 83; Beal's 'Travels of Fah-Hian,' pp. 36-37, or 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. introd. pp. xxxii., xxxiii. Conf. Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. xvi. pp. 8-11, and plate 3.

paying a visit to Benares,[1] it was conveyed to Kandahar, and is said to be still preserved there by the Musalmâns, and looked upon even by them as a most precious relic.[2]

All this will become plainer as we proceed, for we shall find every Buddhist locality sanctified by the presence of relics, and that these were worshipped apparently from the hour of the death of the founder of the religion to the present day. Were this the place to do it, it would be interesting to try and trace the path by which, and the time when, this belief in the efficacy of relics spread towards the west, and how and when it was first adopted by the Catholic Church, and became with them as important an element of worship as with the Buddhists.[3] That would require a volume to itself; meanwhile, what is more important for our present purpose is the knowledge that this relic-worship gave rise to the building of these great stûpas or dâgabas, which are the most important feature of Buddhist architectural art.

No one can, I fancy, hesitate in believing that the Buddhist stûpa is the direct descendant of the sepulchral tumulus of the Turanian races, whether found in Etruria, Lydia, or among the Skyths of the northern steppes. The Indians, however, never seem to have buried, but always to have burnt, their dead, and consequently never, so far as we know, had any tumuli among them. It may be in consequence of this that the stûpas, in the earliest times, took a rounded or domical form, while all the tumuli, from being of earth, necessarily assumed the form of cones. Not only out of doors, but in the earliest caves, the forms of dâgabas are always rounded; and no example of a straight-lined cone covering a stûpa has yet been discovered. This peculiarity, being so universal, would seem to indicate that they had been long in use before the earliest known example, and that some other material than earth had been employed in their construction; but we have as yet no hint when the rounded form was first employed, nor when it was refined into a relic shrine. We know, indeed, from the caves, and from the earliest bas-reliefs, that all the

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[1] 'Hiouen Thsang,' tome i. p. 83, or Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 63.

[2] 'Foé Koué Ki,' pp. 351-352; Beal's 'Travels of Fah-Hian,' p. 161. A detailed account of its transference from the true Gandhâra—Peshâwar—to the new Gandhâra in Kandahar will be found in a paper by Sir Henry Rawlinson, 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xi. p. 127. Conf. 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. iv. p. 141.

[3] The craze for relics that sprang up in the 5th century was largely stimulated by the writings of such authorities as Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, and Chrysostom. It was strictly akin to the belief of the Buddhists. The reverence for the "qadam-i-rasul," and relics of Muhammad by his followers is also of a similar character.

roofs of the Indians were curvilinear—probably derived from the roofs of thatched huts; and if one can fancy a circular chamber with a domical roof—not in stone, of course—as the original receptacle of the relic, we may imagine that the form was derived from this.[1]

The worship of stûpas probably arose from the popular idea that the sanctity of the relics was shared by their shrines; and gradually stûpas, simply in memory of the Buddha or of any of his notable followers, came to be multiplied and reverenced everywhere. Many were solid blocks without any receptacle for a relic; but in those inside chaitya halls, the casket was placed in the capital or Tee, whence it could be readily transferred, or taken out on the occasion of a festival.

The earlier ones were very plain, consisting of a base or drum and dome, with a square capital in the form of a box; the dome was regarded as the essential feature of a stûpa, and with the "chhattra" or umbrella over it, as a symbol of dignity, and a surrounding path for "pradakshina" or circumambulation fenced off by a wall or railing, it was complete. In course of time they came to be honoured almost as the Buddha himself—had his image affixed to their drums, and were decked with parasols, garlands of flowers, and flags or long ribbons, whilst presentations of money were made for their service.

Bhilsâ Topes.

The most extensive, and taking it altogether, perhaps the most interesting, group of topes in India is that known as the Bhilsâ Stûpas or Topes, from a town of that name on the north border of Bhopâl, near which they are situated. There, within a district not exceeding 10 miles east and west and 6 north and south, are five or six groups of topes, containing altogether between twenty-five and thirty individual examples. The principal of these, known as the great tope at Sânchi-Kânâkhedâ, has been frequently described, the smaller ones are known from General Cunningham's descriptions only;[2] but

[1] Among the bas-reliefs of the Bharaut tope is one representing just such a domical roof as this (Woodcut No. 81). It is not, however, quite easy to make out its plan, nor to feel sure whether the object on the altar is a relic, or whether it may not be some other kind of offering.

[2] 'Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments in Central India,' 1854. One half of the work on 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' and forty-five of its plates, besides woodcuts, are devoted to the illustration of the great Tope; and numerous papers have appeared on the same subject in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' and elsewhere. A cast of the eastern gateway is in the South Kensington Museum; also in Edinburgh, Dublin, Berlin, and Paris Museums.

altogether they have excited so much attention that they are perhaps better known than any group in India. We are not however, perhaps, justified in assuming, from the greater extent of this group as now existing, that it possessed the same pre-eminence in Buddhist times. If we could now see the topes that once adorned any of the great Buddhist sites in the Doâb or in Bihâr, the Bhilsâ group might sink into insignificance. It may only be that, situated in a remote and thinly peopled part of India, they have not been exposed to the destructive energy of opposing sects of the Hindû religion, and the bigoted Moslim has not wanted their materials for the erection of his mosques. They consequently remain to us, while it may be that nobler and more extensive groups of monuments have been swept from the face of the earth.

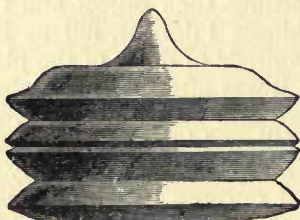
Notwithstanding all that has been written about them, we know very little that is certain regarding their object and their history.[1] Our usual guides, the Chinese Pilgrims, fail us here. Fah Hian never was within some hundreds of miles of the place; and if Hiuen Tsiang ever was there, it was after leaving Valabhî, when his journal becomes so confused and curt that it is always difficult, sometimes impossible, to follow him. He has, at all events, left no description by which we can now identify the place, and nothing to tell us for what purpose the great tope or any of the smaller ones were erected. The 'Mahâwansa,' it is true, helps us a little in our difficulties. It is there narrated that A*s*oka, when on his way to Ujjeni (Ujjain), of which place he had been nominated governor, tarried some time at Chetyagiri, or, as it is elsewhere called, Wessanagara, the modern Besnagar, close to Sânchi. He there married the daughter of a chief, and by her had twin sons, Ujjenia and Mahinda, and afterwards a daughter, Sanghamittâ. The two last named are said to have entered the priesthood, and played a most important part in the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. Before setting out on this mission, Mahinda visited his royal mother at Chetyagiri, and was lodged in "a superb vihâra," which had been erected by herself.[2] In all this there is no mention of the great tope, which may have existed before that time; but till some building is found in India which can be proved to have existed before that age, it may be assumed that this is one of the 84,000 topes said to have been erected by A*s*oka. Had Sânchi been one of the

[1] Colonel F. C. Maisey was sent by Government in 1849 to make drawings of the gateways and sculptures at Sânchi-Kânâkhedâ. These drawings — which had been first used in 'Tree and Serpent Worship,'—he re-published in 1892, with letterpress based on a fanciful theory as to their age and origin.

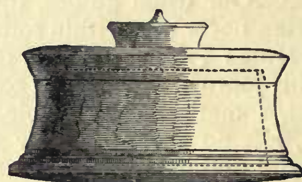
[2] 'Mahâwansa,' chap. 13. See also 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' pp. 99 *et seqq.*, where all this is more fully set out than is necessary here.

eight cities which obtained relics of Buddha at the funeral pyre, the case might have been different; but it has been dug into, and found to be a stûpa without relics.[1] It consequently may have been erected to mark some sacred spot or to commemorate some event, and we have no reason to believe that this was done anywhere before A*s*oka's time.

On the other hand, two smaller topes at the same place contained relics of a historical character. That called No. 2 Tope contained those of some of the Buddhist teachers who took part in the third great convocation held under A*s*oka, and some of whom were sent on missions to the Himâlayas, to disseminate the doctrines then settled, and with these were associated the names of others, probably contemporaries, but of whom we know nothing otherwise.[2] No 3 Tope contained two relic caskets, represented in the accompanying woodcuts (Nos. 10



10. Relic Casket of Moggalâna.



11. Relic Casket of *S*âriputra.

and 11). One of these contained relics of Mahâ Moggalâna, the other of *S*âriputra, friends and companions of Buddha himself, and usually called his right and left hand disciples.[3] It does not of course follow from this that this dâgaba is as old as the time of Buddha; on the contrary, the probability seems to be that these relics were deposited there in A*s*oka's time, in close proximity to the sacred spot, which the great tope was erected to commemorate. The tope containing relics of his contemporaries may, of course, be more modern, possibly contemporary with the gateways.[4]

The general appearance of the Sânchi-Kânâkhedâ Stûpa will be understood from the view of it on Woodcut No. 12, and its shape and arrangement from the plan and section, Nos. 13

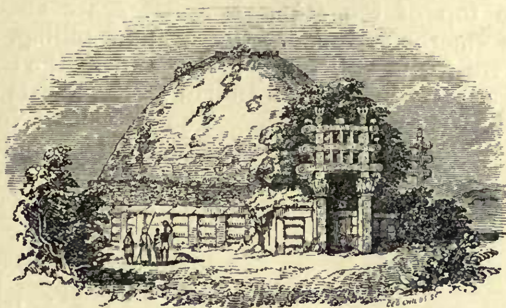
[1] At least the excavations failed in the discovery of a deposit.

[2] The 'Dîpawansa' names the four missionaries who accompanied Kâsapagota Kotîputa to convert the tribe of Yakkas in Himavanta, as — Majjhima, Dudubhisara, Sahadeva and Mûlakadeva. Kâsapagota, Majjhima and Dudubhisara, are named on relic-boxes from Sânchi and Sonari.—'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1905, pp. 683ff.

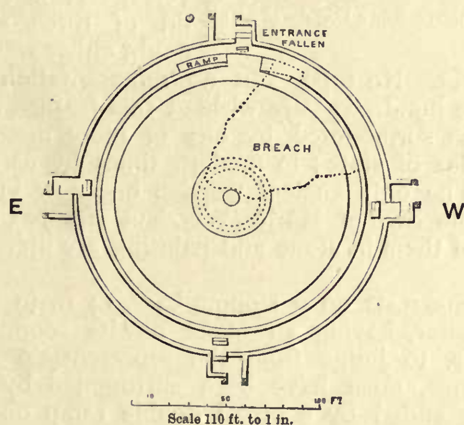
[3] Cunningham, 'Bhilsa Topes,' pp. 297, 299 *et seqq.*

[4] The Chandragupta inscription on the rail near the eastern gateway is a subsequent addition, and belongs to Chandragupta II., of the year A.D. 412. Fleet, 'Early Gupta Inscriptions,' pp. 29-34.

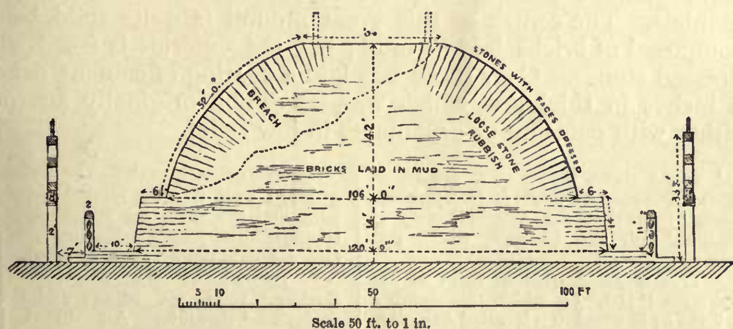
and 14. From these it will be observed that the principal



12. View of the great Tope at Sânchi, north-east side.



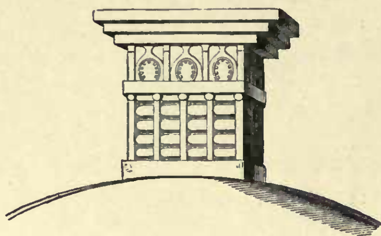
13. Plan of great Tope at Sânchi.



14. Section of great Tope at Sânchi.

building consists of a dome somewhat less than a hemisphere, 106 ft. in diameter, and 42 ft. in height.[1]

On the top of the stûpa is a flat space about 34 ft. in diameter, formerly surrounded by a stone railing, some parts of which were found still lying there; and in the centre of this once stood a feature known to Indian archæologists as a 'Tee.'[2] The woodcut (No. 15), from a rock-cut example at Ajantâ, represents the usual form at this age. The lower part is adorned with the usual Buddhist rail (to be described hereafter), the upper by the conventional window pattern, two features which are universal. It is crowned by a lid of three slabs, and no doubt either was or simulated a relic casket. No tope, and no representation of a tope—and we have hundreds—are without this feature, and generally it is or was surmounted by one or more discs representing the umbrellas of state; in modern times by as many as nine of these. The only ancient wooden one now known to exist is that in the cave at Kârlê (Woodcut No. 70), but the representations of them in stone and painting are literally thousands in number.



15. 'Tee' cut in the rock on a Dâgaba at Ajantâ.

The dome rests on a sloping base, 14 ft. in height by 121 ft. in diameter, having an offset on its summit about 6 ft. wide.[3] This, to judge from the representations of topes on the sculptures, must have been surrounded by a balustrade, and was ascended by a broad double ramp on one side. It was probably used for processions round the monument, which seem to have been among the most common Buddhist ceremonials. The centre of this great mound is quite solid, being composed of bricks laid in mud; but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over these was laid a coating of cement nearly 4 inches in thickness, which was, no doubt, originally adorned either with painting or ornaments in low relief.

[1] These views, plans, etc., are taken from a Memoir by Capt. J. D. Cunningham, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvi. (August, 1847), pp. 739-763.

[2] This is an Anglicised form of the Burmese "Htî," by which this member is known; in Sanskrit it is called *harmikâ*. The lower part is called *gala* in Nepal—the "neck," and the whole *chûdâmani*—"the crest or crest jewel." The umbrellas grouped over it were termed *chhattrâvalî*, and the shaft on which they are supported the *yashti*.—Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. p. 97.

[3] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1902, pp. 29-44; and Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' (English ed.), pp. 24-26.

Besides the group at Sânchi, which compromises six or seven stûpas—mostly ruined, there is at Sonâri, 6 miles distant, another group of eight topes. Two of these are important structures, enclosed in square courtyards, and one of them yielded numerous relics to the explorers.

At Satdhâra, 3 miles further on, is a great tope 101 ft. in diameter, but which, like that at Sânchi, yielded no relics. No. 2, however, though only 24 ft. in diameter, was found to contain relics of *S*âriputra and Moggalâna, like No. 3 at Sânchi. Besides these there are several others, all small, and very much ruined.

The most numerous group, however, is situated at Bhojpur, 7 miles south-east from Sânchi, where thirty-seven distinct topes were grouped together on various platforms. The largest is 66 ft. in diameter, but No. 2 is described as one of the most perfect in the neighbourhood, and, like several others in this group, contained important relics.

At Andher, about 5 miles west of Bhojpur, was a fine group of three small, but very interesting topes. With those above enumerated, this makes up about sixty distinct and separate topes, in this small district, which certainly was not one of the most important in India in a religious point of view, and consequently was probably surpassed by many, not only in the number but in the splendour of its religious edifices.[1]

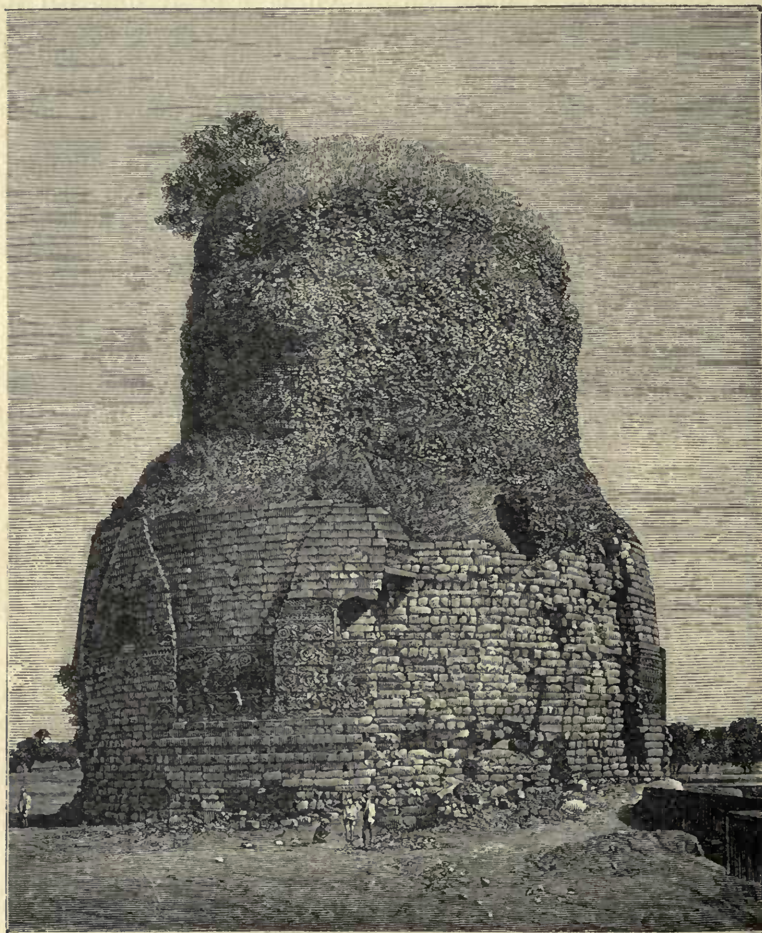
Without more data than we at present possess, it is of course impossible to speak with certainty with regard to the age of this group of topes, but, so far as can be at present ascertained, there seems no reason for assuming that any of them are earlier than the age of A*s*oka, B.C. 250, nor is it probable that any of them can be of later date than, say, the first century before our era. The topes themselves seem all to be included within these two centuries, or possibly even less.

TOPES AT SÂRNÂTH AND IN BIHÂR.

Not only is there no other group of topes in India Proper that can be compared, either in extent or in preservation, to those of Bhilsâ, but our knowledge of the subject is now so complete that it is probably safe to assert that only two, or at most three, topes exist between the Satlaj and the sea, sufficiently perfect to enable their form and architectural

[1] As the particulars regarding all these topes, except those at Sânchi, are taken from Gen. Cunningham's work entitled 'Bhilsa Topes,' published in 1854, it has not been thought necessary to repeat the reference at every statement.

features to be distinguished. There are, of course, numerous mounds near all the Buddhist cities which mark the site, and many of which probably hide the remains, of some of the hundreds of stûpas or dâgabas mentioned by the Chinese



16. Tope at Sârnâth, near Benares. (From a Photograph.)

Pilgrims, besides many that they failed to distinguish. All, however, with the fewest possible exceptions, have perished; nor is it difficult to see why this should be so. All, or nearly all, were composed of brick or small stones, laid either without mortar, or with cement that was little better than mud. They

consequently, when desecrated and deserted, formed such convenient quarries for the villagers, that nearly all have been utilised for building huts and houses of the Hindûs, or the mosques of the Musalmâns. Their rails, being composed of larger stones and not so easily removed, have in some instances remained, and some will no doubt be recovered when looked for; and as these, in the earlier ages at least, were the iconostasis of the shrine, their recovery will largely compensate for the loss of the topes which they surrounded.

The best known, as well as the best preserved of the Bengal topes, is that called Dhamek, at Sârnâth, near Benares (Woodcut No. 16). It was explored by General Cunningham in 1835-36, and found to be a stûpa or chaitya—not containing relics, but erected to mark some spot sanctified by the presence of Buddha, or by some act of his during his long residence there. In 1904-05 further excavations were made under Mr. Oertel, but the results have not yet been made public. It is situated in the Deer Park, where Buddha took up his residence with his five disciples when he first removed from Gayâ on claiming to have attained Buddhahood, and commenced his mission as a teacher. That it commemorates this event, is exceedingly probable, since that stûpa, of all others, would be religiously preserved and restored. There are several mounds in the neighbourhood, but the descriptions of the Chinese Pilgrims are not sufficiently precise to enable us always to discriminate between them.

The building consists of a stone basement, 93 ft. in diameter, and solidly built, the stones being clamped together with iron to the height of 43 ft. Above that it is in brickwork, rising to a height of 110 ft. above the surrounding ruins, and 128 ft. above the plain.[1] Externally the lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces, each 21 ft. 6 in. wide, and 15 ft. apart. In each is a small niche, intended apparently to contain a seated figure of Buddha, and below them, encircling the monument, is a band of sculptured ornament of the most exquisite beauty. The central part consists—as will be seen by the cut (No. 17) on the next page—of geometric patterns of great intricacy, but combined with singular skill; and, above and below, foliage equally well designed, and so much resembling that carved by Hindû artists on the earliest Muhammadan mosques at Ajmir and Delhi, as at first sight might suggest that they may not be very distant in date.

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[1] These dimensions and details are taken from Gen. Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 107 *et seqq.*; for his account of the exploration, see 'Journal Bengal Asiatic Society,' vol. xxxii.; Sherring's 'Sacred City of the Hindûs,' pp. 236-243.

The carvings round the niches and on the projections have been left so unfinished—in some instances only outlined—that it is impossible to guess what ultimate form it may have been intended to give them. The upper part of the tower was



17. Panel on the Tope at Sârnâth. (From a Photograph.)

possibly an addition of even later date than the lower part, and may never have been finished at all; but from our knowledge of the Afghanistan topes we may surmise that it was intended to encircle it with a range of pilasters, and then some bold mouldings, before covering it with a hemispherical dome.

In his excavations, General Cunningham found, buried in the solid masonry, at the depth of 10½ feet from the summit, a large stone on which was engraved the usual Buddhist formula, "Ye dharmma hetu," etc., in characters belonging, he thought, to the 7th century, from which he inferred that the monument belongs to the 6th century. But I cannot accept the conclusion; it seems to me much more probable that this stone may have belonged to some building which had fallen into decay, or to have been the pedestal of some statue which had been disused, and was consequently utilised in the erection or repair of this structure. One feels consequently more inclined to adopt the tradition preserved by Captain Wilford,[1] to the effect that the Sârnâth monument was erected by the sons of Mahîpâla, and destroyed (interrupted?) before its completion.[2] We know that the Deer Park, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, was the site of one of the early and most sacred stûpas, and the excavations recently made have brought to light remains of all ages from that of A*s*oka down to the 11th century at least. An inscription, found long since, and dated in A.D. 1026, records the repair of a Buddhist stûpa and Dharmachakra, and the erection of a Gandhakutî temple in the time of Mahîpâla—probably by his sons.[3] Whether it refers to this stûpa or not, it indicates that large restorations did take place as late as the 11th century, when this also was probably encased, as we now find it, with a modernised exterior. The form of the monument with the eight projecting faces that decorate its drum, the character of its sculptured ornaments, the unfinished condition in which it is left, and indeed the whole circumstances of the case, render this date so probable that it may be accepted for the present at least, though it is quite possible that further research may require us to modify this opinion.

The only stone building yet found in India that has any pretension to be dated before A*s*oka's time is one at Râjgir, having the popular name of Jarâsandha-ka-baithak. As will be seen from the annexed woodcut (No. 18), it is in the form of a platform 85 ft. square at the base and sloping upwards for 20 or 28 ft. to a platform measuring 74 by 78 ft.[4] It is built wholly of stones, neatly fitted together without mortar; and its most remarkable peculiarity is that it contains fifteen cells, one of which is shown in the woodcut. They are from

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[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix. p. 203, and vol. x., p. 130.

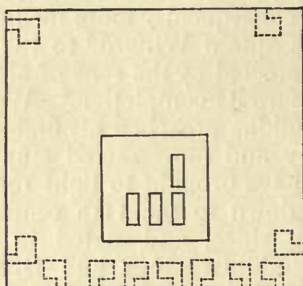
[2] See also paper by Vesey Westmacott, 'Calcutta Review,' vol. lix., 1874, p. 68.

[3] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. v. p. 133; 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xiv. p. 139. The contents of this inscription was probably the basis of Wilford's statement.

[4] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. i. p. 72.

6 to 7 ft. in length, by about half that in breadth, and they are occupied at times up to the present day by Jogis whose bodies are constantly smeared with ashes.[1]







18. View and Plan of Jarâsandha-ka-baithak. (From Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. iii. plate 42.)

The other Bengal tope existing nearly entire, also known as Jarâsandha-ka-baithak, is opposite to the village of Giriyek, about 6 miles east-north-east of the preceding. General Cunningham states its dimensions to be 28 ft. in diameter by 21 ft. in height, resting on a basement 14 ft. high, so that its total height, when complete, may have been about 55 ft. As it was not mentioned by Fah Hian, A.D. 400, and is, apparently, by Hiuen Tsiang, A.D. 640, its age is probably, as General Cunningham states, intermediate between these dates, or about A.D. 500.[2] It is a bold, fine tower, evidently earlier than that at Sârnâth, and showing nothing of the tendency towards Hindû forms there displayed. It has, too, the remains of a procession-path, or extended basement which is wholly wanting at Sârnâth, but which is always found in the earlier monuments. It was erected, as Hiuen Tsiang tells us, in honour of a Han*s*a—goose—who devoted itself to relieve the wants of a starving community of Bhikshus.[3]

The third stûpa, if it may be so called, is the celebrated temple or, properly, chaitya at Bodh-Gayâ, which stands

[1] 'Cave-Temples,' pp. 33f.; Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. i. p. 20; vol. iii. p. 142.

[2] 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. i. pp. 16-19, and plate 15.

[3] 'Hiouen Thsang,' tom. iii. p. 60; or Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. p. 181.

immediately in front of the celebrated Bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*)[1] under whose shade Buddha is said to have attained complete enlightenment in the thirty-fifth year of his age, *cir.* B.C. 525. Its history is told in such detail by Hiuen Tsiang[2] that there seems little doubt as to the main facts of the case. According to this authority, A*s*oka built a small vihâra here, but long afterwards this was replaced by a temple 160 ft. high and 60 ft. (20 paces) wide, which are the exact dimensions of the present building, according to Cunningham,[3] and we are further told that it was erected by a Brâhman, who was warned by Mahe*s*wara (*S*iva), in a vision, to execute this work.[4] In this temple there was a cella corresponding with the dimensions of that found there, in which the Brâhman placed a statue of Buddha, seated cross-legged, with one hand pointing to the earth.[5] The date of the erection of this temple is still obscure: General Cunningham laboured, on rather doubtful data, to prove that it was erected in the reign of the Kushan king, Huvishka, in the century B.C., and, from a coin found in a later image, he concluded that additions and restorations were made in the 4th century.[6] There are sculptures and inscriptions that must belong between the 2nd and 7th centuries, and they are numerous between the 9th and end of the 12th; but none of them help us in definitely fixing the date of the temple. From the style and what remains of the older sculptures, we can only assume that it may belong to somewhere about the 6th century, though considerably altered in later times by successive restorations. From an Arakanese inscription on the spot, first translated by Colonel H. Burney, we further learn that the

[1] Buchanan Hamilton was told by the priests on the spot, in 1811, that it was planted there 2225 years ago, or B.C. 414, and that the temple was built 126 years afterwards, or in 289 B.C. :—not a bad guess for A*s*oka's age in a locality where Buddhism has been so long forgotten.—Montgomery Martin's 'Eastern India,' vol. i. p. 76.

[2] 'Hiouen Thsang,' tom. ii. pp. 464-468; or Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 118-121.

[3] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 5; and 'Mahâbodhi,' p. 18.

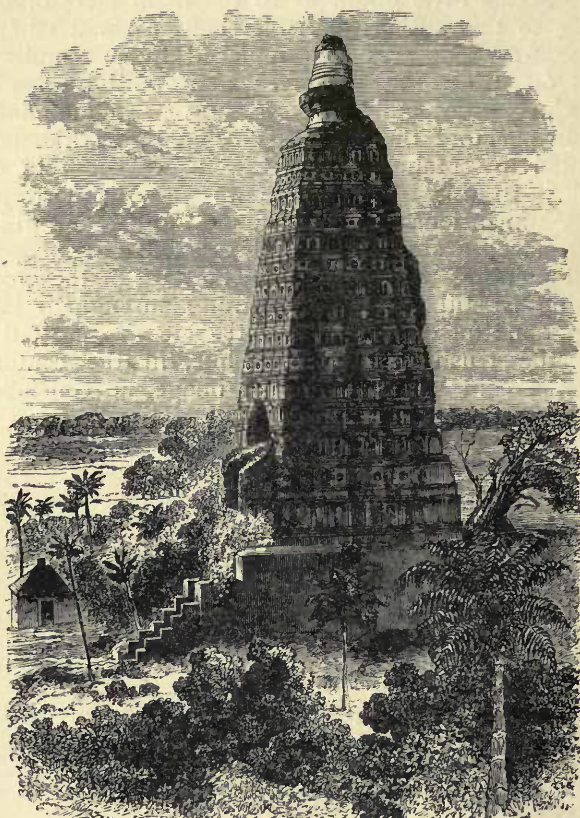
[4] Wassiliev, in his work on the Doctrine, History, etc., of Buddhism, pp. 41-42, gives a somewhat different account, stating that it was erected by Punya, one of three brothers converted by Uttara, one of whom built a temple in the Deer Park at Benares, and the other a temple in the Venuvana garden at Râjagriha. Gen. Cunningham refers to a story related by Târânâth of two brothers, one of whom built the Nâlanda temple, and, from the resemblance in style, he infers that the Mahâbodi temple belongs to the same date, if not to one of the brothers.

[5] That is in the attitude known as the 'Bhûmispar*s*a mudrâ', in which *S*âkyamuni sat when he attained supreme knowledge.

[6] 'Mahâbodhi,' pp. 17-25. This was a coin of Pa*s*upati, Râja of Nepâl, whose name—possibly the Pa*s*uprêksha of the chronologies—is well-known to numismatists from his coins; but nothing is certain about his date, except that most probably he lived subsequently to the 7th century.—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xiii. p. 412; Wright's, 'History of Nepal,' p. 113; Sylvain Lévi, 'Le Népal,' tome ii. pp. 108-111; 'Journal Royal Asiatic Society,' 1908, p. 681.

place, having fallen into decay, was restored by the Burmese in the year 1105, and again in 1298.[1]

From the data these accounts afford us we gather that the building we now see before us (Woodcut No. 19) is substantially



19. Temple at Bodh-Gayâ with Bo-tree. (From a Photograph by Mr. Peppe, C.E.)

that erected in the 6th century, but the niches Hiuen Tsiang saw, containing golden statues of Buddha, cannot be those now existing — most of the images round the basement are

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xx. pp. 161-189; Râjendralâl Mitra, 'Buddha Gayâ,' p. 209; Phayre's 'History of Burma,' p. 46; and 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxxvii. p. 97, note. Gen. Cunningham read the dates as equivalent to 1079 and 1086 A.D.; 'Mahâbodhi,' pp. 27, 28, and 77. But though a scholarly translation of the inscriptions has yet to be made, the readings of the Burmese or Arakanese dates as 467 and 660 of their era, can hardly be questioned—*i.e.* 1105 and 1298 A.D.

distinctly of Burmese type, though some few of them appear to be of about the 6th century—and the sculptures he mentions find no place in the present design; the amalakas of gilt copper that crowned the whole, as he saw it, have also disappeared.[1]

The changes in detail, as well as the introduction of radiating arches in the interior, must belong to the Burmese restorations in the beginning of the 12th and end of the 13th centuries. Though these, consequently, may have altered its appearance in detail, it is probable that, until the "restoration" in 1880-81, we still had before us a straight-lined pyramidal nine-storeyed temple of about the 6th century, retaining all its essential forms —anomalous and unlike anything else we find in India, either before or afterwards, but probably the parent of many nine-storeyed towers found beyond the Himâlayas, both in China and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, instead of carefully preserving this very interesting monument, the Government of Bengal was advised to "restore" it, and this was carried out under the superintendence of General Cunningham and his assistant, by which—as might have been anticipated—it was materially modified, and from an archæological point of view seriously injured.[2]

Eventually we may discover other examples which may render this noble tower less exceptional than it now appears to be. At Kesarîyâ in Champâran, about 20 miles south-east from Lauriyâ-Ararâj, where one of the pillars of Asoka mentioned above is found, are the ruins of what appears to have been a very large tope. It is, however, entirely ruined externally, and has never been explored, so that we cannot tell what was its original shape or purpose.[3] At Piprahwa also in the north of Basti district, on the Nepâl frontier, a mound containing the remains of a stûpa was excavated in 1897-98, but, apparently, more attention was given to the discovery of the relic casket, than to the construction and dimensions of the stûpa. It seems, however, to have been about 90 feet. in diameter at the base, and about 13½ ft. from the ground level; the dome began with a diameter of about 62 ft.[4] The inscription

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[1] Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 118 and 136, note 2.

[2] Cunningham's 'Mahâbodhi,' preface, p. ix. The restoration cost the Government somewhere about 200,000 rupees; and then the Mahant of the neighbouring monastery appropriated the renovated temple for his Vaishnava followers and consecrated the image by applying to it the "tilak" or frontal mark of Vishnu, so that it might be worshipped as that divinity, whilst he set both the Buddhists and Government at defiance to re-occupy the shrine.

[3] Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 64ff. and plate 24.

[4] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1898, p. 577; and 'Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal,' by Babu P. C. Mukherji, 1899, pp. 43-47, in which the "approximate total diameter of the whole stûpa" is given as 90½ ft.; but both illustrations and descriptions are very unsatisfactory.

on one of the relic caskets has attracted much attention on the part of scholars as recording the deposit of relics of the *S*âkya clansmen of Buddha.[1]

All along this line of country numerous Buddhist remains are found, all more or less ruined, and they have not yet been examined with the scientific care necessary to ascertain their forms. This is the more to be regretted as this was the native country of the founder of the religion, and the place where his doctrines appear to have been originally promulgated. If anything older than the age of A*s*oka is preserved in India, it is probably in this district that it must be looked for.

Amarâvatî.

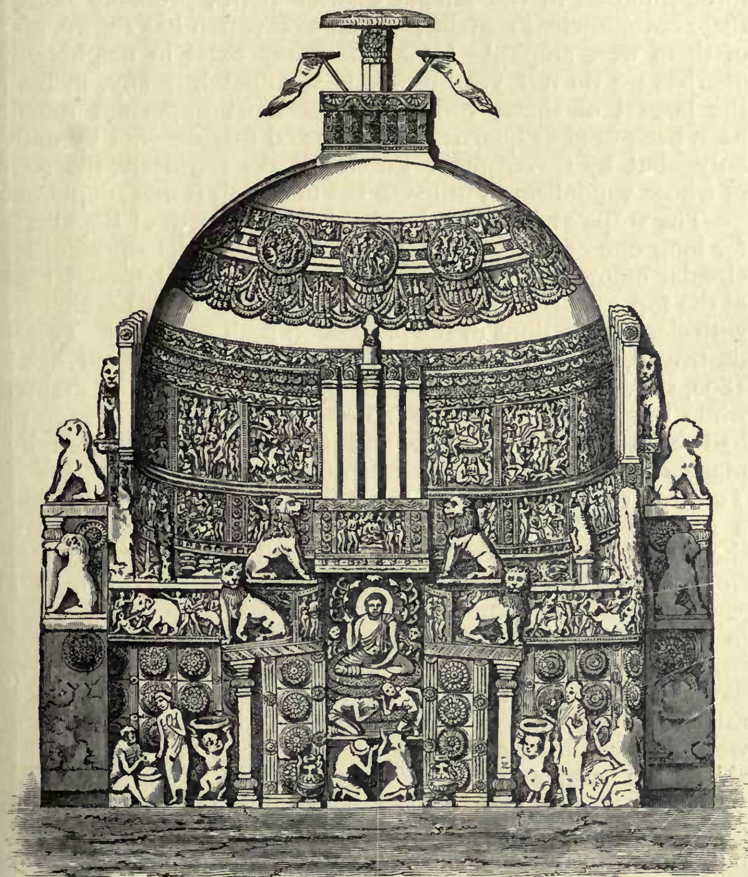
Although not a vestige remains *in situ* of the central stûpa at Amarâvatî, there is no great difficulty, by piecing together the fragments of it now in the British Museum—as is done in Plates 48 and 49 of 'Tree and Serpent Worship'—in ascertaining what its dimensions and general appearance were. When Colonel Mackenzie first saw it, in 1797, the central portion of the mound was still untouched, and rose in a turreted shape to a height of 20 ft. with a diameter of about 90 ft. at the top, and had been cased round with bricks, and so may have been 40 or 50 ft. in height. This indicates a dome of considerable size; the base or drum was probably 162½ ft. in diameter, and wainscotted with sculptured marble; how broad it was above we have no means of knowing, or whether there may not have been even a second terrace; but if, as is most probable, there was only one, the dome may have been 120 to 140 ft. in diameter. The perpendicular part was covered with sculptures in low relief, representing stûpas and scenes from the life of Buddha. The domical part was covered with stucco, and with wreaths and medallions either executed in relief or painted. No fragment of them remains by which it can be ascertained which mode of decoration was the one adopted.[2]

Altogether, there seems no doubt that the representation of a stûpa (Woodcut No. 20), copied from the Amarâvatî marbles, fairly represents the central building there. There were probably forty-eight such representations of dâgabas on the basement of the stûpa. In each the subject of the sculpture is varied, but the general design is the same throughout; and, on the whole, the woodcut may be taken as representing the

[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1899, pp. 149-180; 1905, pp. 679f; and 1907, pp. 105f.

[2] For a detailed account of the Amarâvatî Stûpa, see 'Archæological Survey of Southern India: The Buddhist Stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta,' 1887.

mode in which a Buddhist stûpa was ornamented in the 1st or 2nd century, at which time the style seems to have reached its highest point of elaboration, in India at least.[1]



20. Representation of a Stûpa from the Rail at Amarâvatî. (From a bas-relief in the British Museum.)

In the Andhra country—or, at least, in the districts adjoining the deltas of the Krishnâ and Godâvarî rivers—Buddhism must

[1] The recent discovery of the base of a stûpa, about 11 ft. in diameter, outside where the south gate of the great Amarâvatî stûpa was, has revealed the style in which the base or drum of these eastern stûpas was decorated—by marble slabs richly carved with representations of stûpas, placed at intervals, and with other sculptures between. There was no "inner rail" around the large stûpa, as was at one time assumed.

have had a very strong hold in early times. This is abundantly evidenced by the numbers of their remains in the area. A list of the mounds or "dibbas"—as they are called—indicates about three hundred in the Kistna district alone; probably most of these cover ancient remains, and, as excavation has shown, many of them were stûpas.[1] How many may exist in neighbouring districts we do not yet know. Unfortunately many, including the largest of these, containing the most important remains, have been used as quarries for brick and marble—not by natives only—but by Government Public Works engineers, the record of whose vandalism in utilising the materials is most deplorable.[2]

The stûpa at Bhattiprolu, about 6 miles north of Repalle, was for long one of the best preserved in the district—presenting a circular mound or dome of 40 ft. or more in height, though ruined at the top, a marble pillar 15 ft. high standing erect beside it, and with clear indications of the procession-path round it.[3] This was destroyed, about 1870;[4] what was left of it, on being surveyed in 1892, showed that the dome had been about 132 ft. in diameter, while the basement was of about 148 ft., the procession-path had been 8 ft. 4 in. wide and fenced on the outside by a marble rail—of which the bases of six piers were found *in situ*. Towards each of the cardinal points the base projected about 2 ft. 4 in., with a straight front, probably for the support of the five monoliths — represented on all the sculptured stûpas from Amarâvatî, and as was the case at Jaggayyapeta.[5] The sculptures of the latter stûpa, indeed, bear a close resemblance in their archaic character, to the only two fragments recovered here, and, so far as they go, indicate that this stûpa may have been of considerably earlier date than even the great rail at Amarâvatî. We might suppose also that the sculptures would be confined chiefly to the projecting façades, whilst the rest of the basement was faced with plain slabs and pilasters.

At least one relic casket had been found by the first excavators at a considerable height above the ground level; but the enclosing slabs, whether inscribed or not, were broken and cast aside, and the casket was smashed on the voyage to England and thrown away. During the survey, Mr. Rea discovered three more relic boxes at a lower level, and bearing

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[1] 'Madras Government Orders,' No. 462 of 29th May 1889.

[2] See *e.g.* 'Madras Government Orders,' No. 467, 30th April 1888, p. 15.

[3] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. i. pp. 153, 348, 374; 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science,' vol. xix. p. 225; Sewell's 'Topographical Lists of Antiquarian Remains,' pp. 77-78.

[4] *Ante*, p. 34, note 3.

[5] 'The Buddhist Stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta,' p. 110. These projecting pedestals with their five *âryaka* (worshipful) columns, may be analogous to the chapels for the Dhyâni-Buddhas at the bases of the dâgabas of Ceylon and of the chaityas of Nepâl.

inscriptions of considerable palæographic interest, the alphabet of which can hardly be placed later than 200 B.C.[1]

At Gudivâda, 20 miles north-west from Masulipatam, there was a "dibba" containing the remains of a stûpa, which was also demolished by the local engineers, it is said about 1860, and so little was left of it that its dimensions cannot now be ascertained. Four relic caskets are said to have been found, though we can learn nothing about their age; but considerable numbers of Andhra coins, mostly of lead, are turned up about the site belonging, probably, to the first three centuries of our era.[2]

The stûpa at Jaggayyapeta or Betavolu, 30 miles north-west from Amarâvatî, had been plundered of its rail, and of much of the marble casing of its basement, the dome had been destroyed, and relic casket dug out before it was surveyed in 1882. The basement was 31½ ft. in diameter, and portions of the facing remained, chiefly on the south side where the slabs on the projection for the support of the five stelæ bore archæic sculptures. The procession-path had been about 5 ft. wide, surrounded by a rail or wall, of which every fragment had disappeared.[3]

At Ghantaśâlâ, 13 miles west from Masulipatam, a mound was surveyed by Mr. Rea in 1892, and was found to contain the remains of a stûpa with a diameter at the ground level of about 111 ft. contained by a circular brick wall 18 ft. thick, forming the drum of the stûpa. Inside this was a curious reticulation of walls, between which the spaces were packed with black earth: a circular wall of 56 ft. outside diameter was connected by sixteen radiating partitions with the outer wall; and inside this was a square of 26 ft., in the middle of which was a column of brick 10 ft. square, joined to the preceding by four partitions from the middle of its sides, which ran right through the whole interior, while the sides of the outer square were continued to the inner circle.[4] In the centre of the column was a well, varying in width from 9 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. square, in which was a relic casket, but without anything to indicate its age. On each of the four faces of the base were projections, as at Jaggayyapeta, about 17 ft. in length by 5½ ft. broad and 4½ ft. high. Sculptured slabs were

[1] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii., preface, pp. ix.-xiii., and pp. 323-329; Rea's 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities,' pp. 7-16; and conf. Fleet 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1903, pp. 99ff.

[2] Sewell, 'Topographical Lists of Antiquarian Remains,' p. 52; Rea, *op. cit.* pp. 18-23.

[3] 'The Buddhist Stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta,' pp. 107-113, and plates 53-55.

[4] Rea, 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities,' plate 14; a less complex arrangement of interior partitions was found by Dr Führer in the Kankâli-Tîlâ at Mathurâ.—Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tom. i. p. 95; and V. Smith, 'Jain Stûpa,' plates 1 and 3.

found in the neighbourhood bearing a strong resemblance to those of Amarâvatî; and some had been utilised to carve on them Hindû divinities.[1]

It is not quite clear how this stûpa was completed; possibly there may have been more than one platform round the dome; but we may suppose, as is most probable, that the massive brick wall formed the true basement or drum, faced with sculptures, and crowned by a procession-path round the dome, as at Sânchi; this latter may have had a diameter of about 84 ft., rising as a hemisphere to about 54 ft. from the ground.[2]

At many other places, both in the Godâvarî and Kistna districts, remains of other stûpas, as also of rock-temples and other Buddhist antiquities, including some structural chaitya chapels, have been found—testifying to the predominance of Buddhism in this province, and their prosperity for some centuries before and after the Christian Era. Jaina images are also met with—evidencing their spread southwards from Orissa.[3]

Gandhâra Topes.

The extreme paucity of examples retaining their architectural form, in the valley of the Ganges, is, to some extent, compensated for by the existence of a very extensive range of examples in Afghanistan and the western Panjâb. In his memoir of these topes, published by Professor Wilson, in his 'Ariana Antiqua,' Mr. Masson enumerates and describes, in more or less detail, some sixty examples,[4] or almost exactly the same number which General Cunningham described as existing in Bhopâl. In this instance, however, they extend over a range of 200 miles, from Kâbul to the Indus, instead of only 16 or 17 miles from Sonâri to Andher. To these must be added some fifteen or twenty examples, found at Mânikyâla

[1] One slab had represented a fine stûpa, with Buddha, having a halo about his head, as the central figure, and with the usual five stelæ above; another, represented a Bodhi tree, under which is a throne on which lie two round objects like cushions (perhaps relics), whilst, curiously enough, the figures at each side are not the usual worshippers, but Mâra and his hosts of Mârakâyakas. Photographs of such sculptures would be preferable to pen and ink drawings.—Rea, *loc. cit.* plates 27 and 28.

[2] Mr Rea, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33-41, has proposed a somewhat fanciful theory of the construction of this stûpa.

[3] Since the publication of the volume on the Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta stûpas in 1886, the sole addition has been Mr. Rea's report on the excavation of three sites — Bhattiprolu, Ghantaśâlâ, and Gudivâda. Detailed accounts of the rock-temples at Guntupalle or Jilligeragudem, and of the structural chaityas at Chezarla, Vidyâdharapuram, *S*ankaram, etc., illustrated with photographs and plans, would be of great archæological importance. See below, page 167.

[4] Masson, however, distinguished between topes, of which portions of the masonry were visible, and "mounds" that, in most instances, cover the remains of stûpas, such as the Ahin-posh Stûpa, and in some cases at least, they cover whole groups of stûpas.

or in its neighbourhood, together with those discovered in Swât and on the north-west frontier within the last twenty-five years, and it is certain that numbers still exist undescribed, making altogether quite a hundred stûpas in this province.

Notwithstanding this wealth of examples, we miss one, which was probably the finest of all. When Fah Hian passed through the province in A.D. 400, he describes the dâgaba which King Kanishka had erected at Peshâwar as "more than 470 ft. in height, and decorated with every sort of precious substance, so that all who passed by, and saw the exquisite beauty and graceful proportions of the tower and the temple attached to it, exclaimed in delight that it was incomparable for beauty"; and he adds, "Tradition says this was the highest tower in Jambudwipa."[1] When Hiuen Tsiang passed that way more than 200 years afterwards, he reports the tower as having been 400 ft. high, but it was then ruined — "the part that remained, a li and a half in circumference (1000 feet) and 150 ft. high"; and he adds, in twenty-five stages of the tower there were a "ho"—10 pecks—of relics of Buddha.[2] No trace of this monument now exists.

These north-western stûpas are so important for our history, and all have so much that is common among them, and are distinguished by so many characteristics from those of India Proper, that it would be extremely convenient if we could find some term which would describe them without involving either a theory or a geographical error. The term Afghanistan topes, by which they have been designated, is too modern, and has the defect of not including Peshâwar and the western Panjâb. "Ariana," as defined by Professor Wilson, describes very nearly the correct limits of the province; for, though it includes Baktria and the valley of the Upper Oxus, where no topes have yet been found, we know from the Chinese Pilgrims that in the 5th and 7th centuries these countries, as far as Khotan, were intensely Buddhist, and monuments exist there, and have recently been found in Khotan both by Dr. Sven Hedin and by Dr. M. A. Stein.[3] The name, however, has of late almost disappeared in favour of Gandhâra—the early Indian name of the eastern portion of the district under notice.

When the Sanskrit-speaking races first broke up from their original settlements in the valley of the Oxus, they passed through the valley of the Kâbul river on their way to India,

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[1] Beal's 'Fah-Hian,' p. 35; 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i., introd. p. xxxii.

[2] 'Vie et Voyages de Hiouen Thsang,' tom. i. p. 84; Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 63.

[3] Stein's 'Archæological Exploration in Chinese Turkistan' (1901); 'Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan' (1903); and 'Ancient Khotan,' 2 vols. (4to), 1907.

and lingered, in all probability, both there and in the Panjâb before reaching their first permanent position on the Saraswatî —in the true "Arya Varta"—between the Satlaj and the Jamnâ. It is also nearly certain that they remained the dominant race in these countries down to the time of Alexander's invasion, and during the supremacy of the Baktrian kingdom. About 150 years, however, before the Christian Era, if we may trust the Chinese accounts,[1] the Yue-chi, and other tribes of Tartar origin, were on the move in this direction. Somewhat later they struck down the Baktrian monarchy, and appear from thenceforward to have permanently occupied their country. It is not clear whether they immediately, or at what interval they penetrated into the Kâbul valley; but between that time and the Christian Era successive hordes of Yue-chi, *S*akas, Turushkas, and Hunas, had poured into the valley and the western Panjâb to such an extent as to obliterate, or, at least for the time, supersede the Aryan population, and supplant it by one of Turanian origin, and with this change of race came the change of religion. Gandhâra is, however, a local name, which certainly, in early times, included the best part of this province, and in Kanishka's time seems to have included all he reigned over, and, if so, is the most appropriate term we could find.

It has, moreover, this advantage, that it is essentially Buddhist. In the time of A*s*oka, it was Kashmîr and Gandhâra to which the Buddhist Council sent its missionaries, and from that time forward Gandhâra is the term by which, in all Buddhist books, that kingdom is described, of which Taxila was at one time the capital, and which is, as nearly as can now be ascertained, conterminous with our architectural province.

It is not clear whether Kanishka was or was not the first Buddhist king of this country; but, so far as is at present known, he seems to have done for Buddhism in Gandhâra what A*s*oka did for that religion in Central India. He elevated it from its position as a struggling sect to that of being the religion of the State. We know, however, that A*s*oka's Council sent missionaries to this country;[2] and, more than this, that he engraved a complete set of his edicts on a rock at Kapurdigiri, 30 miles north-east from Peshâwar, but we do not know what success they or he attained. Certain it is, as Professor Wilson remarks, that "no coin of a Greek prince of Baktria has ever been met with in any tope."[3] The local coins that are found in them all belong to dynasties subsequent to the destruction of the Baktrian kingdom, and, according to the same authority

[1] De Guigne's 'Histoire des Huns,' vol. ii. pp. 40 *et seqq.*
[2] Turnour's 'Mahâwansa,' p. 71. [3] 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 43.

(p. 322), "were selected from the prevailing currency, which was not of any remotely previous issue;" "while the Græco-Baktrian coins had long ceased to be current, though they had not, perhaps, become so scarce as to be enshrined as rarities" (p. 44). Under these circumstances, Professor Wilson arrives at the conclusion that the topes "are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian Era" (p. 322). It is true that some of the kings whose coins are found in the topes, such as Hermæus, Azes, and others, probably lived prior to that epoch, but none of their coins show a trace of Buddhism. With Kanishka, however, all this is altered. He is represented as a Buddhist, beyond all doubt; he held the convocation, called the third by the northern Buddhists—the fourth according to the southern —at which Nâgârjuna was apparently the presiding genius. From about that time the Tibetans, Burmese, and Chinese date the first introduction of Buddhism into their countries; not, however, the old simple Buddhism, known as the Hînayâna, which prevailed before, but the corrupt Mahâyâna, which, as a new revelation, Nâgârjuna spread from Peshâwar over the whole of central and eastern Asia. It was precisely analogous to the revolution that took place in the Christian Church, about the same time after the death of its founder. Six hundred years after Christ, Gregory the Great established the hierarchical Roman Catholic system, in supersession of the simpler primitive forms. In the fifth century after the Nirvâna, Nâgârjuna introduced the complicated ritualistic and idolatrous Mahâyâna,[1] though, as we learn from the Chinese Pilgrims, a minority still adhered in after times to the lesser vehicule or Hînayâna system.

Although, therefore, we are probably safe in asserting that none of the Gandhâra stûpas date much before the Christian Era, it is not because there is any inherent, *à priori* improbability that they should date before Kanishka, as there is that those of India Proper cannot extend beyond A*s*oka. There is no trace of wooden construction here: all is stone and all complete, and copied probably from originals that may have existed two centuries earlier. Their dates depend principally on the coins, which are almost invariably found deposited with the relics, in these topes. Coins have rarely been found in any Indian tope.[2] They are found in hundreds in these north-western ones, and always fix a date beyond which the tope cannot be carried back, and generally enable us to approximate to the true date of the monument in

[1] Vassilief, 'Le Bouddhisme, ses Dogmes,' etc., Paris, 1865, p. 31, *et passim*.

[2] A silver coin of one of the Andhra kings, belonging to the 2nd century A.D., was found in the Sopârâ stûpa.

question. If those of Kanishka are the earliest, which appears to be the case, the great one which he commenced, at Mânikyâla, is probably also the last to be finished in its present form, inasmuch as below 12 ft. of solid masonry, a coin of Yasovarman of Kanauj was found, and his date cannot be carried back beyond A.D. 720. Between these dates, therefore, must be ranged the whole of this great group of Buddhist monuments.

There were perhaps no great Buddhist establishments in Gandhâra before Kanishka, and as few, if any, after the 8th century, yet we learn that, during the earlier part of the period between these dates this province was as essentially Buddhist as any part of India. Fah Hian tells us, emphatically, that the law of Buddha was universally honoured, and mentions 500 monasteries,[1] and Hiuen Tsiang makes no complaint of heretics, while both dilate in ecstasies on the wealth of relics everywhere displayed. Part of the skull, teeth, garments, staffs, pots of Buddha—impressions of his feet, even his shadow—was to be seen in this favoured district, which was besides sanctified by many actions which had been commemorated by towers erected on the spot where these meritorious acts were performed. Many of these spots have been identified, and more will no doubt reward the industry of future investigators, but meanwhile enough is known to render this province one of the most interesting of all India for the study of the traditions or art of Mediæval Buddhism.

The antiquities of the western part of the province were first investigated by Dr. Honigberger, in the years 1833-1834,[2] and the result of his numismatic discoveries published in Paris and elsewhere; but the first account we have of the buildings themselves is that given by Mr. Masson, who, with singular perseverance and sagacity, completed what Dr. Honigberger had left undone.[3] Those of the eastern district and about Mânikyâla were first investigated by General Ventura and M. Court, officers in the service of Ranjît Singh, and the result of their researches published by Prinsep in the third volume of his 'Journal' in 1830; but considerably further light was thrown on them by the explorations of General Cunningham, published in the second volume of his 'Archæological Reports' for 1863-1864 (pp. 82 *et seqq.*). Since then still further additions have been

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[1] Beal's translation, p. 26; 'Buddhist Records,' introd. pp. xxx., xxxi.

[2] Honigberger, 'Reise'; see also J. G. Gerard's 'Memoir' in 'Jour. Asiat. Soc. Beng.' vol. iii. p. 321; and Jacquet's 'Notice' in 'Jour. Asiatique' IIIe. série, tome ii. p. 234; iv. p. 401; and vii. p. 385.

[3] Mr. Masson's account was communicated to Professor Wilson, and by him published in his 'Ariana Antiqua,' with lithographs from Mr. Masson's sketches which, though not so detailed as we could wish, are still sufficient to render their form and appearance intelligible.

made to our knowledge of the Gandhâra remains. In 1879 the late Mr. Wm. Simpson, whilst accompanying the British forces, excavated the Ahin-posh stûpa, to the south of Jalâlâbâd, and his account of it formed a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this and other remains in the valley.[1] Under Major Cole and others, extensive excavations were also made in Yûsufzai and Swât in search of sculptures; but plans of the structures have but seldom been secured.[2] Lastly, in 1895-1897, a mission was sent out from France, under the direction of Mons. A. Foucher, to make a scientific survey of the Buddhist remains in the Yûsufzai and Swât districts. The first volume of the results of this expedition was published in 1905, containing an account of the whole subject, abundantly illustrated and thoroughly scientific.[3]

JALÂLÂBÂD TOPES.

The topes examined and described by Mr. Masson as existing round Jalâlâbâd are thirty-seven in number, viz., eighteen distinguished as the Dârantâ group, six at Chahar Bâgh, and thirteen at Hiddâ. Of these about one-half yielded coins and relics of more or less importance, which proved the dates of their erection to extend from somewhat before the Christian Era to the 7th or 8th century.

One of the most remarkable of these is No. 10 of Hiddâ or Hadâ, which contained, besides a whole museum of gems and rings, five gold solidi of the emperors Theodosius (A.D. 408), Marcian and Leo (474); two gold Kanauj coins; and 202 Sassanian coins extending to, if not beyond, the Hijra.[4] This tope, therefore, must belong to the 7th century, and would be a

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[1] 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, pp. 37-64. The plates in Gen. Cunningham's paper, —'Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1879, pp. 205-210, supplied to him by Lieut. Mayne, R.E.—do not add to Mr. Simpson's drawings. Mr. J. D. Beglar, Gen. Cunningham's assistant, was sent to excavate the stûpas at 'Alî Masjid, at the same time, but no account of his work seems to have been given—not even a plan of the stûpas excavated; a few photographs in the Calcutta Museum (of which six were published in the 'Ancient Monuments of India,' plates 103-108) are the only evidence of this excavation.

[2] The way in which the excavations of so many of these sites were conducted, must ever be regretted. Major Cole's "lointaine direction" of the excavations in Yûsufzai, leaving the entire supervision to a native jamadâr, is severely criticised ('L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 21), as is also the destruction of interesting ancient structures by the Public Works Department.—Foucher, in 'Le Tour du Monde, 1899,' p. 486, and 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' pp. 14ff, 47, etc.

[3] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' contains a masterly account of the origin of the classical influence on Buddhist art in India and the East, and is richly illustrated from his surveys and the sculptures stored in various museums.

[4] The length of time over which these coins range—more than 200 years—is sufficient to warn us what caution is requisite in fixing the date of buildings from their deposits. A tope cannot be earlier than the coins deposited in it, but, as in this case, it may be one or two hundred years more modern.

most convenient landmark in architectural history, were it not that the whole of its exterior is completely peeled off, so that no architectural mouldings remain, and, apparently from the difficulty of ascertaining them, no dimensions are quoted in the text.[1] About one-half of the others contained relics, but none were found to be so rich as this.

In general appearance they differ considerably from the great Indian topes just described, being taller in proportion to their breadth, and having a far more tower-like appearance, than any found in India, except the Sârnâth example. They are mostly smaller, one of the largest at Dârantâ being only 160 ft. in circumference or about 51 ft. in diameter. This is about the usual size of the topes in Afghanistan, the second class being a little more than 100 ft., while many are much smaller. There are, however, some of larger size, for Mr. William Simpson found the circumference of the Ahin-posh stûpa to be about 250 ft., and of the Umar Khel tope at Dârantâ, a rough measurement gave 300 ft. circumference to the circular drum.[2]

In every instance they seem to have rested on a square base, though in many this has been removed, and in others it is buried in rubbish; in many cases also, if not always, there was a deep plinth or low terrace below this base. Above this rises a circular drum, crowned by a belt sometimes composed merely of two architectural string-courses, with different coloured stones disposed as a diaper pattern between them. Sometimes a range of plain pilasters occupies this space. More generally the pilasters are joined by arches sometimes circular, sometimes of an ogee form. In one instance—the Red (Sûrkh) Tope—they are alternately circular and three-sided arches. That this belt represents the enclosing rail at Sânchi and the pilastered base at Mânikyâla need not be doubted. It shows, however, a very considerable change in style to find it elevated so far up the monument as it is here.

Generally speaking, the dome or roof rises immediately above this, but no example in this group retains its termination in a perfect state. Some appear to have had hemispherical roofs, some more nearly conical, of greater or less steepness of pitch; and some (like that represented in Woodcut No. 21) had, perhaps, only a slight elevation in the centre. It seems possible there may have been some connection between the shape of the roof and the purpose for which the tope was raised, or the age

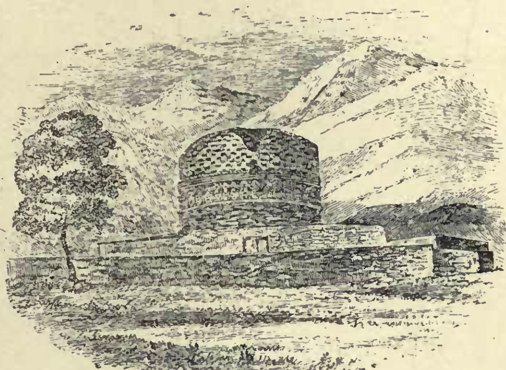
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[1] 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 109.

[2] 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, p. 53. The Nagara-gûndi tope, at old Nagarahâra, appears to have been also of similar size. One between Cherat and Gûniyâr passes in Swât, is 140 ft. in circumference at the bottom of the cylindric part.—Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 65.

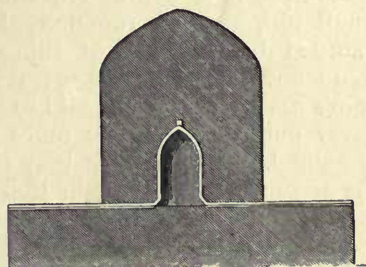
of its erection. But we have no evidence to lead us to any decision of this point.

One interesting peculiarity was brought to light by Mr. Masson in his excavation of the tope at Sultânpur, 9 miles west of Jalâlâbâd, and is shown in the annexed section (Woodcut No. 22). It appears that the monument originally consisted of a small tope on a large square base, with the relic placed on its summit. This was afterwards increased in size by a second tope being built over it.[1]



21. Tope at Bimaran. (From a Drawing by Mr. Masson, in Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua.')

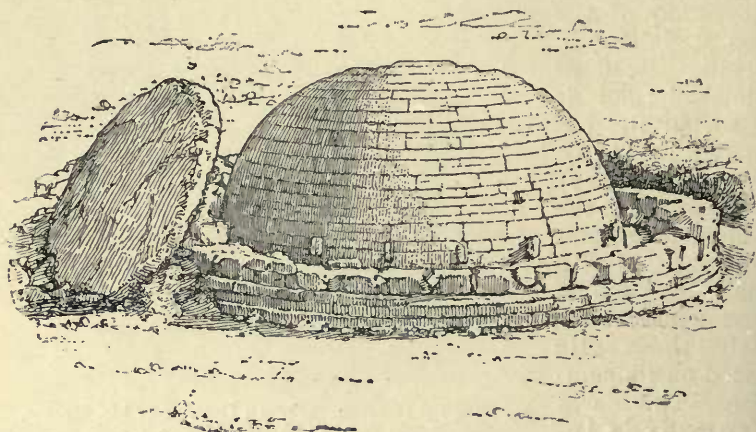
Among the later discoveries in the North-West Frontier districts, the following may be mentioned as adding to our knowledge of these stûpas. At Chakpat near Chakdarra fort in the Swât valley, a mound was excavated by Mr. A. Caddy in 1896, in search of sculptures for the Calcutta Museum, and was found to contain a small stûpa in the form of a simple hemispherical dome, about 20 ft. in diameter. This unique form, probably one of the earliest types for such a structure, points to the derivation of these structures from the simple tumulus (Woodcut No. 23). The dome was fairly complete and was encircled by the base of a wall about 30 ft. in diameter. This was evidently the remains of an outer casing that had been built at a later date over the original structure—enlarging it and probably altering the contour. The débris of this—when the stones of the outer surface were carried off—



22. Tope at Sultânpur. (From a Drawing by Mr. Masson, in Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua.')

[1] At Hadâ, near Jalâlâbâd, Mr. Simpson found a somewhat similar instance.—'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, p. 56.

had concealed and helped to preserve the original. A circular stone disc, of quite 11 ft. 6 in. in diameter, which had formed one of the chhattras or umbrellas crowning the larger stûpa,



23. Stûpa at Chakpat. (From a Photograph.)

and had slid down from the higher dome when first ruined, is seen in the illustration.[1]

Half a mile below 'Alî Masjid in the Khaibar Pass, on a small hill, are the remains of a religious establishment surrounded by a group of ruined stûpas of a very interesting character. They were excavated in 1879 by General Cunningham's assistant, and are said to have yielded important materials, never published. Little more than the bases of these stûpas remained, but they were very rich in stucco figure decoration; the accompanying reproduction of a photograph of No. 5 of the series (Plate I) will convey some idea of their form.[2]

Beyond 'Alî Masjid and near Lâlâbeg is the Ishpola tope —M. Court's Pîshbulak[3]—placed on the summit of a rock projecting into, and dominating the valley. It appears about nearly as large as the Mânikyâla stûpa, and, like it, the hemispherical dome that crowns it, is only slightly raised on a short cylindrical neck resting on a square base which is further supported by walls forming a second and lower quadrangular terrace. The base had fourteen pilasters on

[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. pp. 56-59, 67, and 74.

[2] Burgess, 'Monuments of Ancient India,' plate 106. Three coins of Vasudeva, the third Kushan King, were found here, but the stûpas can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than the 3rd century A.D.

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. v. p. 393.

PLATE I.



'ALÎ MASJID STÛPA NO. 5.

[*To face page* 92, Vol. I.

each side with quasi-Corinthian capitals; and three of the interspaces have recesses as if for images of the Buddha, whilst on the lower member of the base was a continuous row of Buddhist figures about 18 in. high and placed close together. The stair leading to the top of the base was on the east side, and both the base and south side of the dome were still fairly entire in 1879.[1]

Of the Ahin-posh stûpa mentioned above, only the base remained and was 100 ft. square with extensions on the sides for the stairs, of which the principal appear to have been on the north and south sides—those on the other two sides having been added afterwards. Parts of the lowest course of the drum or dome showed that its diameter had been 80 ft., and the base seems to have been about 23 ft. high, with fourteen pilasters on the east and west faces. Under this base is a plinth 5½ ft. high and projecting 6 ft. In the relic chamber were found three Roman coins of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), Trajan, and the empress of Hadrian (117-138), and seventeen of Kanishka, Huvishka and Kadphises: hence this stûpa can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than the end of the 2nd century, but probably considerably later.[2]

The most imposing ruin of a stûpa noticed in Swât is one between the passes of Cherat and Guniyâr, to the south of Chakdarra, of which the circumference of the drum is about 140 ft., or 45 ft. in diameter. Like the Ishpola stûpa, its dome rises on a double drum, by which the vertical lines in the outline seem to gain in importance at the cost of the downward curve. The case is similar with the Barikot tope, about 9 miles up the valley from Chakdarra, which, as M. Foucher points out, is very probably the Uttarasena stûpa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[3] It has lost its square base or platform, of which the stones have been used to build modern walls in the vicinity, but it has preserved the belt of arches which divides the cylindrical portion into two sections, one above the other; and the dome is pretty entire.

About a mile south-east from Haibatgrâm, in the same locality, is another stûpa, hid away in a valley that takes from it the name of Top-darra. It has a circular base about 31 ft. in diameter and 7 ft. in height, introduced above the square base. This latter is some 12 ft. high and 58 ft. square, has nine pilasters on each face, and remains almost intact

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[1] Simpson, 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, pp. 40, 41; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. p. 74 and fig. 14.

[2] Simpson, *ut sup.* p. 49.

[3] Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. pp. 126-127, and 132-133; Julien, 'Mémoires,' tome ii. pp. 139, 146-149. A view is given in Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. p. 67.

except the stair on one side ascending to the platform, which a trifling excavation would probably disinter.[1] The height of this structure to the top of the dome must have been nearly 40 ft.

Besides those already mentioned there are about twenty or thirty topes in the neighbourhood of Kâbul, but all much ruined, and few of any striking appearance. So at least we are led to infer from Mr. Masson's very brief notice of them. No doubt many others still remain in spots hitherto unvisited by Europeans.

In the immediate vicinity of these topes are found caves and tumuli, the former being the residences of priests, the latter partly burying-places, and partly ruined vihâras, perhaps in some instances smaller relic-shrines. Their exact destination cannot be ascertained without a careful investigation by persons thoroughly conversant with the subject. There are still, also, many other points of great interest which require to be cleared up by actual examination. When this has been done we may hope to be able to judge with some certainty of their affinity with the Indian buildings on the one hand, and those of Persia on the other.

Mânikyâla.

The most important group, however, of the Gandhâra topes is that at Mânikyâla in the Panjâb, situated between the Indus and the Jehlam or Hydaspes, about 20 miles south-east of Râwalpindi. Fifteen or twenty examples are found at this place, most of which were opened by General Ventura and M. Court about the year 1830, when several of them yielded relics of great value, though no record has been preserved of the greater part of their excavations. In one opened by M. Court, a square chamber was found at a height of 10 ft. above the ground level. In this was a gold cylinder enclosed in one of silver, and that again in one of copper. The inner one contained four gold coins, ten precious stones, and four pearls. These were, no doubt, the relics which the tope was intended to preserve. The inscription has been read, and is dated in the eighteenth year of Kanishka,[2] so that we may feel assured it was erected during, or not long after, his reign. Seven Roman coins were found much worn, as if by long use,[3] before they reached this remote locality; and, as they extend down to

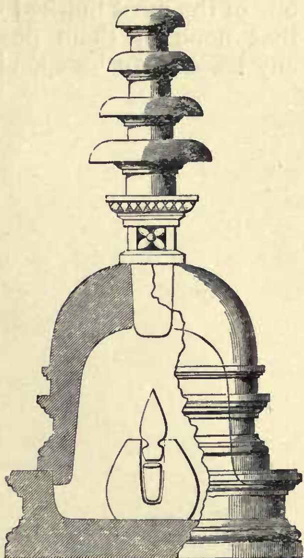
[1] Foucher, *loc. cit.* pp. 70, 71 and 74, and figs. 17, 18.

[2] 'Journal Asiatique,' IX[e] Sér., tome vii., 1896, pp. 1-25.

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii. p. 559.

B.C. 43,[1] it is certain the monument was erected after that date. The gold coins were all those of Kanishka. This tope, therefore, could hardly have been erected earlier than thirty years before Christ. To the antiquary the enquiry is of considerable interest, but less so to the architect, as the tope is so completely ruined that neither its form nor its dimensions can now be distinguished.

Another was opened in 1863 by General Cunningham, in the relic chamber of which he found a copper coin, belonging to the Satrap Zeionises, who is supposed to have governed this part of the country about the beginning of the Christian Era, and we may therefore assume that the tope was erected by him or in his time. This and other relics were enclosed in a glass-stoppered vessel, placed in a miniature representation of the tope itself, 4½ in. wide at base, and 8½ in. high (Woodcut No. 24), which may be considered as a fair representation of what a tope was or was intended to be, in that day. It is, perhaps, taller, however, than a structural example would have been; and the tee, with its four umbrellas, is, possibly, exaggerated.[2]



24. Relic Casket from Tope at Mânikyâla. (Found and drawn by Gen. Cunningham.)

The principal tope of the group is, perhaps, the most remarkable of its class in India, though inferior in size to several in Ceylon. It was first noticed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and a very correct view of it published by him, with the narrative of his mission to Kâbul in 1809.[3] It was afterwards thoroughly explored by General Ventura, in 1830, and a complete account of his investigations published by Prinsep in the third volume of his 'Journal.' Since then its basement has been cleared of the rubbish that hid it to a depth of 12 ft. to 15 ft. all round, by the officers

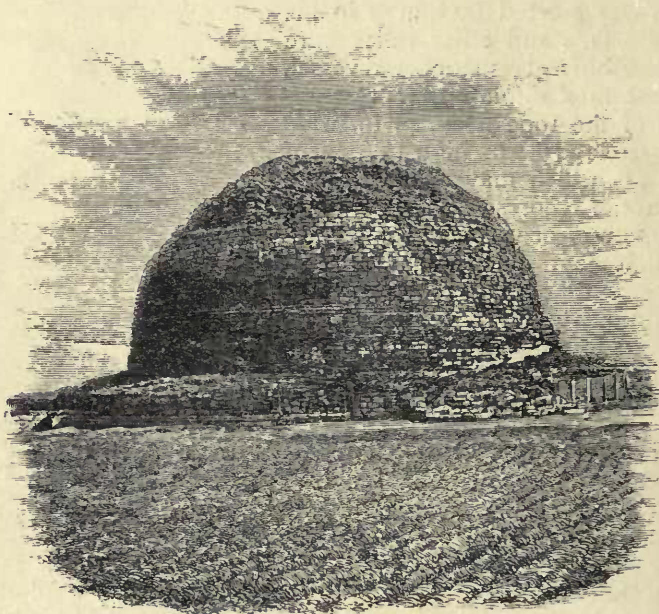
[1] Thomas in 'Prinsep,' vol. i. p. 150; and 'Journal R. Asiatic Soc.,' vol. ix. (N.S.), pp. 217-218.

[2] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. ii. p. 167, plate 65. A similar reliquary, with five umbrellas or *chattras*, was found by Gerard in the Burj-i-yak-dereh tope to the east of Kâbul; Jacquet, in 'Jour. Asiatique,' III^e série, tome vii. pp. 394-395; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 14f. and 75.

[3] Elphinstone's 'Account of Caubul,' pp. 78, and 376, 1st ed.

of the Public Works Department. They also made careful plans and sections of the whole.[1]

From these it appears that the dome is an exact hemisphere, 127 ft. in diameter, and consequently as nearly as may be, 400 ft. in circumference. The outer circle measures in like manner 159 ft. 2 in., or 500 ft. in circumference, and is ascended by four very grand flights of steps, one in each face, leading to a procession-path 16 ft. in width, ornamented both above and below by a range of dwarf pilasters, representing the detached rail of the older Indian monuments. It is, indeed, one of the most marked characteristics of these Gandhâra topes, that none of them possess, or ever seem to have possessed, any trace of an independent rail; but most have an ornamental



25. View of Mânikyâla Tope. (From a Photograph.)

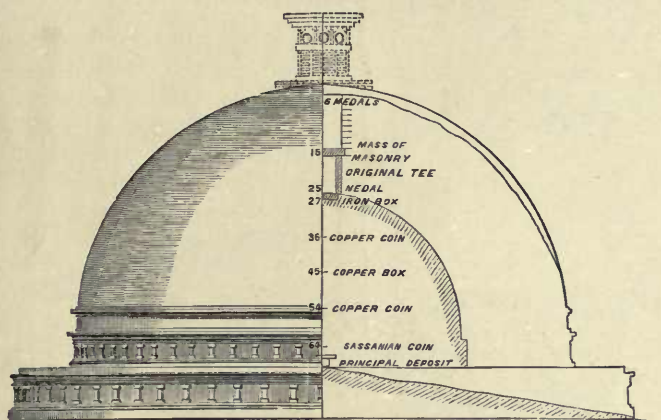
belt of pilasters, joined generally by arches simulating the original rail. This can hardly be an early architectural form, and leads to the suspicion that, in spite of their deposits, their outward casing may be more modern than the coins they contain; yet, on the other hand, we must admit that the simple hemispherical dome, without drum, placed on a low platform,

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[1] Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v. pp. 75-79, and plates 21-24.

(as at Chakpat) must have been an early form, and that the rail was a feature confined to purely Indian stûpas, whilst among those of the Gandhâra region it never appeared.

The outward appearance of the Mânikyâla tope, in its half-ruined state, may be judged of from the view (Woodcut No. 25). All that it really requires to complete its outline is the tee, which was an invariable adjunct to these buildings: no other



26. Restored Elevation of the Tope at Mânikyâla. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

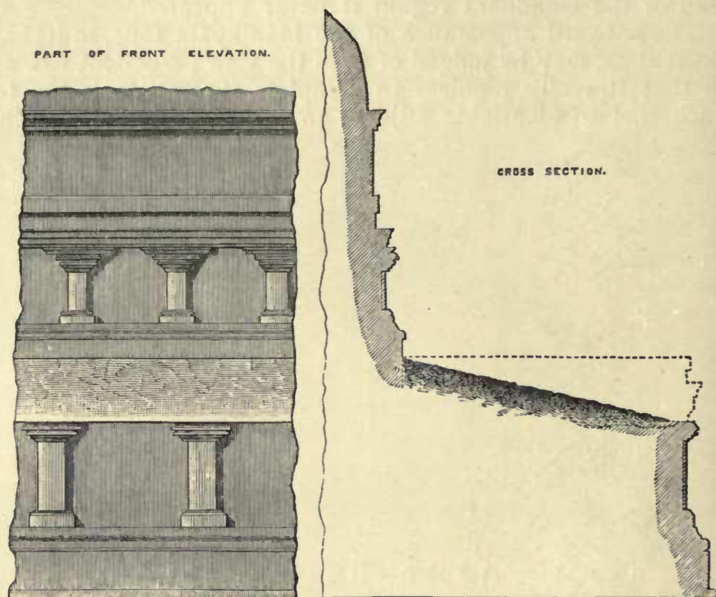
feature has wholly disappeared. The restored elevation, half-section, half-elevation (Woodcut No. 26), to the usual scale, 50 ft. to 1 in., will afford the means of comparison with other monuments;[1] and the section and elevation of the base. Woodcut No. 27, on the next page, will explain its architectural details in so far as they can be made out.

On digging into this monument, General Ventura found three separate deposits of relics, arranged at apparently equal distances of 25 ft. from the surface of the finished monument and from each other, and each apparently increasing in value or importance as it descended. The first was at the base of a solid cubical mass of squared masonry, and contained, *inter alia*, some Sassanian coins and one of Yasovarman (about A.D. 720), and one of Abdullah bin Hâzim, struck at Merv A.H. 66, or A.D. 685.[2] The second, at a depth of 50 ft., contained no coins. The principal deposit, at a depth of 75 ft., was on the exact level of the procession-path outside. It consisted of a copper vessel, in which was a relic casket in brass, represented in the

[1] The restored elevation here, omits the stairs (*sapana*) in front and at the sides, as also the umbrellas that crowned the whole.—See Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. v. plates 21 and 22.

[2] Thomas's 'Prinsep,' vol. i. p. 94.

woodcut No. 28 on next page, containing a smaller vessel of gold, filled with a brown liquid, and with an inscription on the



27. Elevation and Section of portion of Basement of Stûpa at Mânikyâla.

lid which has not yet been fully deciphered, but around it were one gold and six copper coins of the Kanishka type.

If this were all, it would be easy to assert that the original smaller tope, as shown in the section (Woodcut No. 26), was erected under Kanishka, or in his time, and that the square block on its summit was the original tee, and that in the 8th century an envelope 25 ft. in thickness, but following the original form, was added to it,[1] and with the extended procession-path it assumed its present form, which is very much lower than we would otherwise expect from its age.

Against this theory, however, there is an ugly little fact. It is said that a fragment[2] or, as it is printed, three Sassanian coins

[1] It is not to be assumed that, when a stûpa was enveloped by an addition, the enlarged form was symmetrical with the original; rather it would usually add proportionately more to the height than to the diameter.

[2] In the text it is certainly printed "three" with a reference to 19 in the plate 21 of vol. iii. The latter is undoubtedly a misprint, and I cannot help believing the former is so also, as only one fragment is figured; and Prinsep complains more than once of the state of the French MS. from which he was compiling his account. I observe that Gen. Cunningham adopts the same views. At p. 78, vol. v., he says: "I have a strong suspicion that Gen. Ventura's record of three Sassanian coins having been found below deposit B may be erroneous."

were found at a depth of 64 ft. (69 ft. from the finished surface); and if this were so, as the whole masonry was found perfectly solid and undisturbed from the surface to the base, the whole monument must be of the age of this coin. As engraved, however, it is such a fragment[1] that it seems hardly sufficient to base much upon it. Unless the General had discovered it himself, and noted it at the time, it might so easily have been mislabelled or mixed up with other Sassanian fragments belonging to the upper deposits that its position may be wrongly described. If, however, there were three, this explanation will not suffice. It may, however, be that the principal deposit was accessible, as we know was sometimes the case,[2] in this instance at the bottom of an open well-hole or side gallery, before the time of the rebuilding in the 8th century, and was then, and then only, built up solid. If we may disregard this deposit, its story seems self-evident as above explained. But whatever its internal arrangements may have been, it seems perfectly certain that its present external appearance is due to a rebuilding, possibly as late as the early part of the 8th century.



28. Relic Casket, Mânikyâla.

General Cunningham attempted to identify M. Court's tope with that erected to commemorate the Buddha, in a previous stage of existence, offering his body to appease the hunger of a tigress, or — according to another version — of its seven famishing cubs;[3] but this was based on a mistaken reading of some words in the inscription. The stûpa of the "body-offering" must have been far to the north-east of Taxila— probably in the Hazâra country.[4] Unfortunately nothing of the exterior coating now remains on any of the sixteen topes at this place, and, what is worse, of all the fifty or fifty-five which can still be identified at Tàxila. As General Cunningham remarks, of all these sixty or seventy stûpas there is not one, excepting the great Mânikyâla tope, that retains in its original position a single wrought stone of its outer facing;[5] none

[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii. plate 21, fig. 18.

[2] 'Foé Koué Ki,' ch. xiii. pp. 85-86; Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. p. xxxiv.

[3] S. Julien's 'Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales,' tome i. p. 164, and 'Vie de H. Th.' p. 89; or Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. pp. 145f.; and 'Life of H. T.' p. 67; Sp. Hardy's 'Manual of Budhism,' 2nd ed. pp. 93f.

[4] E. Chavannes, 'Song Yun' in 'Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient,' tome iii. (1903), p. 411.

[5] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. ii. p. 172.

consequently, are entitled to a longer notice in a work wholly devoted to architecture.

Over all India there must have been large numbers of stûpas in Buddhist times, though now so very few remain above ground. There is, however, near Daulatpur in the Haidarâbâd district of Sind, a large tope, known as Thal Rukhan, fully 50 ft. in diameter, and about the same in height. The inner core is of sun-dried brick cased outside with good burnt bricks—moulded for the cornices and capitals of pilasters. It has been surrounded by a platform about 6 yards wide, now ruined and covered with débris.[1] The lower portion of the stûpa is much peeled and injured ; but above are two belts of pilasters—about twenty in each — with moulded bases and quasi-Corinthian capitals. Over the lower belt a cornice ran, above which the diameter of the tower is contracted by perhaps 5 ft. In the upper section the pilasters are better preserved, and though the top is much ruined, the dome probably began at about 8 ft. above this.[2] The bricks are very large, measuring 16 in. in length by 11 in breadth and 3 in. thick. The stûpa probably belongs to an early age, and, as M. Foucher remarks, in style, it appears to have descended directly from those of the Swât valleys and Kâbul.

In 1877 a stone box containing a crystal reliquary was found embedded in brick when excavating a small mound at Kolhapur; the casket was broken, but the lid of the box bore a short inscription in early letters, of the maker's name and of the person for whom it was made.[3]

In 1882 Mr J. M. Campbell of the Civil Service excavated the remains of a stûpa at Sopârâ, 5 miles north of Basein. The dimensions of it, given by Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji are unfortunately not consistent.[4] If the diameter of the stûpa was, as stated, 67 ft., and the circular platform on which it stood was 268 ft. in circumference and 18 ft. high, the ramp round the dome would be just 9 ft. wide (not 18 ft.). But possibly the

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[1] Among the débris were found some 27 bricks, about 7 inches square, each bearing a small figure of Buddha, seated with the legs down: these may have formed part of a string course. Others bore representations of the birth of Buddha and of the bedroom scene before his leaving home.

[2] Burgess, 'Ancient Monts. of India,' plate 62. Other stûpas, more ruined, have been noted in Sindh. At Kahu near Mîrpur Khâs, one was excavated for bricks when making the Haidarâbâd Umarkot railway, and figures of Buddhas moulded in brick and other ornamental forms were found and appropriated by officials. At Depar, 4 miles from Brahmanâbâd, and at Tando near Tando-Muhammad-Khân, are brick mounds which are remains of stûpas. — 'Jour. Bombay B. R. Asiatic Soc.' vol. xix. p. 45.

[3] 'Jour. Bombay B. R. Asiat. Soc.' vol. xiv. pp. 147-151.

[4] 'Jour. Bombay B. R. Asiat. Soc.' vol. xv. pp. 292-311. It is twice stated (pp. 293 and 295) that the terrace was '18 ft. wide.' The plan and section on plate 3 are evidently not drawn to any scale, and afford no help.

diameter of the stûpa was only 49 ft., and the height of it, before excavation, must have been about 50 ft. The special interest of the excavators, however, was in the relic caskets, which, with some interesting figures of Buddhas, contained a silver coin of *S*rî Yadnya Gautamîputra, who reigned about the end of the 3rd century A.D.[1]

[1] In 1889 Mr Campbell had the Boria stûpa, at the foot of Mount Girnâr excavated; but the account given in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. lx. pp. 17-23, is defective in details. In April 1898 Mr. Cousens found the basement of another stûpa at Sopârâ with the empty relic casket.



29. Parinirvâna of Buddha. From Cave 26 at Ajantâ.

CHAPTER IV.

RAILS.

CONTENTS.

It is only within the last forty years or so, that our rapidly-increasing knowledge has enabled us to appreciate the important part which Rails play in the history of Buddhist architecture. The rail of the great Tope at Sânchi has, it is true, been long known; but it is the plainest of those yet discovered, and without the inscriptions which are found on it, and the gateways that were subsequently added to it, presents few features to interest any one. There is a second rail at Sânchi which is more ornamented and more interesting, but it has not yet been published in such a manner as to render its features or its history intelligible. The great rail at Bodh-Gayâ is one of the oldest and finest of its kind, but, though it was examined and reported on by Râjendralâl Mitra and by General Cunningham, neither of them added much to our previous information. When the Amarâvatî sculptures were brought to light and pieced together,[1] it was perceived that the rail might, and in that instance did, become one of the most elaborate and ornamental features of the style. In 1863 General Cunningham found two or three rail pillars at Mathurâ (Muttra), of an early Jaina stûpa, but his discovery, in 1874, of the great rail at Bharaut made it clear that this was the feature on which the early Buddhist architects lavished all the resources of their art, and from the study of which we may consequently expect to learn most.

The two oldest rails of which we have any knowledge in India are those at Bodh-Gayâ and at Bharaut. The former, General Cunningham thought, cannot be of much later date than A*s*oka.[2] The latter has been ascribed to the period of

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[1] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' Preface to the First Edition.
[2] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 10.

the *S*unga dynasty, or about two centuries before the Christian Era. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the Bodh-Gayâ rail was really erected by A*s*oka, or during his reign. At all events, we know from the fifteenth chapter of the 'Mahâwansa' that even if he did not worship this tree, he is said to have reverenced it to such an extent that, as tradition reports, when he sent his daughter Sanghamittâ to aid in the conversion of Ceylon to the Buddhist creed, he cut off and entrusted her with a branch of this tree planted in a golden vessel. That tree was replanted with infinite ceremony at Anurâdhapura, and it, or its lineal descendant, remains the principal *numen* of the island to this day. Hiuen Tsiang tells us that A*s*oka built a small vihâra to the east of the tree on the spot where the present temple stands;[1] and nothing is consequently more probable than that he should have added this rail, which is concentric with his vihâra, but not with the tree.

There certainly is no inherent improbability that he should have done so, for it seems hardly doubtful that this was the traditional tree under whose shade *S*âkyamuni attained "complete enlightenment," or, in other words, reached Buddhahood; and no spot consequently could be considered more sacred in the eyes of a Buddhist, or was more likely to be reverenced from the time forward.

The Bharaut rail, according to an inscription on it, was erected by a Prince "Vâtsî-putra Dhanabhûti, son of Gauptî-putra Angâradyut, and grandson of Gârgîputra Vi*s*vadeva"—"in the time of the *S*ungas."[2] This helps us only to a small extent, indicating, however, that this rail is of somewhat later date than the time of A*s*oka. Some fragments of another rail of early date were also found at Patna — the ancient Pâtaliputra—in excavations conducted there by Dr. L. A. Waddell, in 1895, which are much of the same type as those of Bodh-Gayâ.[3] As already mentioned, we have no complete set of photographs of the Bodh-Gayâ rail. It is true the drawings by Major Kittoe, in the India Office Library, are very much better than those published by General Cunningham in his report;[4] but they do not

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[1] Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art,' Eng. tr. p. 70; Julien, 'Mémoires,' tome i. pp. 464-465; Beal, 'Records,' vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxi. p. 227.

[3] Waddell's 'Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra' (Calcutta, 1903), plates 1 and 3.

[4] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. plates 8 to 11. In Râjendralâl Mitra's 'Buddha-Gaya,' plates 34-38 and 44, 45, a number of medallions from the rail-pillars are given; but the drawings in the volume are so often inaccurate in details that we cannot altogether trust them. In Cunningham's 'Mahâbodhi,' plates 8 and 9, are given small photographs of a few discs. A complete survey should give the whole pillar in each case; of eight of them there are photographs in the Calcutta Museum and India Office.

suffice for this purpose. In so far, however, as the evidence at present available enables us to judge, it seems nearly certain that the Bharaut sculptures are somewhere between those of the gateways at Sânchi and those at Bodh-Gayâ; and consequently we may, for the present at least, assume the latter rail to be B.C. 250, that at Bharaut B.C. 200, and the gateways at Sânchi to range from about B.C. 160 to say B.C. 100.

The Bodh-Gayâ rail is a rectangle, measuring 145 ft. by 108 ft., and is very much ruined. Its dimensions were, indeed, only obtained by excavation.[1] The pillars are apparently only 6 ft. 8 in. in height, standing on a plinth, and are generally ornamented with a semi-disc top and bottom containing a single figure, or a group of several. They have also a central circular disc, with either an animal or bust in the centre of a lotus. Portions of the coping of the rail have been recovered, the inner faces of which are ornamented with long lines of animals —elephants, deer, bulls, winged horses, makaras, centaurs, etc.; and the outer faces are carved with bands of flowers. The intermediate rails between the pillars are sculptured with circular lotus flowers on both sides, some of them containing busts or animals. As the most ancient sculptured monument in India, it would be extremely interesting to have this rail fully illustrated,[2] not so much for its artistic merit as because it is the earliest authentic monument representing manners and mythology in India. Its religion, as might be expected, is principally Tree and Serpent worship, mingled with veneration for dâgabas, wheels, and Buddhist emblems. The domestic scenes represent love-making, and drinking—anything, in fact, but Buddha or Buddhism, as we afterwards come to understand the term.

Bharaut or Bharhut.

Whatever interest may attach to the rail at Bodh-Gayâ it is surpassed ten times over by that of the rail at Bharaut, which, taking it all in all, is perhaps the most interesting monument—certainly in a historical point of view—known to exist in India. The tope itself, which seems to have been

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[1] Gen. Cunningham assumed that the original rail formed a rectangle, about 74 ft. from north to south by 54 ft. from east to west; but at a later date it was reconstructed as an enclosure for an enlarged temple, measuring 145 ft. from east to west, and 108 from north to south ('Archæological Reports,' vol. iii. p. 90, and plate 25). In 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. plate 4, he gave the dimensions of the enclosure as only 131 ft. by 98; and Râjendralâl Mitra ('Buddha-Gaya,' p. 73), contends that it measured 154 ft. by 114 ft. 8 in.

[2] Major Kittoe made careful drawings of most of the medallions to be seen seventy years ago. Two of them are reproduced here, the first representing a

about 68 ft. in diameter, had entirely disappeared, having been utilised by the natives to build their villages; but about one-half of the rail, which was partly thrown down and buried in the rubbish, had been preserved. Originally it was 88 ft. in diameter, and consequently some 277 ft. in length. It was divided into four quadrants by the four entrances, each of which was guarded by statues 4½ ft. high, of Yakshas and Yakshinîs, and Nâgarâjâs carved in relief on the corner pillars. The eastern gateway only is known to have been adorned with a Toran—or, as the Chinese would call it, a "P'ai-lu"—like those at Sânchi. One pillar of it is shown in the woodcut (No. 32) on next page, and sufficient fragments were found in the excavations to enable General Cunningham to restore it with considerable certainty. From his restoration it appears to have been 22 ft. 6 in. in height from the ground to the top of the chakra, or wheel, which was the central emblem on the top of all, supported by a honeysuckle ornament of great beauty. The beams had no human figures on them, like those at Sânchi. The lower had a procession of elephants, bringing offerings to a tree; the middle beam, of lions similarly employed; the upper beam has not been recovered, but the beam-ends are ornamented with conventional crocodiles or makaras, and show

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man on his knees before an altar worshipping a tree, while a flying figure brings a garland to adorn it. The other represents a relic casket, over which a seven-

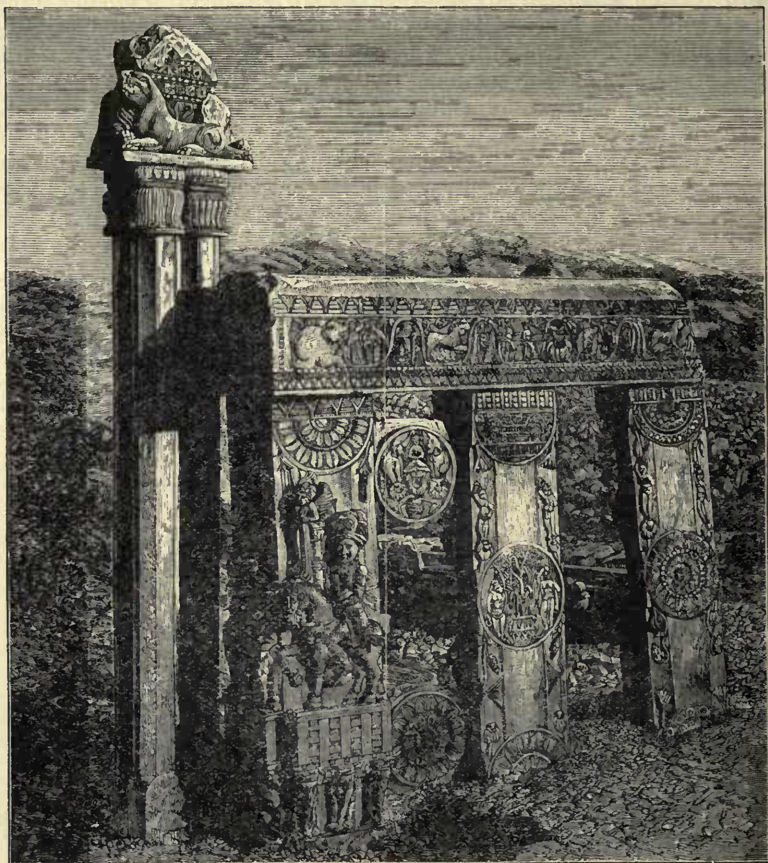
30. Tree Worship; Bodh-Gayâ Rail.

31. Relic Casket: Bodh-Gayâ Rail.

headed Nâga spreads his hood, and over him an umbrella of state. There are, besides, two trees in a sacred enclosure, and another casket with three umbrellas (Woodcuts No. 30, 31).

elevations of buildings so correctly drawn as to enable us to recognise all their features in the rock-cut edifices now existing.

The toran, most like this one, is that which surmounted the southern entrance at Sânchi, which I believe to be the oldest of the four found there, and to have been erected in the middle of the 2nd century, before our era (B.C. 160-150). This



32. Portion of Rail at Bharaut, as first uncovered. (From a Photograph.)

one, however, is so much more wooden and constructively so inferior, that I would, on architectural grounds alone, be inclined to affirm that it was the older. The age of the rail, however, does not depend on this determination, as the toran may have been added afterwards.

The rail was apparently 9 ft. in height, including the coping,

and had three discs on intermediate rails. The inner side of the upper rail was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll. The inside also of the discs was similarly ornamented—their sculptures bearing an evident analogy to those on the Bodh-Gayâ rail, whilst some of the pillars had bas-reliefs in three storeys on three of their sides. Altogether, I fancy not less than one hundred separate bas-reliefs were recovered, all representing some scene or legend of the time, and nearly all inscribed[1] not only with the names of the principal persons represented, but with the title of the jâtaka or legend, so that they are easily recognised in the books now current in Buddhist countries. It is the only monument in India that is so inscribed,[2] and it is this that consequently gives it such value for the history not only of art but of Buddhist mythology.

If this work professed to be a history of Indian art, including sculpture, it would be necessary to illustrate this rail to a much greater extent than is here attempted; but as architecturally it is hardly more important than others, the reader who is interested in it may be referred to the volume published by its discoverer.[3] Meanwhile, however, it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is, indeed, in every detail antagonistic to that art; nor is there any trace of classical art. The capitals of the pillars do resemble somewhat those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point in the same direction;[4] but, barring that, the art, especially the figure-sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot by Indians, and by Indians only.[5]

Assuming these facts to be as stated, they give rise to one or two inferences which have an important bearing on our investigations. First, the architecture of this rail, with its toran, are more essentially wooden than even those at Sânchi, and, so

[1] For the translation of these inscriptions by Dr. Hultzsch, see 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxi. pp. 225-242. See also vol. x. pp. 118ff, 255ff.; vol. xi. pp. 25ff.; and vol. xiv. pp. 137f.

[2] The sculptures on the walls of the old Pâpnâth temple at Pattadakal are also labelled; but it is an almost exceptional instance.

[3] General Cunningham's 'Stûpa of Bharhut,' London, 1879.

[4] Whatever the early Hindûs borrowed from Persia or elsewhere they gradually modified by varying the details, until it became native in form.

[5] The following outline (Woodcut No. 33, on the next page) of one of the bas-reliefs on a pillar at Bharaut may serve to convey an idea of the style of art and of the quaint way in which the stories are there told. On the left, a king with a five-headed snake-hood is represented kneeling before an altar strewn with flowers, behind which is a tree (*Sirisa Acasia?*) hung with garlands. Behind him is an inscription to this effect:—"Erâpato (Airâvata) the Nâgarâja worships the blessed one (Bhagavat)." Above him is the great five-headed Nâga himself, rising from a lake. To its right a

far as it goes, tends to confirm the conclusion that, at the period they were erected, the style was passing from wood to stone.

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man in the robes of a priest standing up to his middle in the water, and above the Nâga a female genius, apparently floating in the air. Below is another Nâgarâjâ, with his quintuple snake-hood, and behind him two females with a single



33. Tree and Serpent Worship at Bharaut. (From a Photograph.)

snake at the back of their heads — an arrangement which is universal in all Nâga sculpture. They are standing up to their waists in water. If we may depend on the inscription below him, this is Erâpato twice over, and the females are his two wives. The inscription up the side states that this is "the gift of Rishidatta, a preacher."—Cunningham's 'Stûpa of Bharhut,' plate 14.

This bas-relief is further interesting as being an epitome of my work on 'Tree and Serpent Worship.' As expressing in the shortest possible compass nearly all that is said there at length, it will also serve to explain much that is advanced in the following pages. As it is years older than anything that was known when that book was written, it is a confirmation of its theories, as satisfactory as it is complete.

On the other hand, however, the sculpture is so sharp and clean, and every detail so well and so cleverly expressed in the hard sandstone in which it is cut, that it is equally evident the carvers were perfectly familiar with the material they were using. It is far from being a first attempt. They must have had chisels and tools quite equal to carving the hardest stone, and must have been perfectly familiar with their use. How long it may have taken them to acquire this degree of perfection in stone carving, it is of course impossible to guess, without further data; but it must have been centuries. Though, therefore, we may despair of finding any architectural buildings older than the time of A*s*oka, it is by no means improbable that we may find images or bas-reliefs, and inscriptions of a much earlier date, and for the history of India and her arts they would be as useful as the larger examples.

For the present we must be content with the knowledge that we now know perfectly what the state of the arts was in India when the Greeks first visited it. Neither the Bodh-Gayâ nor the Bharaut rails were, it is true, in existence in Alexander's time; but both were erected within the limits of the century in which Megasthenes visited the country, as ambassador from Seleukos, and it is principally from him that we know what India was at that time. If he did not see these monuments he may have seen others like them, and at all events saw carvings executed in the same style, and wooden chaityas and temples similar to those depicted in these sculptures. But one of the curious points they bring out is, that the religious observances he witnessed at the courts of the Brahmanical king, Chandragupta, are not those he would have witnessed had he been deputed to his Buddhist grandson the great A*s*oka. Here, as everything else at this age, everything is Buddhist, but it is Buddhism without Buddha. He nowhere appears, either as a heavenly person to be worshipped, or even as an ascetic. The nearest indication of his presence is in a scene where Ajâta*s*atru—the king in whose reign he attained Nirvâna—kneels before an altar in front of which are impressions of his feet. His feet, too, seem impressed on the step of the triple ladder, by which he descended from Heaven at Sankîsâ; Mayâ's dream, and the descent of the white elephant, can be recognised, and other indications sufficient to convince an expert that Buddhism is the religion indicated. But, as at Sânchi, by far the most numerous objects to which worship is addressed in these sculptures, are trees, one of which, the inscription tells us, is the Bodhi-tree of *S*âkyamuni. Besides this, the Bo-trees of six or seven of his predecessors are represented in these sculptures, and both by their foliage and

their inscriptions we can easily recognise them as those known at the present day as ascribed to these previous Buddhas.[1]

Nâga people, and kings with their five-headed serpent-hoods, are common; but only one instance has yet been brought to light in which the serpent can be said to be worshipped. Making love and drinking are not represented here as at Sânchi—nor are females represented nude as they are on the Jaina sculptures at Mathurâ. All are decently clothed, from the waist downwards at least, and altogether the manners and customs at Bharaut are as much purer as the art is better than it is in the example of Sânchi.

Mathurâ (Muttra).

When excavating at Mathurâ, General Cunningham found several pillars of a rail, which, judging from the style, is probably later than that at Bharaut, but still certainly anterior to the Christian Era. The pillars, however, are only 4½ ft. high, and few traces of the top rail or of the intermediate discs have been found. Each pillar is adorned by a figure of a nude female in high relief, singularly well executed, richly adorned with necklaces and bangles, and a bead belt or truss around their middles. Each stands on a crouching dwarf or demon, and above each, in a separate compartment, are the busts of two figures, a male and female, on a somewhat smaller scale, either making love to each other, or drinking something stronger than water.[2]

Though the sculptures at Sânchi and Katak have made us familiar with some strange scenes, of what might be supposed an anti-Buddhistic tendency, this rail, we cannot now doubt, belonged to a group of Jaina temples and monastic buildings of a very early age. We do not, indeed, know if the rail was straight or circular, or to what class of building it was attached; but it is pretty certain that these pillars belonged to one or more Jaina stûpas such as that of which the remains were excavated by Dr. Führer in 1888-89. Jaina tradition had always claimed Mathurâ as one of the centres of their sect, and an inscription found there and dated in the year 79 of the Kushan kings, records the consecration of a statue to the stûpa of Supârsva.[3] This confirms what had previously been anticipated—that the Jains, as well as the Buddhists, erected stûpas in honour of their

[1] Turnour's 'Mahâwansa,' Introd. p. 32; Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India' (Eng. tr.), p. 74.

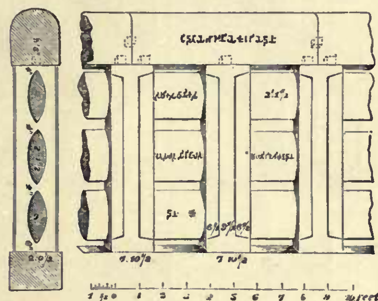
[2] Outlines of these sculptures are given in Gen. Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. iii. plate 6; also in Führer's plates 60-64, in V. A. Smith's 'Jaina Stûpa, etc., at Mathurâ.'

[3] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 204, 321f.

prophets, and that their art did not differ materially from that of the latter.[1]

SÂNCHI-KÂNÂKHEDÂ.

Though the rails surrounding the topes at Sânchi are not, in themselves, so interesting as those at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut, still they are useful in exhibiting the various steps by which the modes of decorating rails were arrived at, and the torans or gateways of the great rail are quite unequalled by any other examples known to exist in India. The rail that surrounds the great tope may be described as a circular enclosure 140 ft. in diameter, but not quite regular, being oval on one side, to admit of the ramp or stairs leading to the berm or procession-path surrounding the monument. As will be seen from the annexed woodcut (No. 34), it consists of octagonal pillars 8 ft. in height, and spaced 2 ft. apart. These are joined together at the top by a rail 2 ft. 3 in. deep, held in its position by a tenon cut on the top of the pillars, as at Stonehenge; between the pillars are three intermediate rails, which are slipped into lens-shaped holes, on either side, the whole showing how essentially wooden the construction is. The pillars, for instance, could not have been put up first, and the rails added afterwards. They must have been inserted into the right or left hand posts, and supported while the next pillar was pushed laterally, so as to take their ends, and when the top rail was shut down the whole became mortised together as a piece of carpentry, but not as any stone-work was done either before or afterwards.

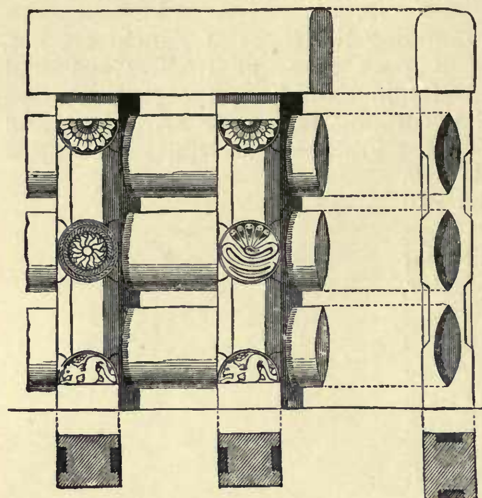


34. Rail at Sânchi. (From a Drawing by Gen. Cunningham.)

The rail of the No. 2 Stûpa at Sânchi is of special interest as being more ornamented with sculptures which, with many of the inscriptions, appear to belong to a period distinctly antecedent to those of the gateways of the great stûpa (Woodcut No. 35); there circular discs are added in the centre of each pillar,

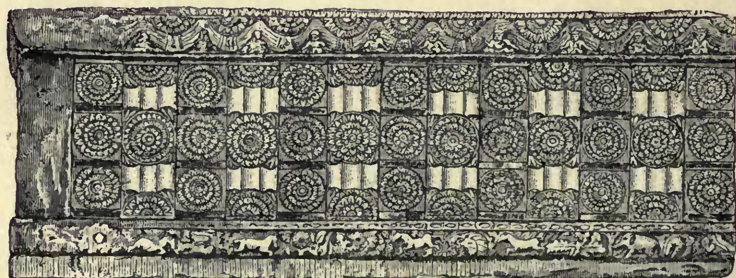
[1] Bühler, 'Legend of the Jaina Stûpa at Mathurâ'; and 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 311 *et seqq.* and plates; see also the curious tale about Kanishka and a Jaina stûpa that he worshipped by mistake.—'Journal Asiatique,' IX[e] sér. tome viii. (1896), pp. 458ff. Conf. *Arite*, p. 54, note 1.

and semicircular plates at top and bottom.[1] In carpentry the circular ones would represent a great nail meant to keep the centre bar in its place; the half discs top and bottom, metal plates to strengthen the junctions — and this it seems most probably may really have been the origin of these forms.



35. Rail, No. 2 Tope, Sânchi. (From a Drawing by Col. Maisey.)

If from this we attempt to follow the progress made in the ornamentation of these rails, it seems to have been arrived at by placing a circular disc in each of the intermediate rails, as shown in the woodcut (No. 36), copied from a representation of the outer face of the Amarâvatî rail, carved upon it. In the actual rail the pillars are proportionally taller and the spaces somewhat wider, but in all other respects it is the same—it has the same zöophorus below, and the same conventional figures bearing a roll above, both of which features are met with almost everywhere.

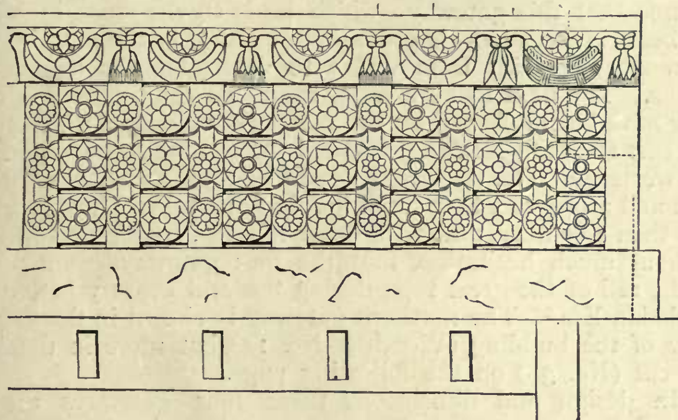


36. Representation of Rail. (From a Bas-relief at Amarâvatî.)

A fourth stage was reached in that shown in the next woodcut (No. 37), from a representation of a rail in the

[1] The sculptures on this rail have not been fully illustrated; some of them were drawn by Col. Maisey. See his 'Sânchi,' plates 29-31, and pp. 67-70.

Gautamîputra cave at Nâsik, *cir.* A.D. 160 to 175, where there are three full discs on the pillars as well as on the rails, and no doubt other variations may yet be found; but these are sufficient to show how the discs were multiplied till the pillars almost become evanescent quantities in the composition.



37. Rail in Gautamîputra Cave, Nâsik.

The greatest innovation, however, that took place, was the substitution of figure-sculpture for the lotus or water leaves of the discs, if that can be called an innovation, which certainly took place in the wooden age of architecture, before it was thought of translating these things into stone. The earliest rails we know, those at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut, show these changes already completed in the manner above described. The plainness of the rail, or the absence of figure-sculpture, is consequently no test of its greater or less antiquity, though the extreme multiplication of discs, as shown in the last example, seems only to have taken place just before their discontinuance.

To return, however, from this digression. The rail that surrounds the great tope at Sânchi was probably commenced immediately after its erection, which, as explained above, was probably in A*s*oka's time, B.C. 250; but as each rail, as shown by the inscription on it, was the gift of a different individual,[1]

[1] Gen. Cunningham collected and translated 196 inscriptions from this tope, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, pp. 235 *et seqq.*, plates 16-19; but the more accurate versions of a larger collection of 378 from this rail and 78 from that of Stûpa No. 2, are those by Professor Bühler, published in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 87 *et seqq.*, and 366 *et seqq.*

it may have taken a hundred years to erect. The age of the torans is more easily ascertained. There is an inscription on the south gateway, which is certainly integral, which states that the gateway was erected during the reign of King *S*âtakarni of the Andhra dynasty, and it is nearly certain that this applies to a king of that name who reigned about B.C. 155. If we assume that this gateway—which leads to the steps by which the berm is ascended—is probably the oldest of the four, it gives us a starting-point from which to determine the age of the others. The next to be erected would be the northern. That may have been followed by the eastern—the one of which there is a cast at South Kensington—and the last erected was perhaps the western.[1] The style and details of all these show a succession and a progress that could hardly have taken place in much less than a century, and, with other reasons, enable us to assert without much hesitation, that the four gateways were added to the rail of the great tope during the 2nd century before the Christian Era.[2] The northern gateway is shown in the general view of the building (Woodcut No. 12), but more in detail in the cut (No. 38) on the following page.

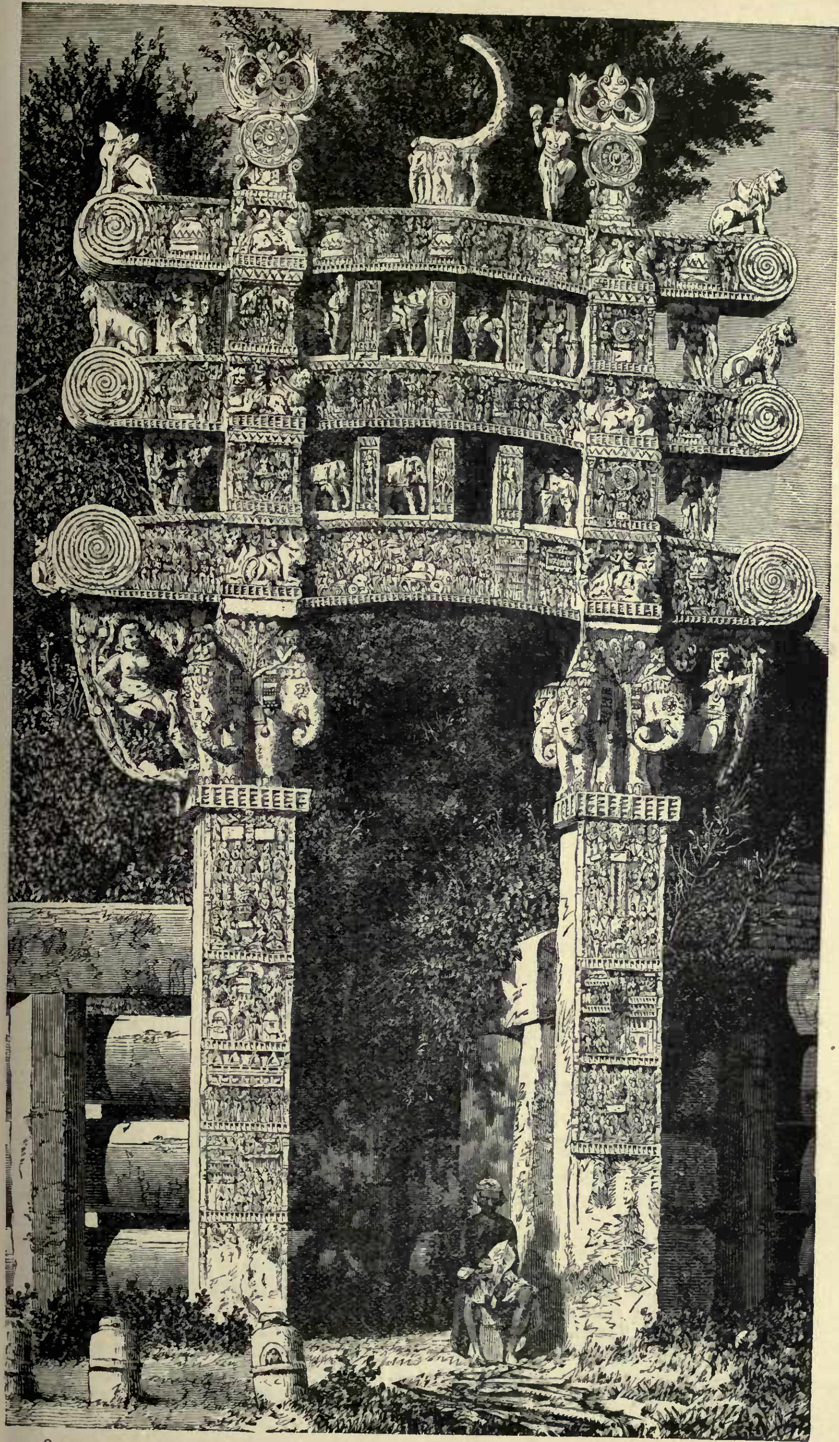
In design and dimensions these four gateways are all very similar to one another. The northern is the finest,[3] as well as somewhat larger than the others. Its pillars, to the underside of the lower beam, measure 18 ft., including the elephant capitals, and the total height to the top of the emblem is 35 ft. The extreme width across the lower beam is 20 ft. The other gateways are somewhat less in dimensions, the eastern being only 33 ft. in height. The other two having fallen, and—though re-erected by Government—we cannot be sure what their exact dimensions may originally have been.

All these four gateways, or torans as they are properly called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both in front and rear—wherever, in fact, their surface was not hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally the sculptures represent scenes from the life or legend of

[1] In later stûpas, the west side seems to have been frequently regarded as the front; but generally it was on the side facing the monastic buildings.

[2] The details from which these determinations are arrived at will be found in 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' pp. 98 *et seqq.* Since that work was published, however, the discovery of *S*âtakarni's name in the Hathigumpha inscription, at Khandagiri, the re-adjustment of the chronology of the Andhras, and other epigraphical results, have considerably altered the actual dates ascribed to monuments of this early period; their relative ages, however, are not materially affected by this.

[3] It is very much to be regretted that when Lieut. Cole had the opportunity he did not take a cast of this one instead of the eastern gateway. It is far more complete, and its sculptures more interesting.



38. Northern Gateway of Tope at Sânchi. (From a Photograph.)

Buddha,[1] but nowhere is he represented in the conventional forms either standing or seated cross-legged, which afterwards became universal. In addition to these are scenes from the jâtakas or legends, narrating events or actions that took place during the five hundred births through which *S*âkyamuni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara, or "alms-giving Jâtaka," occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Sinhalese and Pâli books at the present day. Besides these legendary scenes, the worship of trees is represented at least seventy-six times; of dâgabas or relic shrines, thirty-eight times; of the chakra, or wheel, the emblem of Dharma — the law — ten times; and of *S*rî, the goddess of fortune, who afterwards, in the Hindû Pantheon, became Lakshmî the consort of Vishnu, ten times. The Triratna or trident emblem which crowns the gateways may, and I am inclined to believe does, represent the Buddhist creed. On the left-hand pillar of the north gateway it crowns a pillar, hung with wreaths and emblems, at the bottom of which are the sacred feet (Woodcut No. 39):—the whole looking like a mystic emblem of a divinity, it was forbidden to represent under a human form. The corresponding face of the opposite pillar is adorned with architectural scrolls, wholly without any esoteric meaning so far as can be detected, but of great beauty of design (Woodcut No. 40).

Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting, and consequent triumphs. Others portray men and women eating and drinking and making love, and otherwise occupied, in a manner as unlike anything we have been accustomed to connect with Buddhism as can well be imagined. Be this as it may, the sculptures of these gateways form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in India in the 2nd century before the Christian Era, and as such are as important historically as they are interesting artistically.[2]

The small tope (No. 3) on the same platform, and about 40 yards north-north-east from the great tope at Sânchi, was surrounded by a rail which has now almost entirely disappeared. It had, however, at least one toran, the pillars and one beam of

[1] See Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' Eng. transl., pp. 58-74.

[2] For details of these sculptures and references, the reader must be referred to 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' where a great number of them are represented and described in great detail. Sculptures do not, strictly speaking, belong to this work, and, except for historical purposes, are not generally alluded to.

The sculptures were all photographed to scale some years ago by Mr. H. Cousens of the Archæological Survey, but as yet there is no prospect of their publication. —'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1902, pp. 29-45.

which were still standing twenty years ago, when the upper two beams were also pieced together and replaced. It is only about half the size of those of the great tope, measuring about 17 ft. to the top of the upper beam, and 13 ft. across its lower beam. It is apparently somewhat more modern than the great gateways, and its sculptures may have reference to the acts of *S*âriputra and Moggalâna, whose relics, as above mentioned, were deposited in it.



39.
Bas-relief on left-hand Pillar, Northern Gateway.

This tope was only 40 ft. in diameter, which is about the same dimension as No. 2 Tope, containing the relics of some of the apostles who took part in the third convocation under A*s*oka, and afterwards in the diffusion of the Buddhist religion in the countries bordering on India.

As above pointed out, the rails at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut afford a similar picture of Buddhism at a time perhaps a century earlier. The difference is not striking, but on a close examination it is evident that the art, if not also the morals, had degenerated during the interval. There is a precision and a sharpness about the Bharaut sculptures which is not found here, and drinking and



40.
Ornament on right-hand Pillar, Northern Gateway.

love-making do not occur in what remains of the sculptures—they do, however, occur at Bodh-Gayâ—to anything like the extent they do at Sânchi. There is no instance at Bharaut of any figure entirely nude; at Sânchi apparent nudity among the females is rather the rule than the exception. The objects of worship are nearly the same in both instances, but are better expressed in the earlier than in the later examples. We may, however, make some allowance for differences of material and race or locality — possibly also to peculiarities in the different sects for which the two monuments were executed.[1] The Mathurâ sculptures may suggest that the Digambara Jains regarded female as well as male nudity as a mark of sanctity.

Before leaving these torans, it may be well to draw attention again to the fact of their being, even more evidently than the rails, so little removed from the wooden originals out of which they were elaborated. No one can look at them, however carelessly, without perceiving that their forms are such as a carpenter would imagine, and could construct, but which could not be invented by any process of stone or brick masonry with which we are familiar. The real wonder is that, when the new fashion was introduced of repeating in stone what had previously been executed only in wood, any one had the hardihood to attempt such an erection in stone; and still more wonderful is it that, having been done, three of them should have stood during eighteen centuries, till one was knocked down by some clumsy Englishmen, and that only one—probably the earliest, and consequently the slightest and most wooden—should have fallen from natural causes.

Although these Sânchi torans are not the earliest specimens of their class executed wholly in stone, neither are they the last. We have, it is true, no means of knowing whether those represented at Amarâvatî[2] were in stone or in wood, but, from their different appearances, some of them most probably were in the more permanent material. At all events, in China and Japan their descendants are counted by thousands. The "p'ai-lus" in the former country, and the "tori-is" in the latter, are copies more or less correct of these Sânchi gateways, and like their

[1] The difference of style may be compared with that which prevails among Musalmân monuments in different parts of India in the 15th and 16th centuries.

[2] They must certainly have been very common in India, for, though only one representation of them has been detected among the sculptures at Sânchi ('Tree and Serpent Worship,' plate 27, fig. 2), at least ten representations of them are found at Amarâvatî, plates 59 (fig. 2), 60 (fig. 1), 63 (fig. 3), 64 (fig. 1) 69, 83 (fig. 2), 85 (figs. 1 and 2), 96 (fig. 3), 98 (fig. 2), and no doubt many more may yet be found. In Cave 10 at Ajantâ, containing the oldest paintings there, two were represented on the left wall. 'Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta,' p. 51, and plate 11.

Indian prototypes are sometimes in stone, sometimes in wood and frequently compounded of both materials, in varying proportions. What is still more curious, a toran with five bars was erected in front of the Temple at Jerusalem, to bear the sacred golden vine. It, however, was partly in wood, partly in stone, and was erected to replace one that adorned Solomon's Temple, which was wholly in bronze, and supported by the celebrated pillars Jachin and Boaz.[1]

AMARÂVATÎ.

Although the rail at Bharaut is the most interesting and important in India in an historical sense, it is far from being equal to that at Amarâvatî, either in elaboration or in artistic merit. Indeed, in these respects, the Amarâvatî rail is probably the most remarkable monument in India. In the first place, it is more than twice the dimensions of the rail at Bharaut, the great rail being 192 ft. in diameter, the base 162½ ft.,[2] or almost exactly twice the dimensions of that at Bharaut; between these two was the procession-path—13 ft. wide. The inner wall of sculptures was the facing of the base that supported the platform on which the dome stood. Externally, the total height of the great rail was about 14 ft.; internally, it was 2 ft. less, while the sculptured facing of the base was, perhaps, only 6 ft. in height, with a frieze and cornice over it.

The external appearance of the great rail may be judged of from the annexed woodcut (No. 41), representing a small section of it. The lower part, or plinth, was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys or dwarfs, generally in ludicrous and comic attitudes. The pillars, as usual, were rectangular with the corners splayed off, ornamented with full discs in the centre, and half discs top and bottom, between which were figure sculptures of more or less importance. On the three rail-bars were full discs, all most elaborately carved, and all different. Above runs the usual undulating roll moulding, which was universal in all ages,[3] but is here richly interspersed with figures and emblems. The inside of the rail was very much more richly ornamented than the outside

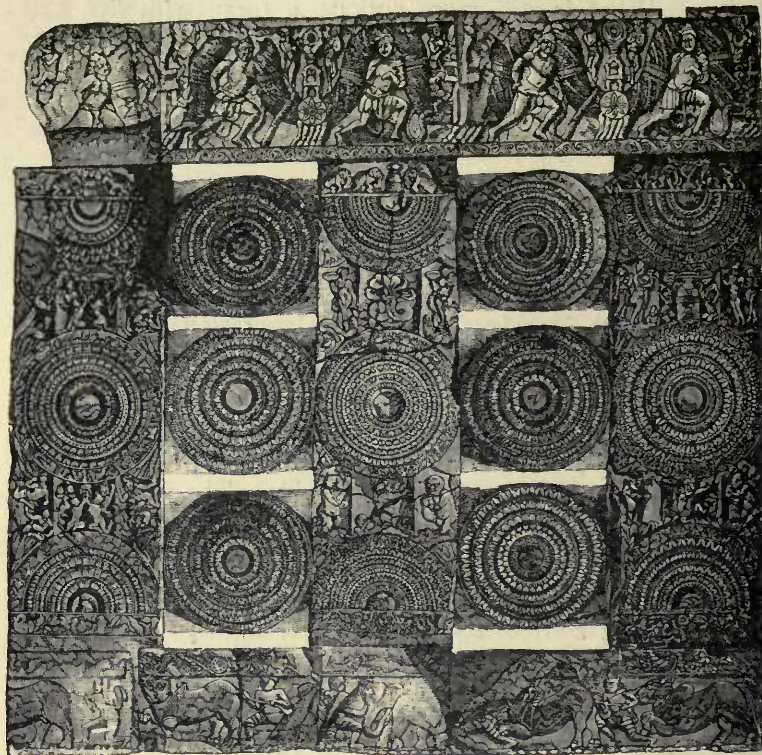
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[1] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' Appendix I. p. 270; 'Temples of the Jews,' pp. 152, 155.

[2] From some misunderstanding of the first accounts, it was supposed the Amarâvatî stûpa had an inner rail; this was a mistake—the inner circle of sculptures was the facing of the base of the stûpa.

[3] In Burma at the present day a roll precisely similar to this, formed of coloured muslin, distended by light bamboo hoops, is borne on men's shoulders in the same manner as shown here, on each side of the procession that accompanies a high priest or other ecclesiastical dignitary to the grave.

shown in the woodcut. All the central range of discs, both on the pillars and on the rails, were carved with figured

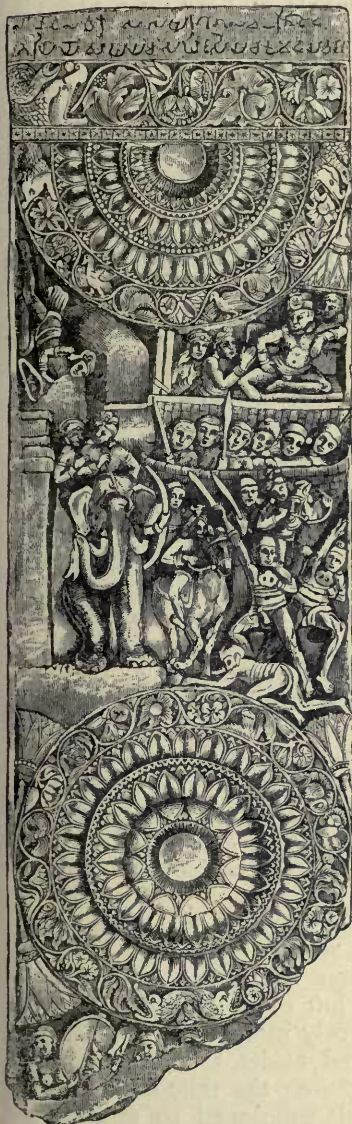


41. External Elevation of Great Rail at Amarâvatî.

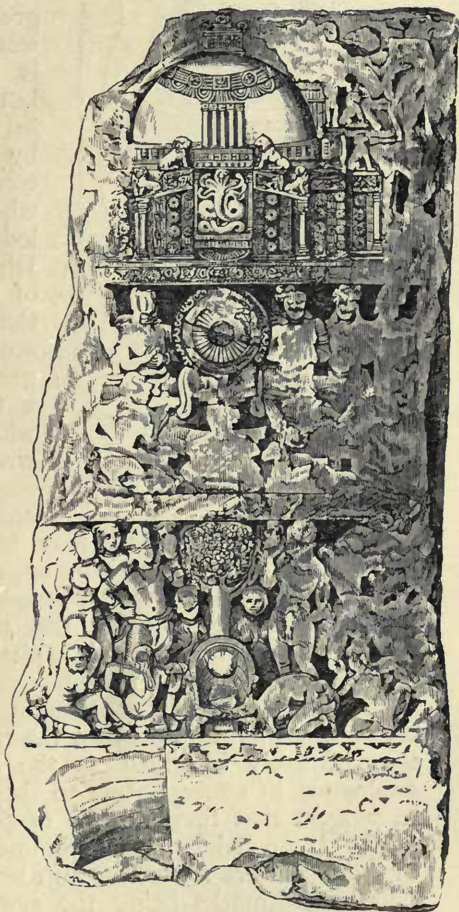
subjects, generally of very great elaboration and beauty of detail; and the coping was one continuous bas-relief upwards of 600 ft. in length. At the returns of the gateways another system was adopted, as shown in next woodcut (No. 42). The pillars being narrower, and the discs smaller, the principal sculpture was on the intermediate space: in this instance a king on his throne receives a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls; lower down the infantry, cavalry, and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace, which is probably the information being communicated to the king.

The sculptured base, though, perhaps, lower than the rail, was even more richly ornamented than it, generally with figures of dâgabas — apparently twelve in each quadrant —

most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends. One of these dâgabas has already been given (Woodcut No. 20, page 81).[1] Between these were pillars and slabs ornamented, either as shown in Woodcuts Nos. 43 and 44, or with other Buddhist



42. Angle pillar at Amarâvatî.



43. Slab from Base of the Stûpa, Amarâvatî.

designs or emblems, but all as rich, at least, as these; whilst

[1] For other examples, see 'Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta Stûpas,' plates i., xxxi. figs. 6, 7, and xxxiii. xxxix.

over these slabs was an architrave, carved like ivory, with scenes from the life of Buddha; the whole making up a series of pictures of Buddhism, as it was understood in the 1st and 2nd centuries, unsurpassed by anything now known to exist in India. The slab represented in Woodcut No. 43 (p. 121), though now much ruined, is interesting as showing the three great objects of Buddhist worship at once. At the top is the dâgaba with its rail, but with the five-headed Nâga in the place usually occupied by Buddha. In the central compartment is the chakra or wheel, now generally acknowledged to be the emblem of Dharma, the second member of the Buddhist Triad; below that the tree, possibly representing the Sangha or the congregation; and in front of all a throne, on which is placed what I believe to be a relic, wrapt up in a silken cloth.



44. Dâgaba (from a Slab), Amarâvatî.

This combination is repeated again and again in the earlier of these sculptures, and may be almost designated as the shorter Buddhist catechism, or rather the creed — Buddha, Dharma, Sangha. The last woodcut (No. 44) is also interesting, as showing, besides the three emblems, the form of pillars with double animal capitals so common in structures of this and an earlier period.

The age of this monument can hardly be fixed with certainty; the sculptures on the rail and on some of the slabs that probably belonged to the stûpa itself, are sufficiently analogous in general style to those left of the Bharaut stûpa to suggest that they may be of scarcely more than a century later. It must have been commenced at least before figures of Buddha were represented in sculpture—the relic casket and pair of footmarks being the symbols employed to represent him. But among the figures that appear to have belonged to the base of the stûpa, there are many that can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. From an inscription of the reign of Pulumâvi Vasishthîputra, it would seem

that the stûpa — called a "great châitya" — belonged to the Chaitika or Pûrvasaila school, and must have undergone a great restoration about A.D. 150;[1] but we find pieces of very ancient sculpture, some of which have been reworked on the back to fit into new places; and at least one inscription was found that is engraved in pure Maurya characters of about B.C. 200. It seems probable then that an early stûpa existed here, of which only a few archaic sculptures have survived. This was restored—perhaps reconstructed and much enlarged —a century or more B.C., the sculptures of the rail representing the veneration of relics, the Triratna, domestic and other scenes, etc., but without the figure of Buddha. Then, in the 2nd century A.D., the stûpa itself seems to have been restored when the sculptures wainscotting its base were added, picturing scenes from the legend of Buddha.[2]

When Hiuen Tsiang visited this place in the year 639 it had already been deserted for more than a century, but he speaks of its magnificence and the beauty of its site in more glowing terms than he applies to almost any other monument in India. Among other expressions, he uses one not easily understood at first sight, for he says, "it was ornamented with all the magnificence of the palaces of Baktria"[3] (Tahia). Now, however, that we know what the native art of India was from the sculptures at Bharaut and Sânchi, and as we also know nearly what the art of Baktria was from those dug up near Peshâwar, especially at Jamâlgarhi, we see at once that it was by a marriage of these two arts that the Amarâvatî school of sculpture was produced, but with a stronger classical influence than anything of its kind found elsewhere in India.[4]

With this, which is certainly the most splendid specimen of its class, we must conclude our history of Buddhist rails. No later example is known to exist; and the Gandhâra topes, which generally seem to be of this age or later, have all their rails attached to their sides in the shape of a row of pilasters. If they had any figured illustrations, they were either in the form of paintings on plaster on the panels or

[1] There is no record of the positions of the sculptures belonging to the basement; and the Government excavation of the whole area in 1881 destroyed the last chance of any further determination.

[2] For a full account of the Amarâvatî stûpa, see the volume of the Archæological Survey, 'The Buddhist Stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta,' 1887.

[3] 'Histoire de Hiouen Thsang traduite par Julien,' vol. i. p. 188; Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' pp. 136f.

[4] In some of the technical details of the sculptures, notably in the treatment of drapery, the influence of classic art is perceptible; and it is perhaps here alone in India Proper that this foreign impress is seen. The age of the later sculptures nearly coinciding with the same influence in Gandhâra may account for this. Conf. Dr. Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 14.

rilievos between the pilasters; for we cannot understand any Buddhist monument existing anywhere, without the jâtakas or legends being portrayed on its walls in some shape or other.

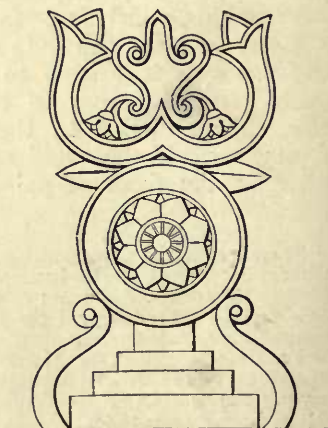
At Sârnâth all reminiscences of a rail had disappeared, and a new mode of ornamentation introduced, which bore no resemblance to anything found on the earlier topes.

Although, therefore, our history of the rails may finish about A.D. 200, it by no means follows that examples may not yet be brought to light belonging to the five centuries that elapsed between that date and the age of A*s*oka. As they all certainly were sculptured to a greater or less extent, when they are examined and published, we may hope to have an ancient pictorial history of India for those ages nearly as complete as that possessed by any other country in the world. At present, however, we only know of ten or twelve examples, but they are so easily thrown down and buried that we may hope to find more whenever they are looked for, and from them to learn the whole story of Buddhist art.

Note.—The central crowning ornament in Woodcut No. 38, page 115, is a chakra or wheel in the centre, with Triratna emblems right and left. These triratna symbols represent the three "Jewels" of Buddhism, — Buddha, the Dharma and Sangha. On the upper beam five dâgabas and two trees are worshipped; on the intermediate blocks, *S*rî and a chakra; on the middle beam are seven sacred trees, with altars; on the intermediate blocks, *S*rî and the chakra again. The lower beam is wholly occupied by the early scenes in the Wessantara jâtaka, which is continued in the rear. The subjects on the pillars have been described in 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' but are on too small a scale to be distinguishable in the woodcut. See also Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' Eng. trans., pp 19, 74, 145. The Triratna is also a Jaina symbol.



45. Triratna Emblem. (From a sculpture at Amarâvatî.)



46. Triratna Symbol from Sânchi.

CHAPTER V.

CHAITYA HALLS.

CONTENTS.

Structural Chaityas—Bihâr Caves—Western Chaitya Halls, etc.

ALTHOUGH, if looked at from a merely artistic point of view, it will probably be found that the rails are the most interesting Buddhist remains that have come down to our time, still, in an historical or architectural sense, they are certainly surpassed by the chaitya halls. These are the temples of the religion, properly so called, and the exact counterpart of the churches of the Christians, not only in form, but in use.

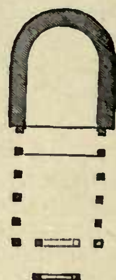
Some twenty or thirty of these are known still to exist in a state of greater or less preservation, but—with very few exceptions—all cut in the rock. In so far as the interior is concerned this is of little or no consequence, but, were it not for one or two recent discoveries, we should not have been able to judge of their external form or effect,[1] and, what is worse, we should not have known how their roofs were constructed. We know that, generally at least, they were formed with semicircular ribs of timber, and it is also nearly certain that on these ribs planks in two or three thicknesses were laid, but we could hardly have guessed what covered the planks externally.

Till recently the only structural one known was that at Sânchi, which is shown in plan in the accompanying woodcut (No. 47). It did not, however, suffice to show us how the roofs of the aisles were supported externally. What it does show, which the caves do not, is that when the aisle which

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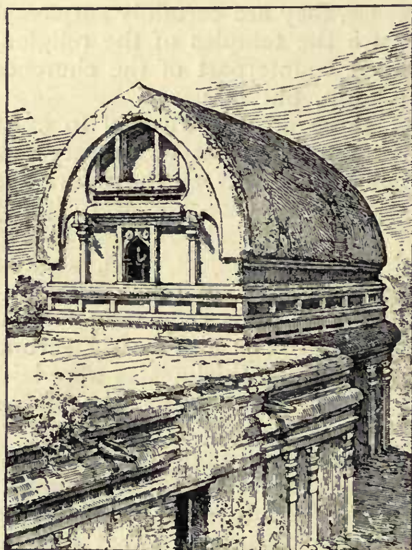
[1] It had previously been considered probable that a tolerably correct idea of the general exterior appearance of the buildings from which these caves were copied may be obtained from the *Raths* (as they are called) of Mâmallapuram or Mahavellipore (described further on). These are monuments of a later date, and belonging to a different religion, but they correspond so nearly in all their parts with the temples and monasteries now under consideration, that we could scarcely doubt their being, in most respects, close copies of them, as we now discover that they really are. Curiously enough, the best illustrations of some of them are to be found among the sculptures of the Bharaut Rail.

surrounded the apse could be lighted from the exterior, the apse was carried up solid. In all the caves the pillars surrounding the dâgaba are of different form and plainer than those of the nave. They are, in fact, kept as subdued as possible, as if it was thought they had no business there, but were necessary to admit light into the circumambient aisle of the apse.

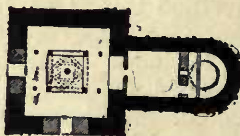


47. Plan of Chaitya Hall, Sânchi. Scale 30 ft. to 1 in.

The discovery of two old structural chaityas enables us now to realise the formation of their roofs. One of these, at Têr in the Naldrug district of Haidarâbâd,[1] has been appropriated to Vaishnava worship, and to some extent altered, but its arrangements will be understood from the accompanying view and plan (Woodcuts Nos. 48 and 49). The mandap on the east may possibly have been an addition, but if so, of an early date, as the mouldings and pilasters testify. The doors of this and of the shrine have been altered: that on the north side has been cut out, and the partition wall across the apse added,



48. Ancient Buddhist Chaitya at Têr. (From a photograph by H. Cousens.)



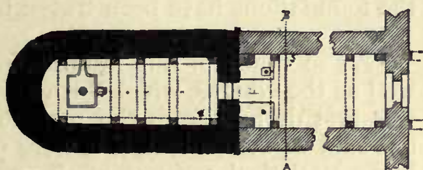
49. Plan of Ancient Buddhist Chaitya at Têr. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in. (From a Plan by H. Cousens.)

whilst the dâgaba—probably of marble—has been removed to make room for two Vaishnava images. The shrine or chaitya is wholly built of bricks of large size, measuring 17 in. by 9, and 3 in. thick, carefully laid in a cement of clay. This apartment measures 26 ft.

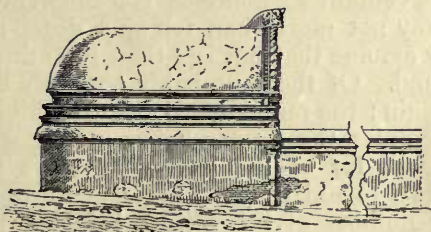
[1] Têr was indentified by Dr. Fleet as the site of the ancient Tagara ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1901, pp. 537ff.); and, led by this, Mr. H. Cousens visited the place in November 1901, and discovered this interesting monument. The plan (Illustration No. 49) and the substance of this account is based on his paper in the 'Archæological Survey Annual, 1902-03,' pp. 195f.

in length by 12 ft. wide, the apsidal end and barrel-vaulted roof rising about 30 ft. from the floor; it is of brick carefully corbelled inwards to form the vault, and rising to a ridge, all carefully plastered. The mandap in front is about 13 ft. high inside, and has a flat roof of wooden beams supported by wooden pillars, and over-laid by brick and plastered outside. Slender pilasters are formed on the outside walls, supporting thick roll mouldings of an early form. The façade of the chaitya rises about 18 ft. above the hall roof (Woodcut No. 48), and is of special interest: the recess in the middle of it now contains a Hindû image in plaster, but originally it must have been a window to admit light into the chaitya. And if we compare this façade with that of the Buddhist rock-cut chaitya at Elûrâ, the close resemblance in style, and even in details, derived from earlier wood constructions, is very apparent.

The early chaitya, discovered about eighteen years ago at Chezarla, in the Kistna district of the Madras presidency, has been preserved, like the preceding, by being appropriated as a *S*aiva temple of Kapôtê*s*vara—"the pigeon god"; for the legend of *S*ivi-U*s*înara,—who offered his own flesh to feed a hawk rather than surrender a dove (*kapôta*) that had fled to him for protection—is well known from the Mahâbhârata and other works;[1] the story has also Buddhist forms in the Jâtaka book.[2] Like the Têr example, this chaitya is built of bricks



50. Plan of an ancient Chaitya at Chezarla. Scale 25 ft. to 1 in. (From a Plan by Mr. A. Rea.)



51. Elevation of Chezarla Chaitya Temple. Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.



52. Section on A B, of No. 50.

[1] Benfey's 'Panchatantra,' vol. i. p. 388; 'Kathâsaritsâgara,' ch. 7; 'Mahâbhârata,' Vana-parva, sect. 197.

[2] The 'Kapôta Jâtaka,' is No. 42, and the *S*ivi Jâtaka, No. 499; see also Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 182-183, and 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 125; Burgess, 'Notes on the Bauddha Rock Temples of Ajanta: their Paintings, etc,' pp. 47, and 75-76.

of the same large size, and a mandapa 25 ft. in length by 9 ft. 9 in. wide has been added at some later date, at the east or front end of it. The original chapel is about 23 ft. in length inside and 8 ft. 9 in. wide in front and somewhat less at the apse. The walls are 3 ft. 6 in. thick, but inside pilasters have been built up to support a flat roof about 7½ ft. from the floor, hiding entirely the inside of the vaulting; outside it is identical with that at Têr. The illustrations Nos. 50, 51, and 52, will enable the reader to form a fairly distinct conception of this interesting monument.

These two examples, though of so small dimensions, fully confirm the inductions arrived at before their discovery, of the form of roof and arrangement of these chapels. They must at one time have been very numerous all over India, and further important discoveries may still reward careful research. At Guntupalle in the Godâvarî district is the ruin of one, measuring 53 ft. 6 in. in length by 14 ft. 6 in. wide; but only a few feet of the walls remain. And at Vidyâdharapuram, near Bezwâdâ, the foundations have been traced by Mr. Rea of still another.

As so much of our information regarding the chaityas, as well as the vihâras, which form the next group to be described, was first derived from the rock-cut examples in western India, it would be convenient, if it were possible, to present something like a statistical account of the number and distribution of the groups of caves found there. From what we know of their numbers and distribution we are warranted in assuming that there are at least fifty groups of caves in India proper.

Some of these groups contain as many as 100 different and distinct excavations, many not more than ten or a dozen; but altogether we may fairly assume that not less than 1200 distinct specimens are to be found. Of these probably 300 may be of Brahmanical or Jaina origin; the remaining 900 are Buddhist—either monasteries or temples, the former being incomparably the more numerous class; for of the latter not more than twenty or thirty are known to exist. This difference arose, no doubt, from the greater number of the vihâras being grouped around structural topes, as was always the case in Afghanistan and Ceylon; and, consequently, they did not require any rock-cut place of worship while possessed of the more usual and appropriate edifice.

The façades of the caves are generally perfect, and form an exception to what has been said of our ignorance of the external appearance of Indian temples and monasteries, since they are executed in the rock with all the detail that could have graced the buildings of which they are copies. In the investigation of these objects, the perfect immutability of a temple once hewn

out of the living rock is a very important advantage. No repair can add to, or indeed scarcely alter, the general features of what is once so executed; and there can be no doubt that we see them now, in all essentials, exactly as originally designed. This advantage will easily be appreciated by any one who has tried to grope for the evidence of a date in the design, afforded by our much-altered and often reconstructed cathedrals of the Middle Ages.

The geographical distribution of the caves is somewhat singular, more than nine-tenths of those now known being found within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. The remainder consist of two groups in Bengal—those of Bihâr and Katak, neither of which is important in extent; those of Dhamnâr, Kholvi, Besnagar, and Bâgh in Rajputana; in Madras, the groups at Mâmallapuram, Bezwâdâ and Guntupalle; and two or three small groups in the Panjâb and Afghanistan.[1]

This remarkable local distribution may be accounted for by the greater prevalence in western than in eastern India of rocks perfectly adapted to such works. The great cave district of western India is composed of horizontal strata of amygdaloid and other cognate trap formations, generally speaking of very considerable thickness and great uniformity of texture, and possessing besides the advantage that their edges are generally exposed in nearly perpendicular cliffs. No rock in any part of the world could either be more suited for the purpose or more favourably situated than these formations. They were easily accessible and easily worked. In the rarest possible instances are there any flaws or faults to disturb the uniformity of the design; and, when complete, they afford a perfectly dry temple or abode, singularly uniform in temperature, and more durable than any class of temple found in any other part of the world.

From the time of Asoka, B.C. 250, when the first cave was excavated at Râjagriha, till about the 8th century, or later, the series is uninterrupted; and, if completely examined and drawn, the caves would furnish us with a complete religious and artistic history of the greater part of India during ten or eleven centuries, the darkest and most perplexing of her existence. But, although during this long period the practice was common to Buddhists, Hindûs, and Jains, it ceased before the Muhammadan conquest. Hardly any excavations have been made or attempted since that period, except, perhaps, some rude Jaina monoliths in the rock at Gwâliar, and three in southern India.

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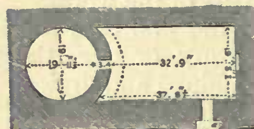
[1] For the Afghanistan caves, see W. Simpson's paper in 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' N.S., 1891, pp. 254ff, and 'Journal,' vol. vii. p. 244.

Bihâr Caves.

As might be expected from what we know of the history of the localities, the oldest caves in India are situated in Bihâr, in the neighbourhood of Râjagriha—now Râjgir—which was the capital of Bengal at the time of the advent of Buddha. Bihâr, however, was also one of the earliest provinces in which the Jaina doctrines were propagated, and their great Tîrthankara Mahâvîra was a native of Vai*s*âlî,[1] and a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. He preached in Tirhut, Bihâr, and neighbouring districts, and is said to have died at Pâwâpuri, about 10 miles to the north-east of Râjgir, where his *samosaran* or stûpa stands, marking one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage of the sect.[2] They have several temples about Râjgir, and in early times they would have *bhikshugrihas* or residences for their ascetics hewn out in the rocks—just as other sects had. And on the wall of the Sonbhandar cave is an inscription dating perhaps from about A.D. 200, ascribing it to a Muni Vairadeva and as "fit for the residence of Arahants"—indicating that it then belonged to the Jains.[3]

The most interesting group is situated at a place called Barâbar, 16 miles north of Gayâ. One there, called the Karna Chaupâr, bears an inscription which records the excavation of the cave in the nineteenth year after the coronation of A*s*oka (B.C. 244).[4] It is simply a rectangular hall measuring 33 ft. 6 in. by 14, and except in an arched roof rising 4 ft. 8 in. above walls, 6 ft. 1 in. in height, it has no architectural feature of importance. At the right, or west end, is a low platform as if for an image, and the walls are polished quite smooth. A second, called the Sudâma or Nyagrodha cave (Woodcut No. 53), bears an inscription of A*s*oka's twelfth year, the same year in which most of his edicts are dated, B.C. 250, and, consequently, is the oldest architectural example in India. It dedicates the cave to the mendicants of the Âjîvika sect.[5] The cave consists of two apartments: an outer, 32 ft. 9 in. in length, and 19 ft. 6 in. in





53. Sudâma Cave.

[1] Near Chaprâ and Cherând, on the north bank of the Ganges, some 20 to 25 miles above Patna.—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. lxix. pp. 77ff.

[2] Bühler 'On the Indian Sect of the Jainas,' Eng. trans., pp. 25ff.; Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. xi. pp. 170f.; *ante*, p. 54, *note* 1.

[3] Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol i. p. 25, and plate 13.

[4] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xx. pp. 168ff. and 361ff.

[5] The Âjîvikas were followers of Makhali Gosâla, a contemporary and opponent of Mahâvîra and of Buddha. They were naked recluse devotees and fatalists, and were often ranked with the Digambara Jains. The Vi*s*va cave here, and the three caves in Nâgârjuni hill, excavated in the reign of Da*s*aratha,

breadth, and beyond this a nearly circular apartment 19 ft. 11 in. by 19 ft., in the place usually occupied by the solid dâgaba;[1] in front of which the roof hangs down and projects in a manner very much as if it were intended to represent thatch. The most interesting of the group is that called Lomas Rishi, which, though bearing no contemporary inscription, certainly belongs to the same age. The frontispiece is singularly interesting as representing in the rock the form of the structural chaityas of the age. These, as will be seen from the woodcut (No 55), were apparently constructed with strong

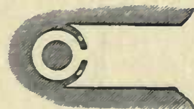


55. Façade of Lomas Rishi Cave. (From a Photograph by Mr Peppe, C.E.)

wooden posts, sloping slightly inwards, supporting a longitudinal purlin morticed into their heads, while three smaller purlins on each side are employed to keep the roof in form. Between the pillars was a framework of wood, above which are shown five

were all made for the Âjivika ascetics. 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xx. p. 362; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 272, 274; Bühler, 'Sect of the Jainas,' (English version) p. 39.

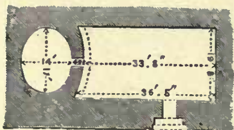
[1] At Kondivtê, in Salsette, near Bombay, there is a chaitya cave of more modern date, which possesses a circular chamber like this, except that it is sunk perpendicularly into the hill side. In the older examples it is probable a relic or some sacred symbol occupied the cell; in the later it may have been an image—though we know too little of the Âjivikas to say of whom or what.



54. Kondivtê Cave, Salsette. Scale, 50 ft. to 1 in.

smaller purlins. Over these lies the roof, apparently formed of three thicknesses of plank, or probably two of timber planks laid reverse ways, and one of metal or some other substance externally. The form of the roof is something of a pointed arch, with a slight ogee point on the summit to form a weathering. The door, like all those of this series, has sloping jambs[1] —a peculiarity arising, as we shall afterwards see, from the lines of the openings following, as in this instance, those of the supports of the roof.

The interior, as will be seen from the annexed plan (No 56), is quite plain in form, and does not seem to have been ever quite completed. It consists of a hall 33 ft. by 19 ft., beyond which is an apartment of nearly circular form, forming a shrine, as in the Sudâma cave.


56. Lomas Rishi Cave.

Three quarters of a mile to the north-east of these, in a ridge of granite, known as the Nâgârjuni hill, are three more caves, each bearing an inscription of Da*s*aratha, the supposed grandson and successor of A*s*oka, about B.C. 220, dedicating them also to the Âjîvikas. The largest is the Gopikâ or "Milkmaid's Cave," which is a hall 46 ft. 5 in. long, with circular ends, and 19 ft. 2 in. wide, with one door in the centre of the south side. The walls are 6½ ft. high, and the vault of the roof rises to 10½ ft. in the middle. The whole interior is polished, but quite plain, and we can only conjecture that it was formed for a refectory or Dharma*s*âlâ.

The remaining two, called the Vahiyakâ[2] and the Vadathikâ caves, are so small as hardly to deserve notice. They are on the north side of the ridge. The first is entered from the end, and consists of a single chamber 16 ft. 9 in. in length by 11 ft. 3 in. wide, and 10½ ft. high at the middle of the vault, with highly polished walls. The Vadathikâ cave is also entered from the end, and is of about the same size.[3]

Judging from the inscriptions on these caves, the whole

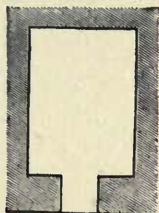
[1] Gen. Cunningham ('Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 45) and others have called this an Egyptian form. This it certainly is not, as no Egyptian doorway had sloping jambs. Nor can it properly be called Pelasgic. The Pelasgi did use that form but derived it from stone constructions. The Indians only obtained it from wood. — Conf. Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 107, 108, 130; Simpson, in 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' vol. xxx. (1879-1880), p. 56.

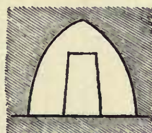
[2] By an error in reading the inscription, this cave was formerly called Vapiyakâ or "Well Cave"; but the epigraph reads "Vahiyakâ."—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xx. p. 364 note.

[3] Gen. Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 50, states the width of this cave as 4 ft. 3 in., but the small drawing on plate 19 measures about 10½ ft.; it is 11 ft. 3 in.—'Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal,' vol. xvi., plate at p. 408.

were excavated between the date of the Sudâma and that of the "Milkmaid's Cave," so called (which was excavated by Da*s*aratha), probably within forty years of that date. They appear to range, therefore, from B.C. 250 to about 220, and the Lomas Rishi is probably the most modern—it certainly is the most richly ornamented. No great amount of elaboration, however, is found in these examples, inasmuch as the material in which they are excavated is the hardest and most close-grained granite; and it was hardly to be expected that a people, who so recently had been using chiefly wood as a building material, would have patience sufficient for labours like these. They have polished them like glass in the interior, and with that they have been content.

There is yet another small cave of this class—called Sitâmarhi—about 13 miles south of Râjagriha, and 25 miles east from Gayâ. It consists of a chamber rectangular in plan, and measuring 15 ft. 9 in., by 11 ft. 3 in., which is hollowed out of an isolated granite boulder lying detached by itself, and not near any rocks. Inside it is as carefully polished as any of those at Barâbar.[1] Its principal interest, however, is in its section (Woodcut No. 57), which is that of a pointed arch rising from the floor level to a height of 6 ft. 7 in., without any perpendicular sides, which are found in the other caves here. The jambs of the doorway also slope inwards from the bottom to the top, about 1 in. each. From its peculiarities we might infer that it is possibly the oldest in the district; but we must have a more extended series before we can form a reliable sequence in this direction. In the meantime, however, we may feel sure that this hermitage belongs to the great Mauryan age, but whether before or after A*s*oka's time must be left at present undetermined.[2]





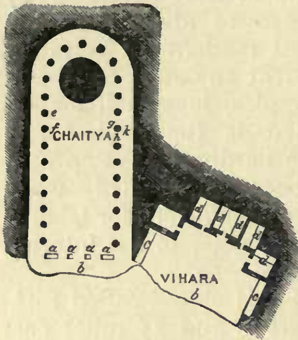
57. Plan and Section of Sitâ-marhi. Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

Western Chaitya Halls.

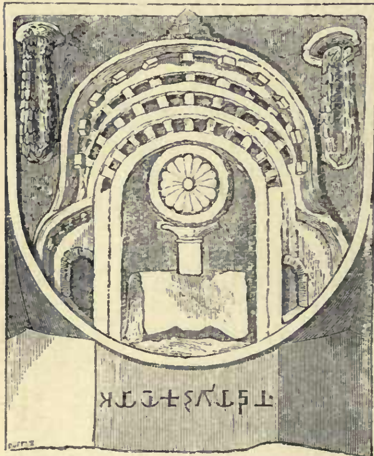
There are in the Western Ghâts and elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency six or seven important chaitya caves whose dates can be made out, either from inscriptions, or from internal evidence, with very fair approximate certainty, and all of which were excavated, if I am not very much mistaken, before the Christian Era. The oldest of these is situated at a place

[1] Beglar in 'Archæological Survey of India Reports,' vol. viii. pp. 106-107.
[2] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 52-53.

called Bhâjâ, 4 miles south of the great Kârlê cave in the Bôr Ghât. There is no inscription upon it, but from the plan (Woodcut No. 58), it will be perceived that it is a chaitya hall of the usual plan, but of no great dimensions, being only 60 ft. from the back of the apse to the mortices (*a a*), in which the supports of the wooden screen once stood. From the woodcut (No. 60), it will be perceived that the pillars of the interior slope inwards at a considerable and most unpleasing angle. The rood-screen which closes the front of other caves of this class is gone, as it is also in the case of the Kondânê and Pitalkhorâ examples, and in Cave No. 10 at Ajantâ. In other examples it is in stone, and consequently remains, but in those instances, where it was originally in wood, it has disappeared, though the holes to receive its posts and the mortices by which it was attached to the walls are still there. The ogee fronton was covered with wooden ornaments, which have disappeared; though the pinholes remain by which they were fastened to the stone. The framework, or truss, that filled the upper part of the great front opening, no longer exists, but what its appearance was may be judged of by the numerous representations of itself with which it is covered, or from the representation of a chaitya façade from the contemporary rail at Bodh-Gayâ (Woodcut No. 59), and there are several others on the rail at Bharaut, which are not only correct elevations of such a façade as this, but represent the wooden carved ornaments which—according to that authority—invariably adorned these façades. The only existing example of this wooden screen is that at Kârlê,[1] but the innumerable



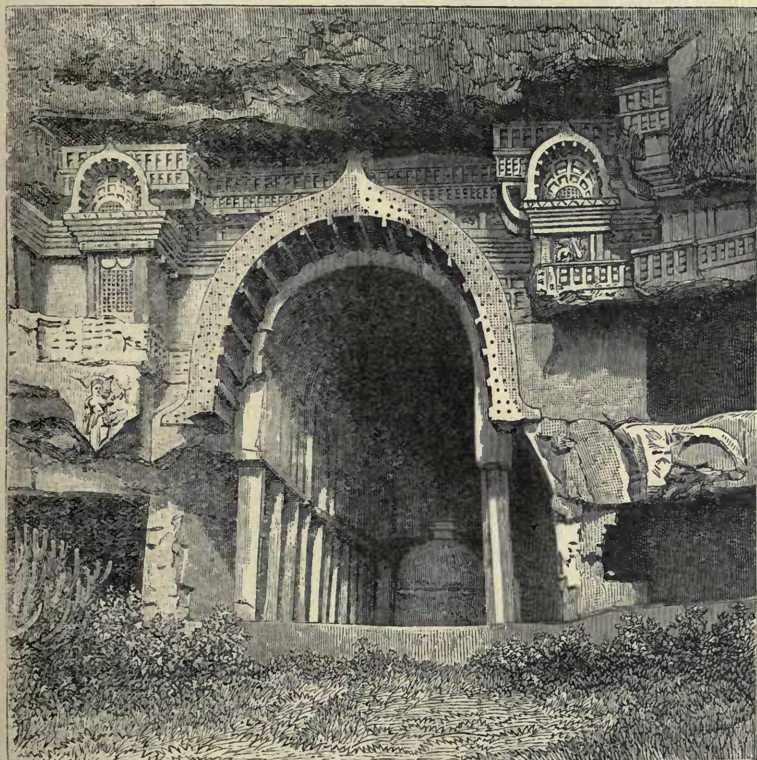
58. Chaitya Cave, Bhâjâ. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.



59. Front of a Chaitya Hall. (From a Bas-relief at Bodh-Gayâ.)

[1] Little more than thirty years ago, the screen in Kondâne chaitya cave was also tolerably entire.—'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv., frontispiece.

small repetitions of it, not only here but in all these caves, shows not only its form, but how universal its employment was. The rafters of the roof were of wood, and many of them, as may be seen in the woodcut, remain to the present day. Everything, in fact, that could be made in wood remained in wood, and only the constructive parts necessary for stability were executed in the rock.



60. Façade of the Cave at Bhâjâ. (From a Photograph.

It is easy to understand that, the first time men undertook to repeat in stone forms they had only been accustomed to erect in wood, they should have done so literally. The sloping inwards of the pillars was requisite to resist the thrust of the circular roof in the wooden building, but it must have appeared so awkward in stone that it would hardly be often repeated. As, however, it was probably almost universal in structural buildings, the doorways and openings naturally followed the same lines, hence the sloping jambs. Though these were by

no means so objectionable in practice, they varied with the lines of the supports, and, as these became upright, the jambs became parallel. In like manner, when it was done, the architects could hardly fail to perceive that they had wasted both time and labour in cutting away the rock to make way for their wooden screen in front. Had they left it standing, with far less expense they could have got a more ornamental and more durable feature. This was so self-evident that it never, so far as is known, was repeated, but it was some time before the pillars of the interior got quite perpendicular, and the jambs of the doors quite parallel.

There is very little figure sculpture about this cave; none in the interior, and what there is on the façade seems to be of a very domestic character. But on the pillars in the interior at *g* and *h* in the plan (Woodcut No. 58), we find two emblems, and at *a*, *e*, and *f* three others are found somewhat rudely formed, but which occur again so frequently that it may be worth while to quote them here (Woodcut No. 61).[1] They are known as the triratna, or trident—the central point being usually more important than here shown—the shield, and the chakra, or wheel. The two first are generally found in combination, as in Woodcuts Nos. 39 and 45, and the wheel is frequently found edged with triratna ornaments, as in the central compartment of Woodcut No. 43 from Amarâvatî. The fourth emblem here is the triratna,

61.


Triratna.


Shield.


Chakra.


Triratna.

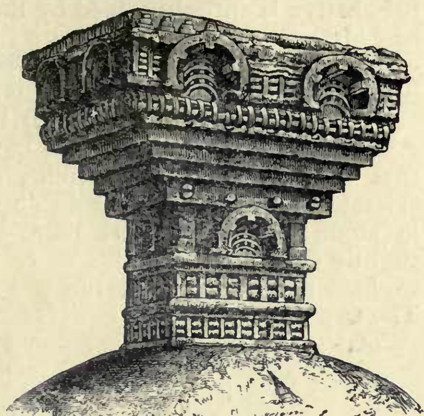


in combination with a face, and the fifth is one which is fan-shaped and frequently repeated on coins and elsewhere, but to which no name has yet been given.

At a short distance along the face of the scarp, is an excavation of some interest, containing a group of fourteen monolithic dâgabas of various sizes. All of them have the Buddhist-rail pattern cut round the upper margin of the drum. Five under the overhanging rock vary in diameter from 4 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 3 in., and the front two have the square box only on the dome, as in the cave, and without the cornice, while the three behind

[1] See 'Cave Temples of India,' plate vii.

have also the heavy cornice: that upon the largest being connected with the roof by the stone shaft of the "chhattra" or umbrella, whilst the other two had been provided with wooden shafts. Of the nine in front, the first from the north has a handsome capital 3 ft. 8 in. high, very elaborately carved (Woodcut No. 62); most of the others have been broken. One or more had only the box form without abacus, and on four of them are holes on the top as if for relics. The names of the Theras or priests, still legible on several of them, indicate that they served the place of monuments in a cemetery, though they may also have been reverenced as altars to saints.



62. Capital of a rock-cut Dâgaba at Bhâjâ. (From a Photograph.)

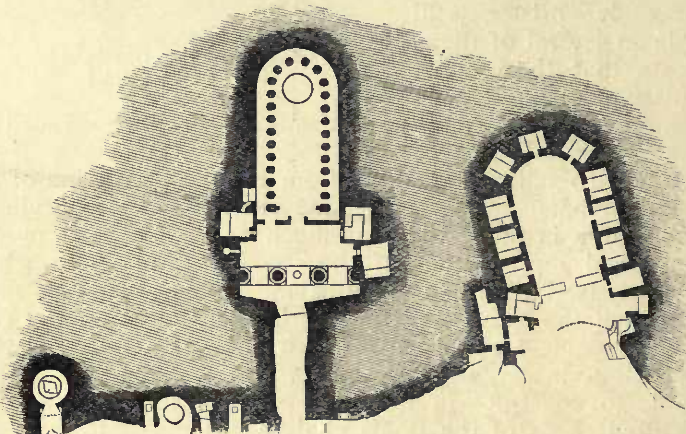
About 10 miles north-west from Kârlê, in a ravine of the Western Ghâts, are the Kondânê chaitya cave and vihâra. This chaitya is interesting, inasmuch as its façade is even a more literal reproduction of the wooden forms from which it was derived than that at Bhâjâ. Nothing could be more literal than the copying of the overhanging forms of the constructive parts of the façade, which shows no trace of stone construction in any feature, and which it would be hardly possible to construct in masonry. Its dimensions differ but little from those of the Bhâjâ chaitya, being 66½ ft. from the line of the front pillars to the extremity of the apse, 26 ft. 8 in. wide, and 28 ft. 5 in. high to the crown of the arch; the nave was 14 ft. 8 in. wide, surrounded by thirty pillars—most of which have rotted away, but which incline inwards as do the side walls of the aisles. The dâgaba was 9 ft. in diameter with a capital, like that at Bhâjâ, of about double the usual height. These two chaityas may be considered as contemporary or nearly so, and they are the finest among the four which are the very oldest specimens of their class in the west of India.[1]

Pitalkhorâ is a ravine among the Indhyâdri hills, about

[1] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 220-222 and plate 8; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 8-10, and plate 1,

12 miles south of Chalisgâm in Khandesh, where there are several caves—Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina. Unfortunately the chaitya is entirely ruined by the decay of the rock, the front half of the temple having quite disappeared. From the style of the vihâras, and a few epigraphs, we can only conclude that it must have ranked quite as early as the preceding.[1]

The fourth of this series will be treated of among the four Ajantâ chaitya temples. The next group of caves, however, that at Bedsâ, 10 or 11 miles south of Kârlê, shows considerable progress towards lithic construction. The screen is in stone; the pillars are more upright though still sloping slightly inwards, the jambs more nearly parallel; and, in fact, we have nearly all the features of a well-designed chaitya cave. The two pillars in front, however, as will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 63), are so much too large in proportion to the



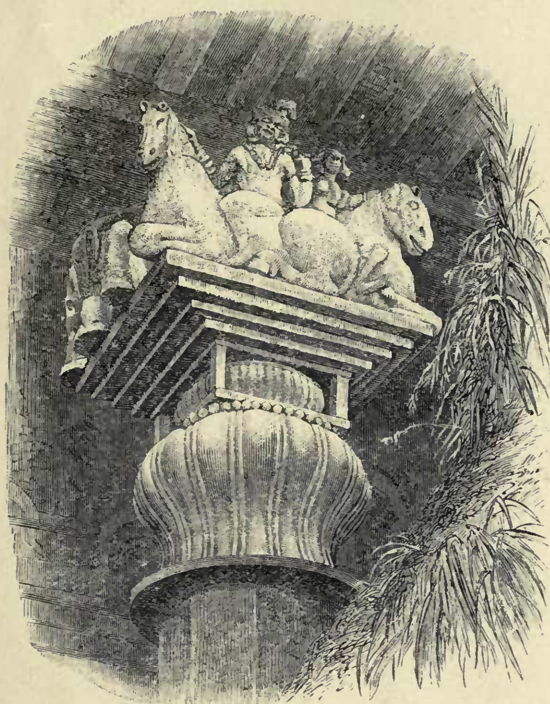
63. Plan of Cave at Bedsâ. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

rest, that they are evidently stambhas, and ought to stand free instead of supporting a verandah. Their capitals (Woodcut No. 64, next page) are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution.[2] From the view (Woodcut No. 65 on page 140) it will be seen

[1] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 242-246, and plate 15; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 11-12.

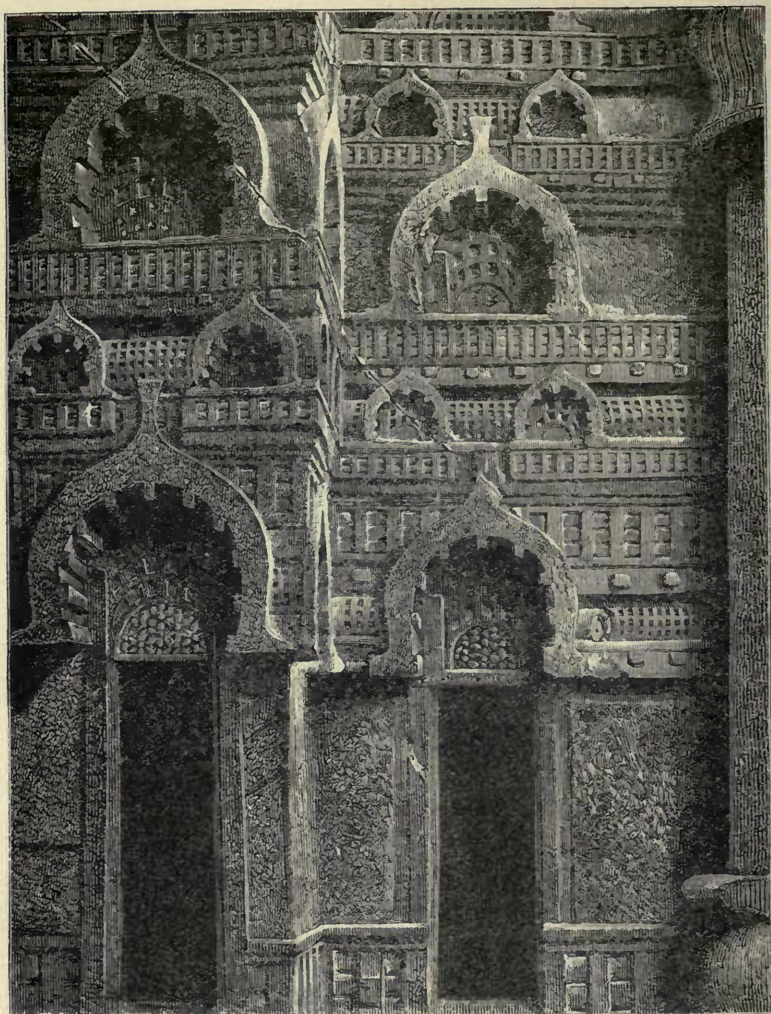
[2] In the Pitalkhorâ vihâra, we find the Persepolitan capital repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindû artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes.—Dr. Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 15.

how much the surface is covered with the rail decoration, a repetition on a small scale of the rails described in the last section, and which it may here be mentioned is a fair test of



64. Capital of Pillar in front of Cave at Bedsâ (From a Photograph.)

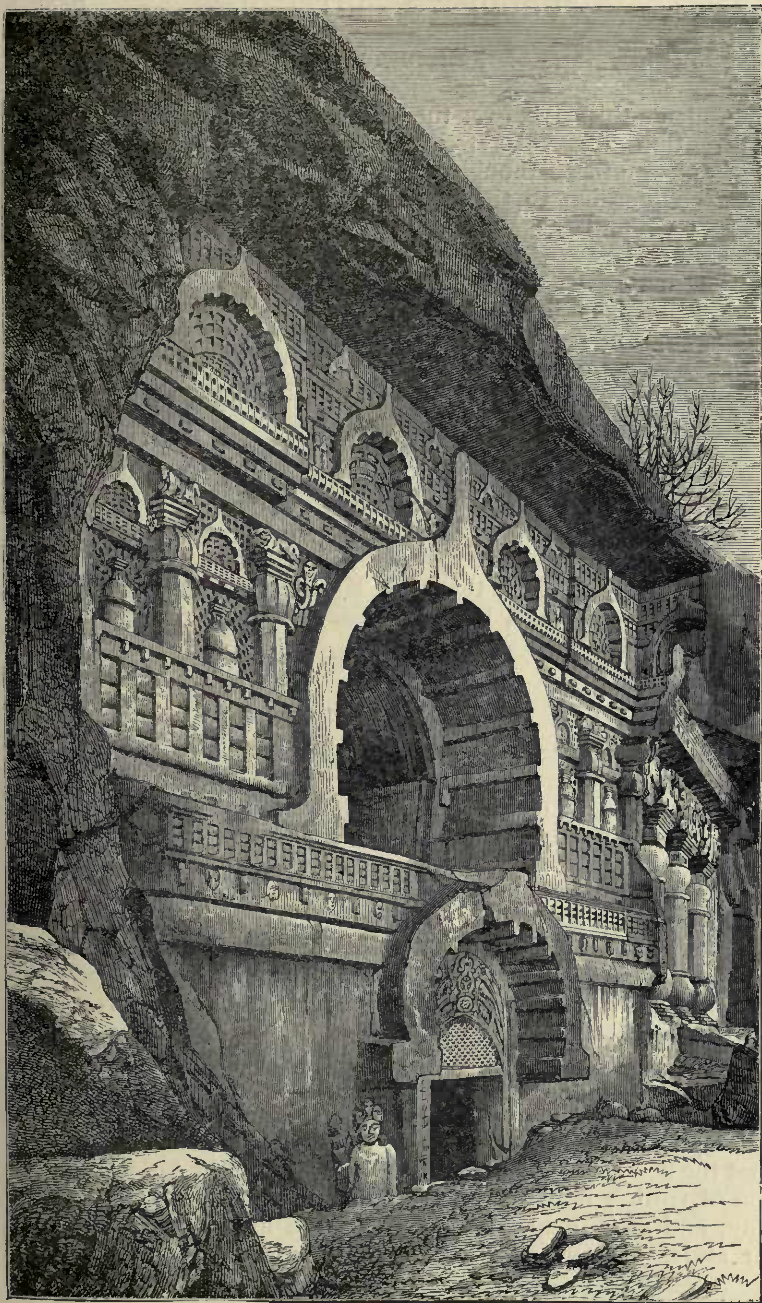
the age of any building. It gradually becomes less and less used after the date of these two chaitya caves, and disappears wholly in the 4th or 5th centuries; but during that period its greater or less prevalence in any building is one of the surest indications we have of the relative age of any two examples. In this cave, as will be observed, nearly the whole of the ornamentation is made up of miniature rails, and repetitions of window fronts or façades. It has also a semicircular open-work moulding, like basket-work, which is only found in the very oldest caves, and is evidently so unsuited for stone-work that it is no wonder it was dropped very early. No example of it is known after the Christian Era. There is an inscription in this cave in an ancient form of letters, but without date, and this alone is not sufficient to fix its age absolutely without further evidence.



65. View on Verandah of Cave at Bedsâ. (From a Photograph.)

The next of these early caves is the chaitya at Nâsik. Its pillars internally are so nearly perpendicular that their inclination might escape detection, and the door jambs are nearly parallel.

The façade, as seen in the woodcut (No. 66, p. 141), is a very perfect and complete design, but all its details are copied from wooden forms, and nothing was executed in wood in this



66. Chaitya Cave at Nâsik. (From a Photograph.)

cave but the rafters of the roof internally, and these have fallen down.

Outside this cave, over the doorway, there is an inscription, stating that "the villagers of Dhambika gave the carving over it"; and another—though imperfect—on the projecting ledge over the guardian to the left of the entrance, reads that "the rail-pattern and the Yaksha were made by Nadâsirî." A third inscription, on two of the pillars of the nave, ascribes the completion of the "Chaityagriha" to Bhatapâlikâ granddaughter (?) of Mahâ-Hakusiri. The first two are in nearly pure Maurya characters, and appear to be about coeval with the inscription of Krishna-râja in the small vihâra close by, which we ascribe to about B.C. 160; and the third can hardly be much later.[1] Taking these inscriptions in conjunction with the architecture, the age of this cave hardly seems doubtful. We may accept B.C. 160 as approximately the date of its inception, though its completion may be a quarter of a century later, and, if this is so, it carries back the caves of Bhâjâ, Bedsâ, and the others, to a period considerably before that time, while, on the other hand, it as certainly is older than the Kârlê cave, which appears to come after it in age, whilst Cave No. 9 at Ajantâ may be quite as old.

Kârlê.

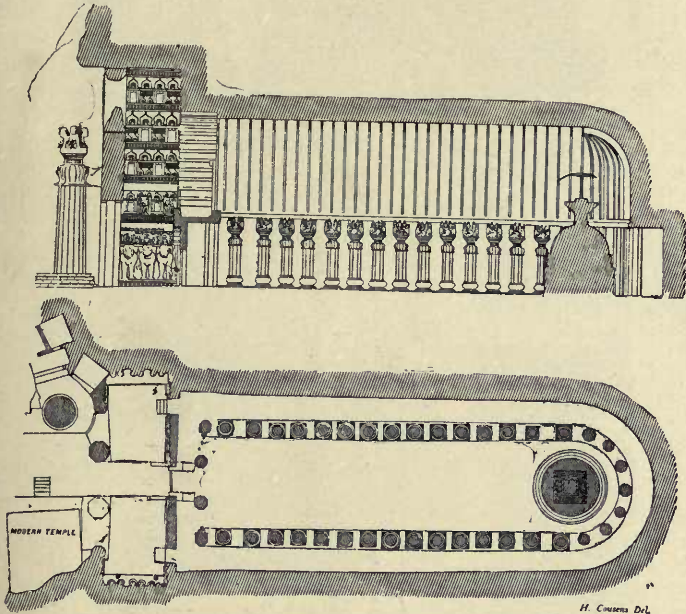
The last of the caves mentioned above, known as that at Kârlê, is situated near the railway between Bombay and Poona, and is the finest of all—the finest, indeed, of its class. It is certainly the largest as well as the most complete chaitya cave known in India, and was excavated at a time when the style was in its greatest purity. In it all the architectural defects of the previous examples are removed; the pillars of the nave are quite perpendicular. The screen is ornamented with sculpture—its first appearance apparently in such a position—and the style had reached a perfection that was never afterwards surpassed.

In this cave there is an inscription in the left end of the porch, and another on the lion - pillar in front, which are certainly integral, and the first ascribes its completion to "Setthi Bhûtapâla of Vaijayantî" (or Banavâsi), whilst the second states that the lion-pillar was the gift of the "Mahârathi Agnimitranaka son of Goti"; but neither of these, nor others on pillars, doorway, and arch, help us to a date. We are thus thrown back on style, without any help from examples closely akin in

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[1] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. pp. 91-93.

details: we have also later inscriptions, of Ushabhadâta, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapâna,[1] and, as the latter belongs to the beginning of the 2nd century, Ushabhadâta cannot be placed earlier than about A.D. 120. But the cave had been completed long before this, and we may pretty safely place it in the century B.C., and possibly early in that century.

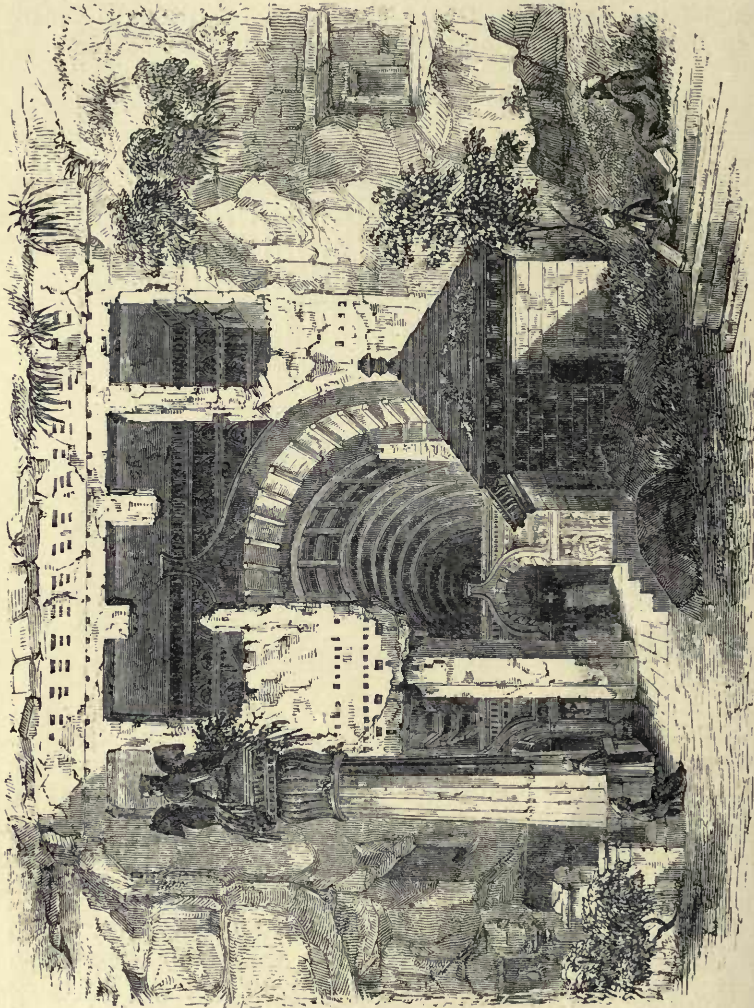


67-68. Section and Plan of Chaitya Cave at Kârlê. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The building, as will be seen by the annexed woodcuts (Nos. 67, 68, 69), resembles, to a very great extent, an early Christian church in its arrangements: consisting of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 124 ft. 3 in. from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 ft. 6 in. in width. The side-aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 ft. 7 in., so that the others are only 10 ft. wide, including the thickness of the pillars. As a scale for comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangement and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, or

[1] For the Kârlê inscriptions, see 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 90-92, 112-113; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. vii. pp. 47ff.

of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter buildings. The thickness of the piers at Norwich



69. View of Cave at Kârlê. (From a Drawing by Mr. Salt, corrected by the Author.)

and Caen nearly corresponds to the breadth of the aisles in the Indian temple. In height, however, Kârlê is very inferior, being only 45 ft. from the floor to the apex.

Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the

aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and richly ornamented capital, on the inner front of which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are; behind are horses and tigers, each bearing a single figure.[1] The seven pillars behind the altar are plain octagonal piers, without either base or capital, and the four under the entrance gallery differ considerably from those at the sides. The sculptures on the capitals supply the place usually occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture; and in other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above this springs the roof, semicircular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semi-diameter. It is ornamented even at this day by a series of wooden ribs, probably coeval with the excavation, which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the roof is not a copy of a masonry arch, but of some sort of timber construction which we cannot now very well understand.

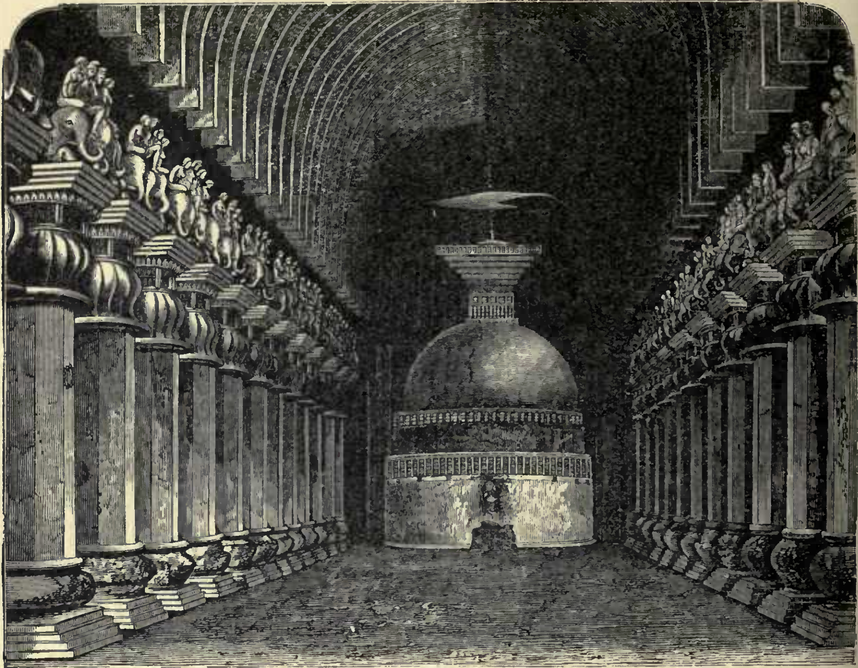
Immediately under the semidome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dâgaba, in this instance a plain dome, on a two-storeyed circular drum, the upper margins of each section being carved with rail ornaments (Woodcut No. 70). Just under the lower of these are holes or mortices for woodwork, which may have been adorned with hangings, which some of the sculptured representations would lead us to suppose was the usual mode of ornamenting these altars. It is surmounted by a capital or Tee, the base of which is similar to the one shown on Woodcut No. 15, and on this still stand the remains of an umbrella in wood, somewhat decayed and distorted by age. This canopy was circular and minutely carved on the under surface.[2]

Opposite this is the entrance, consisting of three doorways under a gallery exactly corresponding with our roodloft, one leading to the centre, and one to each of the side-aisles; and over the gallery the whole end of the hall is open, as in all these chaitya halls, forming one great window, through which all the light is admitted. This great window is formed in the shape of a horseshoe, and exactly resembles those used as ornaments on the façade of this cave, as well as on those of Bhâjâ, Bedsâ, and at Nâsik described above, and which are met with everywhere at this age. Within the arch is a frame-

[1] Drawings of some of the pillars are given in 'Cave Temples of India,' plates 12 and 14, and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. plate 13.

[2] 'Cave Temples of India,' p. 235, and plate 13.

work or centering of wood standing free (Woodcut No. 69). This, so far as we can judge, is, like the ribs of the interior, coeval with the building;[1] at all events, if it has been renewed, it is an exact copy of the original form, for it is found repeated in stone in all the niches of the façade, over the doorways, and generally as an ornament everywhere, and, with the



70. View of Interior of Cave at Kârlê. (From a Photograph.)

Buddhist "rail," copied from Sânchi, forms the most usual ornament of the style.

The sculpture on the screen wall between the doors is mostly of much later date than the cave itself. All the figures of Buddha there represented are of late date and belong to the

[1] About 1870 it was reported that this screen was in danger of falling outwards, and I wrote repeatedly to India begging that something might be done to preserve it; this was eventually effected, but by "restoration" rather than by judicious repair. Only a small portion of the original ribbing of the Bhâjâ cave now remains. That of the Bedsâ cave was destroyed about 1861 ('Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. viii. p. 223); and it would be a thousand pities if this, which is the only original screen in India, were allowed to perish when a very small outlay would save it. Like the Iron pillar at Meharaulî close to Delhi, which never rusts, teak wood that does not decay, though exposed to the atmosphere for 2000 years, is a phenomenon worth the attention not only of antiquaries, but of natural philosphers.

Mahâyâna school; the larger pairs of figures, however, are earlier and may be original. The later inscriptions are of the time of the Andhra king Pulumâvi (*cir.* A.D. 150).

The presence of the woodwork is an additional proof, if any were wanted, that there were no arches of construction in any of these Buddhist buildings. There neither were nor are any in any Indian building anterior to the Muhammadan conquest, and very few indeed in any Hindû building afterwards.

To return, however, to Kârlê, the outer porch is considerably wider than the body of the building, being 52 ft. wide by 15 ft. deep, and is closed in front by a screen composed of two stout octagonal pillars, without either base or capital, supporting what is now a plain mass of rock, but which was once ornamented by a wooden gallery forming the principal ornament of the façade. Above this a dwarf colonnade or attic of four columns between pilasters admitted light to the great window, and this again was surmounted by a wooden cornice or ornament of some sort, though we cannot now restore it, since only the mortices remain that attached it to the rock.

In advance of this screen stands the lion-pillar, in this instance a plain shaft with sixteen flutes, or rather faces, surmounted by a capital not unlike that at Kesariyâ (Woodcut No. 7), but at Kârlê supporting four lions instead of one, and, for reasons given above (p. 60), they seem almost certainly to have supported a chakra or Buddhist wheel (Woodcut No. 8). A similar pillar probably stood on the opposite side, but it had either fallen or been removed to make way for the little Hindû temple that now occupies its place.

The absence of the wooden ornaments of the external porch, as well as our ignorance of the mode in which this temple was finished laterally, and the porch joined to the main temple, prevents us from judging what the effect of the front would have been if belonging to a free-standing building. But the proportions of such parts as remain are so good, and the effect of the whole so pleasing, that there can be little hesitation in ascribing to such a design a tolerably high rank among architectural compositions.

Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be, and the mode of lighting the most perfect — one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a very favourable angle, and falling directly on the dâgaba or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the aisles from the nave, as they suffice to prevent the boundary walls from ever being seen, and,

as there are no openings in the walls, the view between the pillars is practically unlimited.

These peculiarities are found more or less developed in all the other caves of the same class in India, varying only with the age and the gradual change that took place from the more purely wooden forms of these caves to the lithic or stone architecture of the more modern ones. This is the principal test by which their relative ages can be determined, and it proves incontestably that the Kârlê cave was excavated not so very long after stone came to be generally used as a building material in India.

There are caves at Ajantâ and probably at Junnar which are as old as those just described, and supply details that are wanting in the examples just mentioned.[1] Meanwhile, however, their forms are sufficient to place the history on a firm basis, and to explain the origin and early progress of the style with sufficient distinctness.

From the inscriptions and literary evidence, it seems hardly doubtful that the date of the Kârlê cave is about B.C. 80, and that at Nâsik about B.C. 150. We have no literary authority for the date of the two earlier ones, but the archæological evidence appears irresistible. The Bhâjâ and Kondânê caves are so absolutely identical in style with the Lomas Rishi cave in Bihâr (Woodcut No. 55) that they must be of very nearly the same age. Their pillars and their doorways slope so nearly at the same angle, and the essential woodenness—if the expression may be used—of each is so exactly the same, that, the one being of the age of Asoka, the others cannot be far removed from the date of his reign. The Bedsâ cave exhibits a degree of progress so nearly half-way between the Bhâjâ and Nâsik examples, that it may be dated about B.C. 120. The Pitalkhorâ cave must also range about the same age, and the whole six, with one or two to be described at Ajantâ, thus exhibit the progress of the style during nearly two centuries, and form a basis from which we may proceed to reason with little hesitation or doubt.

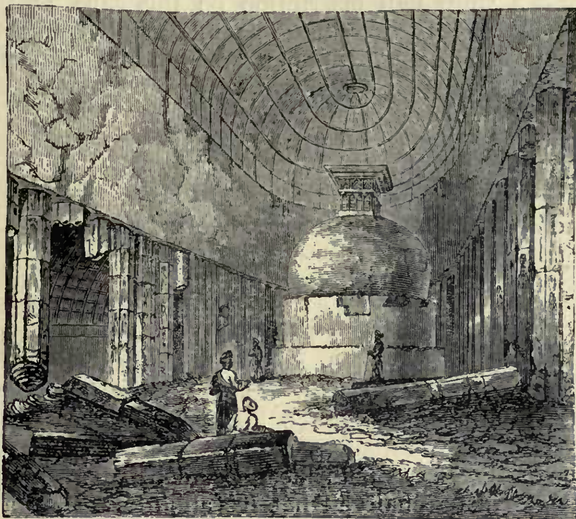
Ajantâ.

There are four chaitya caves in the Ajantâ series which, though not so magnificent as some of the four just mentioned, are nearly as important for the purposes of our history.[2] The oldest there is the chaitya, No. 10, which is situated very near

[1] A much fuller account of the Rock-Temples of India will be found in 'The Cave-Temples of India,' 1880, and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vols. iv. and v.

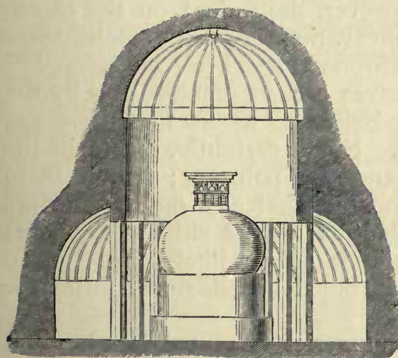
[2] For further particulars regarding the Ajantâ caves, the reader is referred to 'Cave Temples,' pp. 280-346, and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 43-59.

to the next to be referred to, a little higher up in the rock, however, and is of nearly twice its dimensions. It is 96 ft. 6 in.



71. Interior of Chaitya Cave No. 10 at Ajantâ. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

in depth by 41 ft. 3 in. in width internally, and 36 ft. high. As may be seen from the annexed view (Woodcut No. 71), the nave is separated from the aisles by a range of thirty-nine plain octagonal shafts, very slightly inclined inwards, but without capitals or bases. The triforium belt is of unusual height, and was originally plastered and painted. Traces of this can still be seen, though the design cannot be made out (Woodcut No. 72). Like Bhâjâ and Kondânê it had only a wooden or brick front; but one of the most remarkable characteristics of the cave is that it shows what may be regarded as a sign of transition from wood to stone in its architectural details. As at Pitalkhorâ, the ribs of the aisle are in stone cut in the rock, but copied from the wooden forms of previous examples; but too much stress should not be laid on this feature. The vault of the nave was adorned



72. Cross-section of Cave No. 10 at Ajantâ. Scale, about 26 ft. to 1 in.

with wooden ribs, the mortices for which are still there, and their marks can still be traced in the roof, but the wood itself is gone.

There is a short Pâli inscription on this cave, at the right side of the façade, which seems to be integral, but unfortunately it does not contain names that can be identified;[1] but from the form of the characters a palæographist would almost certainly place it considerably anterior to the Christian Era.

Next to this, the second chaitya here (No. 9), and probably not much later in point of age, is the lowest down on the cliff, and is of the smallest class, being only 45 ft. by 22 ft. 9 in. in width, and 23 ft. high. All its woodwork has perished, though it would not be difficult to restore it from the mortices left and the representations of itself on the façade. There are several inscriptions, but they are not integral: they are painted on the walls, and belong, from the form of their characters, to about the 6th or 7th century of our era, when the frescoes seem to have been renewed, so that the real tests of its age are,—first, its position in the series, which make it, with a neighbouring vihâra (No. 12), undoubtedly one of the oldest there; the other test is the architecture of its façade, which so much resembles that of the Nâsik chaitya that it cannot be very far off in date. It may, however, be somewhat earlier, as the pillars in the interior slope inwards at an angle somewhere between that found at Bhâjâ and that at Bedsâ; and, in so far as that is a test of age, it is in favour of a greater antiquity in the Ajantâ example. Such a criterion, however, dependent on the choice of the superintendent of the excavation, is far too delicate to use with much confidence as a chronometrical test.

The façades of both these caves are so much ruined by the rock falling away that it is impossible to assert that there was no sculpture on the lower parts. None, certainly, exists in the interior, where everything depends on painting; and it is, to say the least of it, very improbable that any figure-sculpture adorned No. 9—the figures of Buddha on the sides of the court being of much later date—while it seems likely that No. 10 also depended wholly on conventional architectural forms for its adornment.[2]

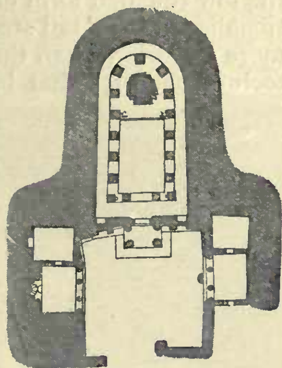
The next chaitya cave in this series (No. 19) is separated from these two by a very long interval of time. Unfortunately,

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[1] It may be read—"A façade or entrance, the gift of Katahâdi Vasishthîputra." — 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 116.

[2] What fragments of painting remain in this cave (No. 10) differ markedly in the costumes of the figures and their physiognomy from what we find in the other caves, and are evidently of much earlier date.—'Notes on the Bauddha Rock-cut Temples of Ajantâ,' plates 8-11; 'Cave Temples,' plate 29; 'Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India,' plate 34, p. 67; Workman's 'Through Town and Jungle,' p. 159.

no inscription exists upon it which would assist in assigning it any precise date; but it belongs to a group of vihâras, Nos. 16 and 17, whose date, as we shall afterwards see, can be fixed with tolerable certainty as belonging to the end of the 5th century A.D. The cave itself, as will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 73), is of the smallest size, nearly the same as No. 9, or 46 ft. 4 in. in length, by 23 ft. 7 in. wide and 24 ft. 4 in. high, and its arrangements do not differ much, but its details belong to a totally different school of art. All trace of woodwork has disappeared, but the wooden forms are everywhere repeated in stone, like the triglyphs and mutules of the Doric order, long after their original meaning was lost. More than this, painting in the interval had to a great extent ceased to be the chief means of decoration, both internally and externally, and sculpture substituted for it in monumental works; but the greatest change of all is that Buddha, in all his attitudes, is introduced everywhere. In the next woodcut (No. 74)—the view of the façade—it will be seen how completely figure-sculpture had superseded the plainer architectural forms of the earlier caves. The rail ornament, too, has entirely disappeared; the window heads have been dwarfed down to mere framings for masks; but, what is even more significant than these, is that from a pure atheism we have passed to an overwhelming idolatry. At Kârlê the eight figures that originally adorned the porch are chiefs or donors with their wives, in pairs. All the figures of Buddha that appear there now are long subsequent additions. None but mortals were sculptured in the earlier caves, and among these *S*âkyamuni nowhere appears. Here, on the contrary, he is Bhagavat—the Holy One—the object of worship, and occupies a position in the front of the dâgaba or altar itself (Woodcut No. 75, p. 153), surmounted by the triple umbrella and as the Numen of the place.

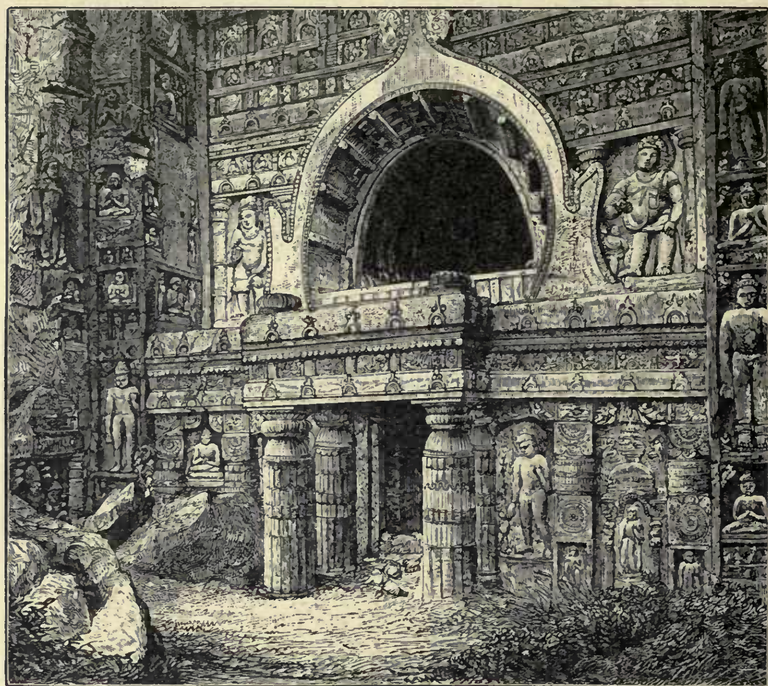


73. Chaitya No. 19 at Ajantâ. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

We may be able, in the near future, to fix more nearly the time in which this portentous change took place in Buddhist ritual. For the present it is sufficient to remark that images of Buddha, and their worship, were not known in India much before the commencement of our era, and that the revolution was complete by the 4th century,—if not earlier.

Before leaving this cave, however, it may be well to remark on the change that had taken place in the form of the dâgaba

during these 500 years. If Woodcut No. 75 is compared with the dâgabas in Nos. 70 and 71, it will be seen how much the low rounded form of the early examples had been conventionalised into a tall steeple-like object. The drum had become more important than the dome, and was ornamented with architectural features that have no meaning as applied. But more



74. View of Façade, Chaitya Cave No. 19 at Ajantâ. (From a Photograph.)

curious still is the form the triple umbrella had assumed. It had now become a steeple reaching almost to the roof of the cave, and its original form and meaning would hardly be suspected by those who were not familiar with the intermediate steps.

I am not aware of more than three umbrellas being found surmounting any dâgaba in the caves, but the following representation of a model of one found at Sultânpur, near Jalâlâbâd (Woodcut No. 76), probably of about the same age, has six such discs; and in Bihâr numerous models are found with seven, making with the base and finial nine storeys,[1] which

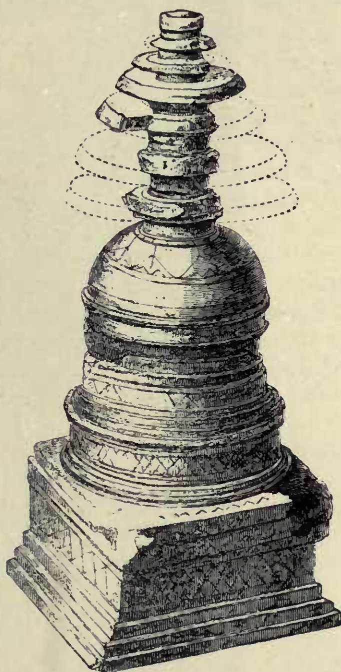
[1] Kittoe in 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii. (1847), pp. 172ff., plate 6; conf. *ante*, Woodcut No. 29, p. 80; and Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 79.

afterwards in China became the conventional number for the nine-storeyed towers of that land.

The last chaitya at Ajantâ (No. 26) is of a medium size, 67 ft. 10 in. by 36 ft. 3 in., and 31 ft. 3 in. high, and has a long inscription and three short ones, but, unfortunately, they contain nothing to enable us to fix its date with certainty.[1] It is certainly more modern than the last-named, its sculptures are coarser, and their meaning more mythological. We shall probably not err in assuming that it was excavated towards the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century; and that



75. Rock-cut Dâgaba at Ajantâ. (From a Drawing by the Author.)



76. Small Model found in the Tope at Sultânpur. (From Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua,' plate 3.)

the year 600 is not far from its true date.[2] An idea of the

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 132-136. In the longer inscription, the Arhat or Sthavira Achala is mentioned, who is also spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang.—Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 257-258.

[2] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 341-345, and plates 37, 38, 50, and 51; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 58, 59, and plates 3 and 36.

richness of the sculpture on the pillars and triforium of this chaitya, and of the style of the interior, will be better conveyed by the accompanying woodcut, No. 77, than by any attempt at description. The pillars are much in the same style as



77. Pillars on the left side of the Nave, in Cave No. 26 at Ajantâ. (From a Photograph.)

those in Cave No. 1, but even richer and more minute in detail, closely resembling those in No. 25, immediately preceding it in position, if not also in age. The triforium, it will be observed, is overloaded with ornament, and thereby loses

seriously in architectural dignity and effect. Historically its chief interest is in showing how idolatrous Buddhism was becoming when Brahmanism was about to expel the former from the country of its birth.

JUNNAR.

Around the old town of Junnar, about 48 miles north from Poona, are some five separate groups of caves, consisting altogether of fully a hundred and fifty different excavations—the majority of them being small. Like other early caves, they are mostly devoid of figure ornament, and notwithstanding ten chapel or chaitya caves, scattered among the different groups, it might perhaps be questioned whether they should all be classed as Buddhist, or whether some of them at least did not belong to the Jains or other sects. Fuller illustration and study of what figure ornament there is must settle this; but the inscriptions on certain of the caves indicate that they were for followers of certain Buddhist schools. These inscriptions seem to range palæographically, from about B.C. 100 to A.D. 300.[1]

There are not, it is true, any chaityas among them so magnificent as that at Kârlê, nor any probably quite so old as those at Bhâjâ and Bedsâ; but there is, in the Ganesa group, a chaitya, both in plan and dimensions, very like that at Nâsik, and a vihâra, quite equal to the finest at that place. The great interest of the series, however, consists in its possessing examples of forms not known elsewhere.[2] There are, for instance, among others, six chaitya caves, with square terminations, flat roofs and without internal pillars, and one circular cave which was quite unique until the discovery of another of the same form at Guntupalle, near the east coast.

The great peculiarity of the series is the extreme simplicity of the caves composing it. They are too early to have any

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[1] The Junnar inscriptions have been translated by Dr. Kern, 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. vi. pp. 39f.; and by Drs. Bhagwânlâl Indraji and Bühler, 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' pp. 41-55; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 92-98, and 103.

[2] These caves have long been known to antiquarians. In 1833 Colonel Sykes published a series of inscriptions copied from them, but without any description of the caves themselves ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iv. pp. 287-291). In 1847, Dr. Bird noticed them in his 'Historical Researches,' with some wretched lithographs, so bad as to be almost unintelligible; in 1850, Dr. Wilson described them in the 'Bombay Journal'; and in 1857 Dr. Stevenson republished their inscriptions, with translations, in the eighth volume of the same journal; and Mr. W. F. Sinclair, C.S., wrote a short account of them in the 'Indian Antiquary' vol. iii. pp. 33ff. In November 1874, a hurried survey was made, the results of which are given in 'Cave Temples,' pp. 248-262 and plates 17, 18; and in the 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 26-36. Photographs, however, are needed to make them more clearly intelligible.

figures of Buddha himself,[1] but there are not even any of those figures of men and women which we meet with at Kârlê and elsewhere. Everything at Junnar wears an aspect of simplicity and severity, due partly to the antiquity of the caves of course, but, so far as known, unequalled elsewhere.

There are evidences in several places that plaster and painting were employed for the decoration of these caves; and among them we find ten chaityas — some unfinished— mostly without side aisles or the arched façades we find elsewhere. Only one—that in Mânmoda hill[2]—has any sculpture on the façade: and as will be seen from Woodcut No. 78, this is quite unique in style. In a fan-shaped sculpture is represented the goddess *S*rî or Gaja Lakshmî, standing with her two elephants pouring water over her, and behind them, on each side are two worshippers in attitudes of adoration. Though so ubiquitous and continuous through all ages, it is seldom this goddess occupies so important a position as she does here; but her history has still to be written. On the edge of the small semicircular centre of the sculpture on this façade is an inscription in an alphabet of about the century B.C., stating that "the hall-front was the gift of Chanda a Yavana." Above the fronton, on each side of the finial, are figures:—on the right, of a Nâgarâja with a fly flap, and on the left a figure with a bird on his shoulders, and behind each is a dâgaba in high relief. The interior of this cave is 30 ft. in length and 12 ft. 6 in. wide between the pillars of the nave, of which three are blocked out on the right side and two just commenced on the left; and the entrance, nearly the width of the nave, is destroyed by the breaking of the lintel. The dâgaba is plain, but, with the whole interior of the cave, it has been left quite unfinished, owing apparently to a soft stratum of rock being met with by the excavators.

A little to the east of this is a series of four cells with a neatly carved façade; each door has the chaitya-window arch over it projecting about 15 in., and is carved below in the same style as over the doorway of the Nâsik chaitya, whilst between the arches are sculptured dâgabas, rail-pattern and smaller arches—indicative of an early date.[3]

The Tuljâ Lena group, about 2 miles west from Junnar, consists of some dozen excavations, among which one is a vihâra with five cells, another was, perhaps a refection hall,

[1] There are some defaced images probably of late date in a cell in the Mânmoda group, that are probably late Jaina.—'Cave Temples,' p. 261; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 36.

[2] There is a representation of this cave in Dr. Bird's book, plate 16, but so badly done that it requires being told what is intended in order to find it out.

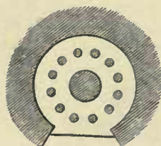
[3] A part of this façade is represented in 'Cave Temples,' plate 17, fig. 5.



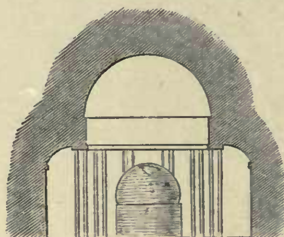
78. Mânmoda Chaitya Cave at Junnar.
(From a Photograph.)

and a third is the circular chaitya cave. They are all very much dilapidated—the fronts having mostly fallen away—but the carving that remains on two of the façades, consisting of chaitya-window, rail-pattern and dâgaba ornamentation is so like to what we find at Bhâjâ, Kondâne, Bedsâ and Nâsik, that we cannot be far wrong in ascribing this group to the like early period.[1]

The plan and section (Woodcuts Nos. 79, 80) will explain



79. Circular Cave, Junnar. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.



80. Section of Circular Cave, Junnar. (From a Drawing by J. Burgess.) Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.

the form of the circular cave above alluded to. It is not large, only 25 ft. 6 in. across, while its roof is supported by twelve plain octagonal pillars which surround the dâgaba.[2] The tee has been removed from the dâgaba to convert it into a lingam of *S*iva, in which form it is now worshipped. The interest of the arrangement of this cave will be more apparent when we come to describe the dâgabas in Ceylon, which were encircled with pillars in the same manner as this one. Meanwhile the following representation (Woodcut No. 81) of a circular temple from the Buddhist sculptures at Bharaut may enable us to realise, to some extent at least, the external form of these temples, which perhaps were much more common in ancient times than any remains we now possess would justify us in assuming.

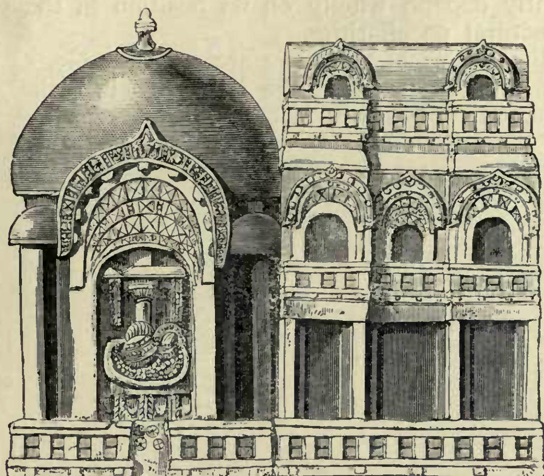
Among the other Mânmoda caves are two small unfinished chaityas and a small vihâra beside one of them that have all octagonal pillars with the water-pot bases and capitals in their verandahs, but with a square block between the abacus and architrave. Near the more southerly is an excavation with an inscription by the minister of Nahapâna of A.D. 124, which must be about the date of these caves.[3] In the *S*ivaner

[1] 'Cave Temples,' plate 17, fig. 4.

[2] A cave at Guntupalle, in the Godâvarî district, so far resembles this, that it is circular, 18 ft. in diameter, with a domed roof, but without pillars, and contains a dâgaba, now converted into a Linga.—*Infra*, p. 167.

[3] These caves are all pretty fully described in 'Cave Temples' and 'Archæological Survey Western India,' vol. iv., the two Mânmoda chaityas are No. 18—'Cave Temples,' p 260, and No. 31—at pp. 261-262, and plan on plate 18, fig. 8.

and Ganesa Lena groups are four other small chaityas, with verandah pillars of the same Nâsik type;[1] and in the latter



81. Round Temple and part of Palace or Monastery. (From a bas-relief at Bharaut.)

series is one that may justly be regarded as the best example we have of the chaitya of the 1st or 2nd century of our era.[2] Its proportions are good, and all the details well understood and properly applied. The vihâra[3] near it, now converted into a Hindû shrine of Ganesa, measures 50½ ft. wide by 56½ ft. deep, without pillars, the façade of its verandah being almost a complete copy of that of the Gautamîputra cave (No. 3) at Nâsik, with six pillars and two antæ standing on a bench, the outside of which is carved with rail-pattern.

ELÛRÂ.

The celebrated Viswakarma cave at Elûrâ is a chaitya of the first class, intermediate, perhaps, in age between the two last described caves at Ajantâ, or it may be as modern

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[1] The chaityas in the scarp of Sivaner are No. 3—'Cave Temple,' p. 249, and pillar in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 17; No. 51—'Cave Temples,' p. 251, plan and section, plate 18, figs. 1, 2, and pillar in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 19; and No. 69—'Archæological Survey,' vol. iv. p. 30. The Ganesa Lena example is No. 15—'Cave Temples,' pp. 256-257 and plan and section, plate 18, figs. 6, 7; and 'Archæological Survey Western India,' vol. iv. p. 32, No. 15.

[2] No. 6 — for details see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 254-256, plan, plate 18, fig. 9 to scale 25 ft. to 1 in., and section, fig. 10, to double that scale; pillars in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 29, p. 54; 'Archæological Survey Western India,' vol. iv. p. 31. The other, also a vaulted chaitya here, is No. 32—'Cave Temples,' pp. 257-258.

[3] No. 7, 'Cave Temples,' p. 256.

as the last. There are unfortunately no inscriptions nor any traditions that would assist in fixing its age, which must consequently depend wholly on its position in the series and its architectural peculiarities.

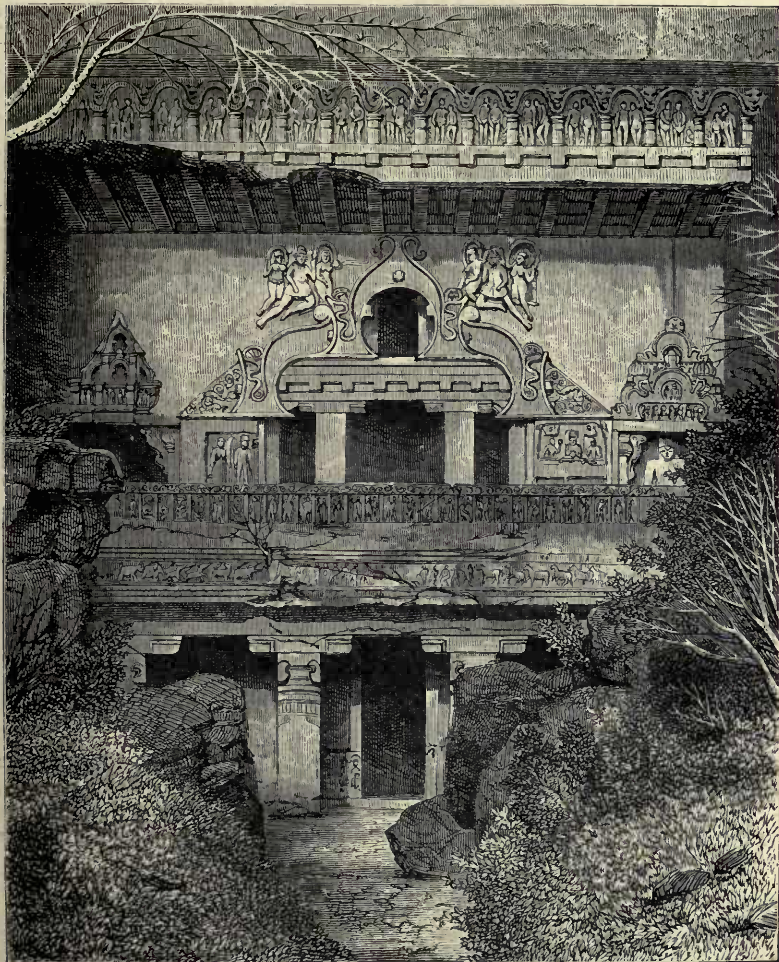
The dimensions of this cave are considerable, 85 ft. 10 in. by 43 ft., and 34 ft. high; the inner end is entirely blocked up by the dâgaba which, instead of being circular as in all



82. Interior of Viswakarma Buddhist Cave at Elûrâ. (From a Photograph.)

the older examples, has a frontispiece attached to it larger than that in Cave No. 19 at Ajantâ, which, as shown in Woodcut No. 73, makes it square in front. On this addition is a figure of Buddha seated with his feet down, and surrounded by attendants and flying figures in the later style of Mahâyâna Buddhist art (Woodcut No. 82). In the roof, all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock, though still copied from wooden prototypes, and the triforium is sculptured with groups, as in Nos. 19 and 26 of Ajantâ. Its most marked characteristic, however, is the façade, where for the first time we miss the great horse-shoe opening, which is the most marked feature in all previous

examples. We can still trace a reminiscence of it in the upper part of the window in the centre (Woodcut No. 83); but it was evidently considered necessary, in this instance, to reduce the size of the opening, and it is easy to see why



83. Façade of the Viswakarma Cave at Elûrâ. (From a Photograph.)

this was the case. At Bedsâ, Kârlê, Kanheri, and elsewhere, there was a verandah or porch with a screen in front of the great window, which prevented the direct rays of the sun from reaching it, and all the older caves had wooden screens, as at Kârlê from which curtains could be hung so as to modify

the light to any desired extent. At Elûrâ, no screen could ever have existed in front, and wooden additions had long ceased to be used, so that it consequently became necessary to reduce the size of the opening. In the two later chaityas at Ajantâ, this is effected by simply reducing their size. At Elûrâ it was done by dividing it. If we had the structural examples in which this change was probably first introduced, we might trace its progress;[1] but, as this one is the only rock example we have of a divided window, we must accept it as one of the latest modifications of the façades of these chaityas. Practically, it may be an improvement, as it is still sufficiently large to light the interior in a satisfactory manner; but artistically it seems rather to be regretted. There is a character and a grandeur about the older design which we miss in this more domestic-looking arrangement, though it is still a form of opening not destitute of beauty.

Owing to the sloping nature of the ground in which it is excavated this cave possesses a forecourt of considerable extent and of great elegance of design, which gives its façade an importance it is not entitled to from any intrinsic merit of its own.[2]

Kanheri.

One of the best known and most frequently described chaityas in India, is that on the island of Salsette, about 16 miles north of Bombay, and 6 north-west from Thânâ, known as the great Kanheri cave. In dimensions it belongs to the first rank, being 86 ft. 6 in. in length by 39 ft. 10 in. wide, and about 38 ft. high. In the verandah there is an inscription recording that a monk named Buddhaghosha dedicated one of the middle-sized statues in the porch to the honour of Bhagavat, *i.e.* Buddha.[3] This does not fix the age of the cave, but on the two front pillars of the same porch are inscriptions—or rather fragments of such—from which it is gathered that the chaitya was begun by two brothers, "the merchants Gajasena and Gajamitra," in the reign of Gautamîputra Siriyaña *S*âtakarni, that is, about A.D. 180.[4] This fixes its date some centuries before Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajantâ, but much later than the great Kârlê chaitya, of which it is a literal copy, but in so inferior a style of art that the architecture

[1] See the chaitya at Têr, *ante*, p. 126.

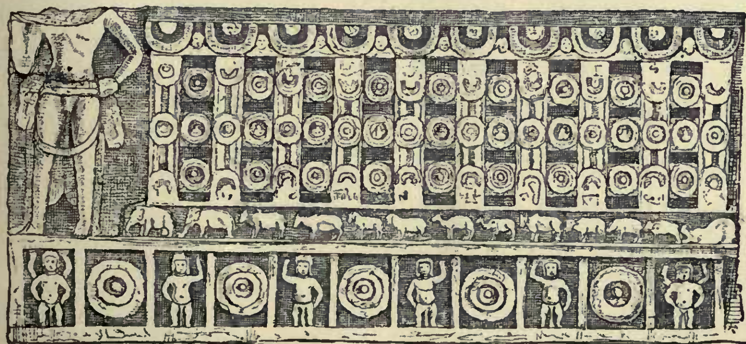
[2] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 377-379, and plates 62, 63; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. pp. 9-13, and plates 3, and 16-18.

[3] This and three other short inscriptions on the same verandah are in characters of about the 4th or 5th century A.D.—'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. p. 77.

[4] *Loc. cit.* pp. 75, 76; other inscriptions of the later Andhra kings occur at Kanheri in caves Nos. 5, 36, and 81, with more of the same age.

of this cave can only be looked upon as an exceptional anomaly, the principles of whose design are unlike anything else to be found in India, emanating probably from some individual caprice, the origin of which we may never now be able to recover. The fact, however, that it was undertaken by two laymen, who may have found the undertaking more expensive than they had anticipated, or who may have died before it was finished, may account for its degraded style: the inferior quality of the rock, and the inexperience of the workmen of the period, under direction of "the reverend Bodhika" as overseer, may also have contributed to the result.

Internally the roof was ornamented with timber rafters, and though these have fallen away, the wooden pins by which they were fastened to the rock still remain; and the screen in front has all the mortices and other indications, as at Kârlê, proving that it was intended to be covered with wooden galleries and framework. What is still more curious, the figures of the donors with their wives, which adorn the front of the screen at Kârlê, are here repeated with necessary variations; and the rock at this spot being pretty close-grained, they are the best carved figures in these caves. They are probably also the only sculptures of the age of the cave. The occurrence of such figures here is the more strange as it belonged to an age when their place was reserved for figures of Buddha, and when, perhaps at Kârlê itself, they were cutting away the old sculptures and old inscriptions, to introduce figures of Buddha,

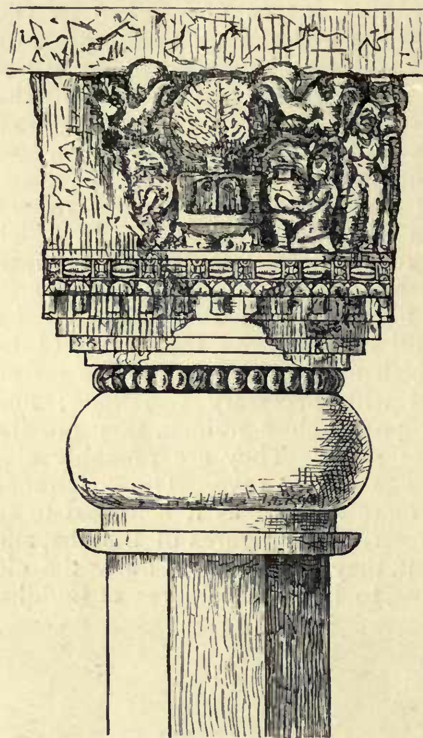


84. Rail in front of the Chaitya Cave, Kanheri. (From a Drawing by Mr. H. Cousens.)

either seated cross-legged, or borne on the lotus, supported by Nâga figures at its base.[1]

[1] A tolerably correct representation of these sculptures is engraved in Langles's 'Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Hindostan,' tom. ii. p. 81, after Niebuhr. The curious part of the thing is, that the Buddhist figures of the Kârlê façade are not copied here also.—'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv., plates 4, and 39-41.

In front of this cave is a dwarf rail (Woodcut No. 84); unfortunately it is so weather-worn that it is difficult to make out all its details; but comparing it with the Gautamîputra rail (Woodcut No. 37) and the Amarâvatî rail (Woodcut No. 41), it will be seen that it contains all those complications that were introduced in the 1st and 2nd centuries, but which were discontinued in the 4th and 5th, when the rail in any shape fell into disuse as an architectural ornament.



85. Capital of a Pillar from the Chaitya Cave at Kanheri.

If again we compare the annexed woodcut No. 85, representing one of the capitals in this cave, with those in the Kârlê chaitya, we find the same degradation of style as is exhibited in woodcuts Nos. 103 and 104 (p. 185) illustrating the styles of the Nahapâna and Gautamîputra vihâras at Nâsik.

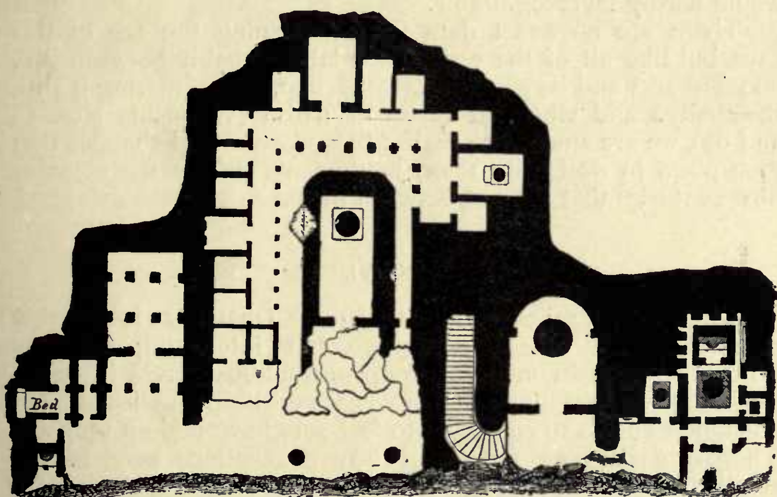
The evidence in fact seems complete that this cave was excavated in the last years of the 2nd century; but, admitting this, it remains an anomaly, the like of which only occurs once again so far as I know in the history of Indian architecture, and that in a vihâra at Nâsik of the same age, to be described hereafter.[1]

Dhamnâr.

Near the village of Chandwâs, about half-way between Kotâ and Ujjain, and 48 miles south-west from Jhâlrapâthan, in Râjputâna, there exists a series of caves at a place called Dhamnâr which are of considerable extent, but the interest that might

[1] For further particulars regarding this cave the reader is referred to Fergusson's 'Rock-cut Temples, of India,' plates 11 and 12; to 'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 350-353, and plate 53; and to 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 61f.

be felt in them is considerably diminished, by their being cut in a coarse laterite conglomerate, so coarse that all the finer architectural details had to be worked out in plaster, and that, having perished with time, only their plans and outlines can now be recognised. Among the sixty or seventy excavations here found, one in the principal group, which is entered from the east end of a broad terrace that still exists tolerably entire, has a dâgaba in front—9½ ft. in diameter and 14 ft. 3 in. high—standing in the centre of a small court, in the open air. Immediately behind it is the cell or sanctuary, in which is a large figure of Buddha seated cross-legged, and on each side of the entrance are two large dwârpâls, as at Aurangâbâd. The cell is isolated by a covered passage running round it, on the



86. Caves at Dhamnâr. (Corrected from a Plan by Gen. Cunningham.)
Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

east side of which is a recumbent figure of the dying Buddha, about 15 ft. long; in the passage behind the cell are three seated figures of Buddhas with smaller standing figures between; and three more stand in the west passage with a sitting one (Woodcut No. 86).

The next is an excavation 25 ft. wide with a curved inner-end —the whole length being 26½ ft.—and containing a circular dâgaba 8½ ft. in diameter and 16 ft. 3 in. high, which supports the roof. To the west of it is another chaitya cave of some extent, and presenting peculiarities of plan not found elsewhere. It is practically a chaitya cella situated in the midst of a vihâra. The cell in which the dâgaba is situated is only 31 ft. 8 in.

by 13 ft. 6 in., but to this must be added the porch or ante-chapel that extended about 20 ft. further, making the whole about 52 ft. On two sides, and on half the third, it is surrounded by a verandah leading to cells. The third side never was finished, but in one of the side cells, measuring 15 ft. 8 in. by 10 ft. 10 in., is a smaller dâgaba; at the back are four cells—one of them, 17 ft. 4 in. by 11 ft. 9 in., with an arched and ribbed roof; and on the west side are six cells, of which the third measures 10½ ft. by 8 ft. 4 in., and has two statues on the back wall,—the whole making a confused mass of chambers and chaityas in which all the original parts are confounded, and all the primitive simplicity of design and arrangement is lost, to such an extent that, without previous knowledge, they would hardly be recognisable.[1]

There are no exact data for determining the age of this cave, but like all of the series it is late, probably between A.D. 600 and 700, and its great interest is that, on comparing it with the chaitya and vihâra at Bhâjâ or Bedsâ (Woodcuts Nos. 58 and 63), we are enabled to realise the progress and changes that took place in designing these monuments during the eight or nine centuries that elapsed between them.[2]

Kholvi.

Twenty-two miles south-east from Dhamnâr is another series of caves not so extensive, but interesting as being probably the most modern group of Buddhist caves in India. No complete account of them has yet been published,[3] but enough is known to enable us to feel sure how modern they are. There are between forty and fifty excavations here, mostly small, and in three groups on the south, east, and north sides of the hill—the principal caves being on the south face. The most marked feature about them is the presence of some seven stûpas or dâgabas with square bases, in all the larger of which shrines have been hollowed out for images. One, called Arjun's House, is a highly ornamented dâgaba, originally apparently some 20 ft. in height, but the upper part being in masonry has

[1] In Gen. Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. ii. the plates 78-83, for Dhamnâr, and 84 for Kholvi, are on too small a scale to be of much use. There are errors also in the plan, as in representing nine cells on the west of the larger chaitya instead of six; the façade on plate 80 belongs, not to "Bhim's bazar," but to the "Great Kacheri," as on plate 79; the pillars of the verandah in No. 11 (p. 273) are not "3 ft." in height, but about 5 ft. 8 in.

[2] A complete survey of the Dhamnâr and Kholvi excavations has not been published, and they present peculiarities that only a fully detailed survey would enable us to understand.

[3] 'Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. v. pp. 336-349.

fallen away. Inside this is a cell open to the front, in which is a cross-legged seated figure of Buddha, showing an approach to the Hindû mode of treating images in their temples, which looks as if Buddhism was on the verge of disappearing.

The same arrangement is repeated in the only excavation here which can be called a chaitya hall. It is only 26 ft. by 13 ft. internally; but the whole of the dâgaba, which is 8 ft. in diameter, has been hollowed out to make a cell, in which an image of Buddha is enshrined. The dâgabas, in fact,—here there are three standing by themselves—have become temples, and only distinguishable from those of the Hindûs by their circular forms.[1]

It is probably hardly necessary to say more on this subject now, as most of the questions, both of art and chronology, will be again touched upon in the next chapter when describing the vihâras which were attached to the chaityas, and were, in fact, parts of the same establishments. As mere residences, the vihâras may be deficient in that dignity and unity which characterises the chaityas, but their number and variety make up to a great extent for their other deficiencies; and altogether their description forms one of the most interesting chapters in our history.

GUNTUPALLE.

At Jilligerigudem near Guntupalle in the Godâvarî district, about 20 miles north from Elor, are a dozen or more buried stûpas, and there are caves at five or six different places. These were surveyed by Mr A. Rea in 1887, when he partly excavated one of the mounds which contained a stone stûpa having a drum 18 ft. in diameter and about 7 ft. high, with a dome of about 15 ft. diameter, of which the upper part only seemed to have been disturbed. Near by were the broken shafts of what probably had been a large pillared hall or mandapa.

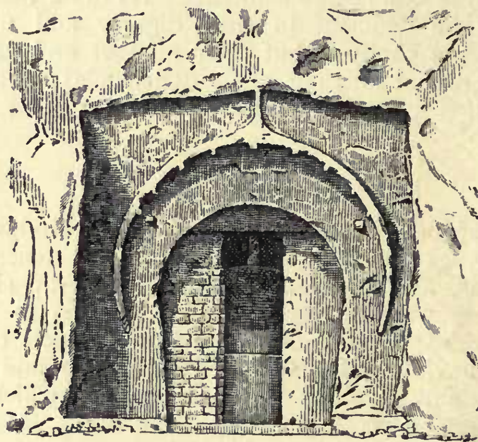
Two groups of the caves here have been destroyed by hewing away the partition walls between them. Of the others the largest group contains a number of cells of quite limited dimensions—5 to 6 ft. by 7 or 8 ft. They face south-east, and at the south-west end are four cells opening from a verandah with a vaulted roof, one cell being at the left end and three behind—the central one being set 4½ ft. farther back than the other two. Close to these is another verandah with a vaulted roof and two cells opening off it and a vaulted

[1] The particulars of the architecture of these caves are taken from Gen. Cunningham's report above alluded to, vol. ii. pp. 280-288.

passage between them leading to the third cell. Next are three more cells grouped by the sides of a vaulted room about 8 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 6 in.; but beyond this most of the cells are almost destroyed.

The only ornamentation on these caves is the "chaitya window" over the doors and some of the windows as we find it in the verandah at Bedsâ (Woodcut No. 65), with three curved lattices, and the terminal above is a circular knob. But the door jambs, curiously enough, splay outwards or make the openings widest above; they appear also to have been fitted with wooden posts and lintels. Over the windows and inside doorways only, the projecting horseshoe arch was carved, whilst two of the principal doors had arched heads.

About a hundred yards south from these monks' cells, on the brow of the hill in which they are excavated, is a circular cave, like that at Junnar (Woodcut 80, p. 158), con-



87. Façade of Chaitya Cave at Guntupalle. (From a Drawing by Mr. A. Rea.) Scale 10 ft. to 1 in.

taining a dâgaba. This cave is 18 ft. in diameter and 14 ft. 9 in. high, and the drum of the dâgaba is 3 ft. 9 in. high with a diameter of 12 ft. at the floor; its dome is hemispherical and of 4 ft. 7 in. radius. Upon it is left a knob, as if part of the staff of an umbrella, but, perhaps, it is only a fragment of the original capital which has been hewn away to convert it into the *S*aiva Lingam for which it is now worshipped. The dome of the roof is elliptical, rising 7 ft. 3 in. in the centre, and is carved with sixteen radiating curved ribs on which four concentric circular rafters are represented as resting. At Junnar these were probably of wood, and have long ago

disappeared. In front of the cave is a vestibule about four yards long with vaulted roof—a thin wall separating it from the shrine, and in this a drip or representation of part of the roof of the cave comes down above as in the Sudâma cave (Woodcut No. 53). The entrance of the vestibule is 8 ft. 6 in. wide below and quite a foot more at the arched head, whilst the façade over it as will be seen in the woodcut (No. 87) is carved with a horse-shoe arch, bearing a rude resemblance to that of the Lomas Rishi cave, and projecting about 14 in.[1]

The structural stûpas and remains of Buddhist sculptures found about them warrant us in attributing these rock excavations to that religious body; and the style of the apartments and of the chaitya cave, compared with the similar remains at Junnar, seem to refer us to an early period, before large vihâra halls were required. Such considerations lead us to ascribe these remains to a date about 200 B.C.

[1] The editor owes to Mr Rea the use of the drawings he made of these Guntupalle or Jilligerigudem caves. The above account is based on his reports in Madras G. O., Nos. 181 and 457 of 1888.—Sketch plans and sections were published in the 'Journal of the R. Asiatic Society.' New ser. vol. xix., pp. 508-511.



88. Sphinxes from Buddhist Vihâra at Pitalkhorâ.

CHAPTER VI.

VIHÂRAS, OR MONASTERIES.

CONTENTS.

Structural Vihâras.

A Vihâra,[1] properly speaking is a residence or dwelling, whether for a monk or an image; and a group of apartments for a community of monks is, strictly speaking a Sanghârâma or monastery. The word Vihâra, however, like Dâgaba, came from Ceylon, where it was used to designate not only a cell but also any monastic establishment,[2] and this extended application has come to be generally understood by us; and with this explanation we employ it.

We are almost more dependent on rock-cut examples for our knowledge of the Vihâras or monasteries of the Buddhists than we are for that of their Chaityas or churches; a circumstance more to be regretted in this instance than in the other. In a chaitya hall the interior is naturally the principal object, and where the art of the architect would be principally lavished. Next would come the façade. The sides and apse are comparatively insignificant and incapable of ornament. The façades and the interior can be as well expressed in the rock as when

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[1] As immediately to be explained, "Vihâras" is applied only to monasteries, the abodes of monks or hermits. It was not, however, used in former times in that restricted sense only. Hiuen Tsiang calls the Great Tower at Bodh-Gayâ a vihâra, and describes similar towers at Nâlanda, 200 and 300 ft. high, as vihâras. The 'Mahâwansa' also applies the term indiscriminately to temples of a certain class, and to residences. The name was used to distinguish them from stûpas or towers, which were relic shrines, or erected as memorials of persons or events, and never were residences or simulated to be such, or contained images, till the last gasp of the style as at Kholvi. Strictly speaking, the monasteries ought to be called Sanghârâmas, but, to avoid multiplication of terms, vihâra is used in this work as the synonym of monastery.

[2] So also in Nepal it is applied to monasteries.—Oldfield's 'Sketches from Nepal,' vol. ii. pp. 275ff.

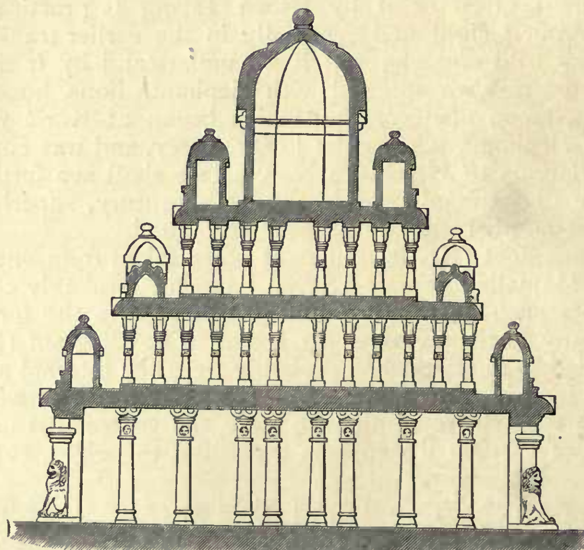
standing free; but the case is different with the vihâras. A court or hall surrounded with cells is not an imposing architectural object. Where the court has galleries two or three storeys in height, and the pillars that support these are richly carved, it may attain an amount of picturesqueness we find in our old hostelries, or of that class of beauty that prevails in the courts of Spanish monasteries. Such was, I believe, the form many of the Indian structural vihâras may have taken, but which could hardly be repeated in the rock; and, unless some representations are discovered among the paintings or sculptures, we shall probably never know, though we may guess, what the original appearances may have been.

There was, however, I believe, another form of Vihâra even less capable of being repeated in the rock. It was pyramidal, and is the original of all the temples of southern India. Take, for instance, a description of the Sanghârâma mentioned both by Fah Hian and Hiuen Tsiang,[1] though neither of them, it must be confessed, ever saw it, which accounts in part for some absurdities in the description :—"The building," says Fah-Hian, "has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped with elephant figures, and has 500 stone cells in it; the second is made with lion shapes, and has 400 chambers; the third is made with horse shapes, and has 300 chambers; the fourth is made with ox shapes, and has 200 chambers; and the fifth is made with dove shapes, and has 100 chambers in it"—and the account given of it by Hiuen Tsiang is practically the same. At first sight, and especially in the earlier translations, this looks wild enough; but if we understand by it that the several storeys were adorned with elephants, lions, horses, etc., we get a mode of decoration which began at Kârlê where a range of elephants adorns the lower storey, and was continued with variations to Halebîd, where, as we shall see further on, all these five animals are, in the 13th century, superimposed upon one another exactly as here recounted.

The woodcut (No. 89) on next page, taken from one of the raths at Mâmallapuram or "Seven Pagodas," probably correctly represents such a structure, and I believe also the form of a great many ancient vihâras in India. The diagram (No. 90) is intended to explain what probably were the internal arrangements of such a structure. As far as it can be understood from the rock-cut examples we have, the centre was occupied by halls of varying dimensions according to height, supported

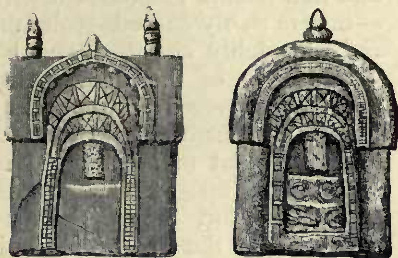
[1] Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. Introd. p. 69, and vol. ii. pp. 214f.; conf. Julien's 'Mémoires,' tome ii. p. 102. This monastery was probably at *S*rî *S*ailam, on the Krishnâ river. The present Hindû temple will be noticed at the end of Book III., chapter iv., p. 408.

89. Dharmarâja Rath at Mâmallapuram. (From a Photograph.)



90. Diagram explanatory of the arrangement of a Buddhist Vihâra of Four Storeys in Height.

by wooden posts above the ground-floor, and used as the common day-rooms of the monks. The sleeping-cells (Woodcuts Nos. 91, 92) were apparently on the terraces, and may have been such as are frequently represented in the bas-reliefs at Bharaut and from Gandhâra. Alternately they seem to have been square and oblong, and with smaller apartments between. Of course we must not take too literally a representation of a monastery, carried out solidly in the rock for a different purpose, as an absolutely correct representation of its original.



91. 92.
Square and oblong Cells from a Bas-relief at Bharaut.

The importance, however, of this form, as explaining the peculiarities of subsequent Buddhist and Dravidian architecture, is so great that it is well worth quoting here, though this will be more evident in the sequel than it can be at present. In construction the breadth, in a structural building, would probably have been greater in proportion to the height than in this example, but that is of little consequence for our present purposes.

It is, of course, always difficult, sometimes impossible, to realise the form of buildings from verbal descriptions only, and the Chinese Pilgrims were not adepts at architectural definitions. Still Hiuen Tsiang's description of the great Nâlanda monastery is important, and so germane to our present subject that it cannot well be passed over.

This celebrated monastery, which was the Monte Casino of India for the first five centuries of our era, was situated at the modern Barâgâon, 34 miles south-south-west of Pâtna, and 7 miles north of the old capital of Râjagriha. If not founded under the auspices of the celebrated Nâgârjuna about the 1st century A.D., he at all events resided there, introducing the Mahâyâna or "great translation," and making it the seat of that school for Central India. After his time six successive kings had built as many vihâras on this spot, when one of them surrounded the whole with a high wall, which can still be traced, measuring 1600 ft. north and south, by 400 ft., and enclosing eight separate courts. Externally to this enclosure were numerous stûpas or tower-like vihâras, ten or twelve of which are easily recognised, and have been identified, with more or less certainty, by General Cunningham, from the Pilgrim's description. The general appearance of the

place may be gathered from the following:—"In the different courts the houses of the monks were each four storeys in height. The pavilions had pillars ornamented with dragons, and had beams resplendent with all the colours of the rainbow —rafters richly carved—columns ornamented with jade, painted red and richly chiselled, and balustrades of carved open work. The lintels of the doors were decorated with elegance, and the roofs covered with glazed tiles of brilliant colours, which multiplied themselves by reflection, and varied the effect at every moment in a thousand manners." Or as he enthusiastically sums up:—"The Sanghârâmas of India are counted by thousands, but there are none equal to this in majesty or richness, or the height of their construction."[1]

From what we know of the effects of Burmese monasteries at the present day this is probably no exaggeration; and with its groves of Mango-trees, and its immense tanks, which still remain, it must have been, as he says, "an enchanting abode." Here there resided in his time—within and without the walls—10,000 priests and neophytes, and religion and philosophy were taught from a hundred chairs, and here consequently our Pilgrim sojourned for five years, imbibing the doctrines of the Law of Buddha. What Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nâlanda was to Central India, the depository of all true learning, and the foundation from which it spread over all the other Buddhist lands; but still, as in all instances connected with that strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Roman Church in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both religions.

It would indeed be satisfactory if the architecture of this celebrated monastery could be restored and its arrangements made clear. Something has been done by Cunningham[2] towards this, and excavations were made by Mr. Broadley and Captain Marshall. The former, it is feared, destroyed more than he restored, and his drawings are so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible. The latter did not publish his discoveries. Nothing, however, would probably better repay a systematic exploration than this celebrated spot, if undertaken by some one experienced in such researches, and qualified to make detailed architectural drawings of what is found.

If, however, it should turn out, as hinted above, that the whole of the superstructure of these vihâras was in wood, either fire or natural decay may have made such havoc among

[1] 'Hiouen Thsang,' tome i. p. 151; or Beal's 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 111.

[2] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 28-36, plate 16.

all that remains of them, as to leave little to reward the labours of the explorer. What has been done in this direction certainly affords no great encouragement to hope for much. At Sultânganj, near Monghyr, a large vihâra was cut through by the railway, but except one remarkable bronze statue of Buddha[1] nothing was found of importance. The monastery apparently consisted of two large courtyards surrounded by cells. What was found, however, could only have been the foundations, as there were no doorways to the apartments or means of communication between each other or with the exterior.[2]

The vihâra excavated by Captain Kittoe and Mr. Thomas, at Sârnâth, seems certainly to have been destroyed by fire. All that remained was a series of some twenty cells and four larger halls surrounding a pillared court 50 ft. square. On one side were three cells evidently forming a sanctuary, as is frequently found in the later rock-cut examples.[3]

The excavations conducted by General Cunningham, at the same place, were hardly more satisfactory in their result. The two buildings he explored seem to bear the relation to one another of a vihâra 60 ft. square over all, and the temple of little more than half these dimensions with a projecting porch on each face.[4] Only the foundation of these buildings now remains, and nothing to indicate how they were originally finished. The like is doubtless the condition of the extensive excavations made by the Archæological Survey during the last four years at Kasiâ in Gorakhpur district as well as at Sârnâth. But no detailed account of the results has yet been made available, and short notices, without plans, are very unsatisfactory, if not occasionally unintelligible. Foundations of numerous temples, stûpas and other buildings, we learn, were laid bare, and interesting sculptures and inscriptions discovered.[5]

We may eventually hit on some representation which may enable us to form definite ideas on this subject, but till we do this we probably must be content with the interiors as seen in the rock-cut examples.

BENGAL CAVES.

None of the Bihâr caves can, properly speaking, be called vihâras, in the sense in which the word is generally used, except perhaps the Son-bhandar cave, which was probably a Jaina or

[1] In private hands in Birmingham in 1876.

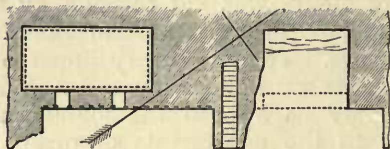
[2] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxxiii. pp. 361 *et seqq.*

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxiii. pp. 469 *et seqq.*

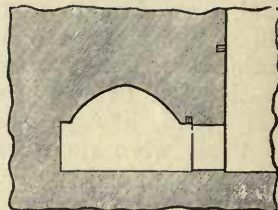
[4] For this and the other Sârnâth remains see Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 114 *et seqq.*, plates 32-34.

[5] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1907, pp. 995ff. See Note below, p. 207.

Âjîvika excavation. It is a plain rectangular cave, 33 ft. 9 in. long by 17 ft. wide, and 11 ft. 7 in. to the springing of the curved roof (Woodcuts Nos. 93 and 94). It has one door and one



93. Plan of Son-bhandar Caves. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.



94. Section of Son-bhandar Cave. Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.

window, but both—like the rest of the cave—without mouldings or any architectural features that would assist in determining its age. The jambs of the doorway slope slightly inwards, but not sufficiently to give an idea of great antiquty. In front there was



95. Front of Son-bhandar Cave. (From a Photograph.)

a wooden verandah, the mortice holes for which are still visible in the front wall, as shown in the woodcut No. 95. Such wooden verandahs were probably common, as they were attached to many of the caves at Kanheri. As mentioned above, if the inscription is as early as the excavation, it may be several centuries later than the Barâbar caves; the cave may, however, be earlier than the inscription.[1]

The other Son-bhandar cave is about 30 ft. to the right

[1] A detailed account of these Bengal caves is given in Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 25-27, 40-53, and vol. iii. pp. 140-144; but his drawings are on too small a scale, however, and too rough to show all that is wanted.—'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 37-46.

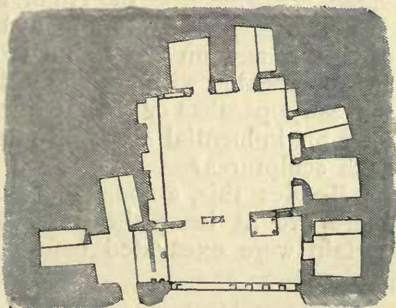
of the larger one, and is in all respects similar, except that its dimensions are only 22 ft. by 17 ft., and the roof has fallen in. Between the two a mass of rock is left in order to admit of a stair being cut in it leading to the surface of the rock above; but what stood on the platform there has not been investigated.

The other caves, at Barâbar and Nâgârjuni, if not exactly chaityas in the sense in which that term is applied to the western caves, were at least oratories, places of prayer and worship, rather than residences. One Âjîvika ascetic may have resided in them, but for the purpose of performing the necessary services. There are no separate cells in them, nor any division that can be considered as separating the ceremonial from the domestic uses of the cave, and they must consequently, for the present at least, be classed as chaityas rather than vihâras.

The case is widely different when we turn to the caves in Orissa, which are among the most interesting, though at the same time the most anomalous, of all the caves in India. With possibly one or two exceptions belonging to other sects, they were evidently excavated for the Jains. Till comparatively recently, however, they were mistaken for Buddhist, but this they clearly never were; hence they must be described in a subsequent section of this work (Book V. chapter ii., in Vol. ii.).

WESTERN VIHÂRA CAVES.

The oldest cave in western India is probably a small vihâra to the west of the Bhâjâ group, which is unique of its kind. It faces north and consists of a verandah 17½ ft. in length by 7 ft. wide at the east end and 9½ ft. at the west, with a hall, also of somewhat irregular form, 16 ft. deep by 16 ft. 7 in. across, exclusive of a bench 21 in. broad along the east side. The accompanying plan (Woodcut No. 96) will show the arrangement of the four cells entering from the hall and one from the verandah, in three of which are stone beds; besides, there are three cells, or cubicles, with a separate entrance outside the verandah to the left, each with its stone bed—usually an indication of early date.



96. Plan of small Vihâra at Bhâjâ.
(From a plan by Mr. H. Cousens.)
Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.

The notable feature, however, are the sculptures of the cave: a pillar and pilaster in the east end of the verandah have the bell-shaped quasi-Persepolitan capitals we find on some of the Asoka lâts, and which became more Indianised in detail at Bedsâ, Kârlê, and elsewhere; the figures that surmount these are here of exceptional form, being human female busts on bovine bodies (Woodcut No. 97). The jambs of the cell doorways slope inwards, and the walls above and between them are ornamented with the chaitya window pattern. On each wall are three deep niches roofed by three chaitya arches; and between those on the east side, corresponding to the cell doors opposite, are two panels containing standing figures or guards, each with a staff or spear and peculiar head-dresses. In the verandah are three others in very unusual and elaborate costumes and head-dresses; one holding two arrows and another a bow. And on the west end of the verandah is a large sculpture, divided by the cell door. On one side we have Sûrya and his two wives, in his chariot drawn (as in the Greek mythology) by four horses, and apparently accompanied by two guards on horseback, with what may be meant for demons of darkness below the horses; the other half represents two large figures on an elephant, with many smaller ones below and around, and two sacred trees. In the verandah of the Ananta Gumphâ at Khandagiri and at Bodh-Gayâ are also found representations of Sûrya, and on the Lahul lotâ both parts of this sculpture are represented with but slight differences.[1] Are these traces of the Sûryopâsakas or Saurapâtas, the sun-worshippers, who were long an influential sect in India,[2] or how are we to account for such sculptures?



97. Capital of Pilaster at Bhâjâ. Scale about 1/16th.

Besides this, among the Buddhist caves of western India there are at least six or seven vihâras which we know for certain were excavated before the Christian Era. There are

[1] This cave has been pretty fully illustrated in 'Cave Temples,' pp. 513-517, and plates 96-98; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 3-6, and plate 6; and in Le Bon's 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 42.

[2] The five orthodox divisions of Hindûs are the Saivas, Vaishnavas, Sâktis, Saurapâtas, and Gânapatyas, but the last two are of very limited extent, though sun-worship is still found among the Kâthis and other tribes in Gujarât.—'Archæological Survey Western India,' vol. ix. pp. 72ff; Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. p. 223; vol. ii. pp. 188, 274; Al-Beruni's 'India,' Sachau's trans. vol. i. pp. 116, 121, 298; and 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol. ix. part i. pp. 257, 393.

possibly forty, but the evidences are not so clear as to enable us to feel confident in affixing dates to them. The few that are known are those attached to the chaityas at Bhâjâ and Bedsâ (Woodcuts Nos. 58, 63), the two oldest at Ajantâ, Nos. 12 and 13, and those at Nâsik, Pitalkhorâ, and Kondâne. Those at Kârlê also, but they have been altered and enlarged, and are much destroyed by the rock falling away, so that it would be difficult to describe them;[1] they are excavated in two or three storeys, and the earlier portions are without ornamentation, but almost certainly coeval with the chaitya itself. At Junnar there are several, which are very old, and at Sânâ, Junâgadh and Tâlâjâ, in Gujarât, there are numbers of very ancient date.[2]

One of the oldest of these is that attached to the chaitya at Bhâjâ (*ante*, Woodcut No. 58). It is five-celled; three of these have single stone beds in them, one is double-bedded, and one is without that uncomfortable piece of furniture. In front of these are two long stone benches at either end of a hall 33 ft. in length. It is not clear whether this hall was always open as at present, but, if it was closed, it was by a wooden screen like the chaitya beside it, which is undoubtedly of the same age. They are indeed parts of one design. The same may be said of the Bedsâ vihâra, though placed a little further apart. In this case, however, there are three cells with stone beds in the verandah of the chaitya, and a fourth was commenced, when apparently it was determined to remove the residence a little further off, and no instance, I believe, occurs afterwards in which they were so conjoined, till at least a very late date, as, perhaps, at Dhamnâr (Woodcut No. 86), all the parts got again confounded together. As will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 63) it is exceptional in form, being apsidal like the chaitya itself. It is not clear whether this is a copy of any existing wooden erection, or whether it was that, being the first attempt at an independent vihâra in the rock, they thought it ought to resemble a chaitya in plan. My impression is that the latter is the true explanation; such an arrangement in a free-standing structure intended for a residence would be absurd, but we are here assisting at the "incunabula" of the style, and must not be surprised at anomalies.

No. 12 at Ajantâ is a square hall, measuring 36 ft. 8 in. each way. It has no pillars, and its only ornament consists of horse-

[1] For a detailed account and plans of these vihâras, see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 240f., and plate 9; and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 25, and plate 13.

[2] At Sânâ, about 20 miles north-east of Diu, are sixty-two caves, of which three are chaitya temples; and at Tâlâjâ, 30 miles south of Goghâ, are about thirty more. They are all very plain, with scarcely any sculpture, and are probably as early as any in western India. —'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. ii. pp. 147-150.

shoe arches over the doors of the twelve cells, with a band of connecting rail-pattern and pairs of smaller arches over recesses between. The cells have each two stone beds, and altogether this vihâra bears so close a resemblance to the one at Bhâjâ, as also to the smaller one, No. 14 at Nâsik, and to that at Kondânê as to assign it to a very early place among those here, and coeval with the chaitya No. 10. Unfortunately, the rock over its front has given way, and carried with it the façade, which probably was the most ornamental part of the design.

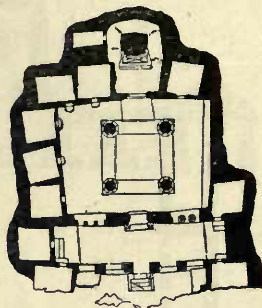
Close to No. 12 is cave 13, which may be as old as anything at Ajantâ, but its front also has fallen away, and we have left only a hall 13½ ft. wide by 16½ ft. surrounded by seven cells—in all of which are the stone couches or beds characteristic of the cells of an early age. No decorative feature appears on its walls.

The most marked characteristic of the early vihâras on the western side of India—if we except the Sûrya cave at Bhâjâ, which is not Buddhist — is that, unlike their eastern Jaina contemporaries, they are wholly devoid of figure-sculpture: no bassi-rilievi, not even an emblem, relieves the severity of their simplicity. Over the doorways of the cells there are the usual horse-shoe arches, copied from the windows of the great chaityas, and the invariable Buddhist rail repeated everywhere as a stringcourse, with an occasional pillar or pilaster to relieve the monotony.

The curious difference between the exuberance of figure-sculpture in the east and its total absence in the west in the pre-Christian Era caves, can only be ascribed to the different religions to which they respectively belong. Looking, however, at the progress made of late years in these subjects, there may possibly be further reasons for this difference which, when analysed, will throw fresh light on the early history of Jainism and Buddhism. Meanwhile, it may be worthy of remark, that the only living representation that is common to both sides of India, is the presence of the three-headed Nâga on the façade of the Nâsik chaitya (Woodcut No. 66), and its appearance in a similar position on the Chulakama or Sarpa and Ananta caves at Udayagiri in Orissa. It points to a prominent feature in early Buddhist and Jaina mythology, which was probably encouraged by cognate or identical legends respecting *S*âkyamuni and Pâr*s*vanâth. Besides this the three, five, or seven-headed Nâga occurs so frequently at Bharaut, Sânchi and elsewhere, that his presence here cannot be called a distinctive peculiarity.

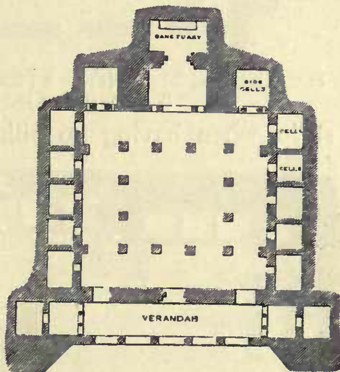
Cave No. 11 at Ajantâ is much in advance of Nos. 12 and 13, there being four pillars in its centre (Woodcut No. 98). It has seven cells inside, but the sanctuary is so arranged as to suggest that a cell in the back had been cut through to make

room for it —and thus it may be of much later date than the cave; the sculptures in the verandah also are not of an early age. A small cell is excavated high up in the side wall of the shrine—an arrangement not found in any other of the caves here. The hall is 37 ft. by 28, and 10 ft. high; the four octagonal columns are of unusually clumsy style, from which it has been inferred that this was one of the earliest examples of the introduction of pillars into vihâras; and the close proximity to the early chaitya No. 10 was thought to countenance this. On further consideration, however, it appears that this cave, in its present form, must be placed considerably later than caves 12 and 13, and dating after the Christian Era.



98. Cave 11 at Ajantâ.
Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The next step after the introduction of four pillars to support the roof,[1] as in cave No. 11 at Ajantâ (Woodcut No. 98), was to introduce twelve pillars for this purpose, there being no intermediate number which would divide by four, and admit of an opening in the centre of every side. This arrangement is shown in the Woodcut (No. 99), representing the plan of the cave No. 2 at Ajantâ. Before this stage of cave architecture had been reached, the worship had degenerated considerably from its original form; and these larger caves always possess a sanctuary containing an image of Buddha. There are sometimes, besides this, as in the instance under consideration, two side chapels, like those in Catholic churches, containing images of subordinate saints, or probably of donors or benefactors.

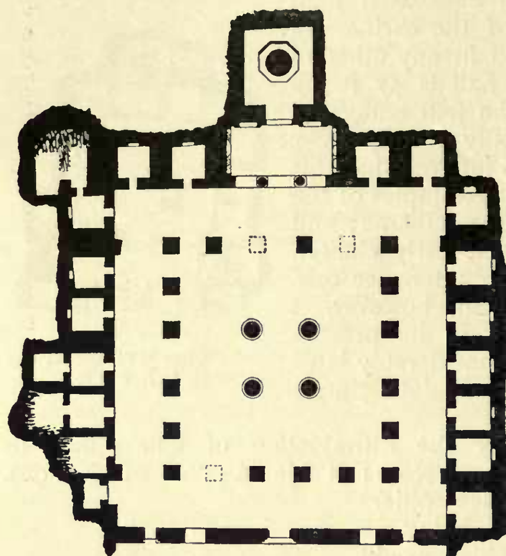


99. Cave 2 at Ajantâ.
(From a Plan by the Author.)
Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The next and most extensive arrangement of these square monastery-caves is that in which twenty pillars are placed in the floor, so as to support the roof, six on each side, counting the corner pillars twice. There are several of these large caves at

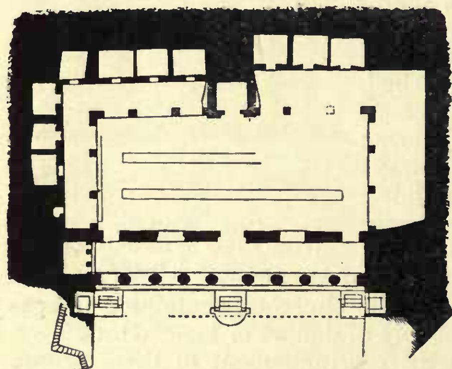
[1] Among the very early caves (probably Jaina) at Junâgadh are examples of a cave with four, and of another with one pillar supporting the roof. — 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. ii. pp. 139-140, and plate 17.

Ajantâ and elsewhere; one at Bâgh, in Mâlwâ, measuring 82 ft. by 80, represented in the woodcut (No. 100), has, besides the ordinary complement, four additional pillars in the centre; these were introduced evidently in consequence of the rock not being sufficiently homogeneous and perfect to support itself without this additional precaution; and there is a Jaina cave at Dhârâsimvâ in the Dekhan, which has, in the centre, a square of twelve additional pillars.[1]



100. Cave 3 at Bâgh. (From a Plan by the Editor.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

These — which might be classed, according to the terms used in Greek architecture, as a style, when having no pillars; distyle, when with two pillars in each face; tetrastyle, with four; and hexastyle with six—form the leading and most characteristic division of these excavations, and with slight modification are to be found in all the later series.



101. Darbâr Cave, Salsette. (From a Plan by Mr. A. A. West.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The forms, however, of many are so various and so abnormal that it would require a far more extended classification to enable us to describe and include them all. In many instances the great depth of the cave which this square arrangement required

[1] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 503ff. and plate 93; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iii. pp. 4–9, and plate 2.

was felt to be inconvenient; and a more oblong form was adopted, as in the so-called Darbâr cave at Kanheri (Woodcut No. 101), where, besides, the sanctuary is projected forward, and assists, with the pillars, to support the roof. In some examples this is carried even further, and the sanctuary, standing boldly forward to the centre of the hall, forms in reality the only support. This, however, is a late and Brahmanical arrangement, and must be considered more as an economical than an architectural improvement. Indeed by it the dignity and beauty of the whole composition are almost entirely destroyed.

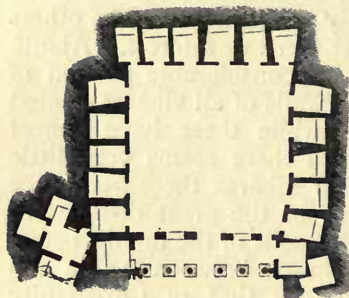
NÂSIK VIHÂRAS.

The two most interesting series of caves for the investigation of the history of the later developments of the Vihâra system, are those at Nâsik and Ajantâ. The latter is by far the most extensive, consisting of twenty-six first-class caves, four of which are chaityas. The former group numbers, it is true, seventeen excavations, but only six or seven of these can be called first-class, and it possesses only one chaitya. The others are small excavations of no particular merit or interest. Ajantâ has also the advantage of retaining a considerable portion of the paintings which once adorned the walls of all vihâras erected subsequently to the Christian Era, while these have almost entirely disappeared at Nâsik, though there seems very little doubt that the walls of all the greater vihâras there were once so ornamented. This indeed was one of the great distinctions between them and the earlier primitive cells of the monks before the Christian Era. The Buddhist church between A*s*oka and Kanishka was in the same position as that of Christianity between Constantine and Gregory the Great. It was the last-named pontiff who inaugurated the pomp and ceremonial of the Middle Ages. It might, therefore, under certain circumstances be expedient to describe the Ajantâ vihâras first; but they are singularly deficient in well-preserved inscriptions containing recognisable names. Nâsik, on the other hand, is peculiarly rich in this respect, and the history of the series can be made out with very tolerable approximative certainty.[1]

[1] These inscriptions were first copied by Lieut. Brett, and published with translations by Dr. Stevenson, in the fifth volume of the 'Journal Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society,' pp. 39 *et seqq.*, plates 1 to 16. They were afterwards revised by Messrs E. W. and A. A. West, in the seventh volume of the same journal, pp. 37, *et seqq.*, and translated by Professor Bhandârkar in the 'Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists,' 1874. A revised translation was made by Professor G. J. Bühler, and published in the 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 98-116; and they have lastly been revised by Mons. E. Senart in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. (1905), pp. 59-96, in which, however, he has adopted a different numeration of the caves from that in common use.

The chaitya cave was, as above stated, commenced about 160 years before Christ, and the vihâra of the same age attached to it, is the small one (No. 14) close to it, and on a lower level than those now on each side of it, and consequently more likely to be what we are looking for than they are. It is a simple square hall measuring 14 ft. each way, with two square cells in three of its sides, the fourth opening on a verandah with two octagon pillars in front. The only ornament of the interior is a horse-shoe arch over each cell door, connected by a simple Buddhist rail. In every detail it is in fact identical with the two old vihâras Nos. 13 and 12 at Ajantâ, and it bears an inscription of Krishna Râja, who seems almost certainly to be the second of the Andhrabhritya race, and who probably ascended the throne about B.C. 170, and ruled for 18 years. The architectural details accord perfectly with those of the chaitya, and the age ascribed to it.

Turning from these, which practically belong to the last chapter rather than to this, the interest is centred in three great vihâras, the oldest of which (No. 8) bears the name of Nahapâna (Woodcut No. 102), the second (No. 3) that of Gautamîputra, and the third (No. 15) that of *S*rî Yajna, — if our chronology is correct, their dates are thus fixed as about A.D. 100, 130, and 180.



102. Nahapâna Vihâra, Nâsik. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The two principal vihâras at Nâsik, Nos. 3 and 8, are so similar in dimensions and in all their arrangements, that it is almost impossible to distinguish between their plans on paper. They are both square halls measuring more than 40 ft. each side, without any pillars in the centre, and are surrounded on three sides by sixteen cells of nearly the same dimensions. On the fourth or front side is a six-pillared verandah, in the one case with a cell at each end, in the other with only one cell, which is the most marked distinction between the two plans. The architecture, too, is in some respects so similar that we can hardly hesitate in assuming that the one is an intentional copy of the other. It is in fact the problem of the great cave at Kanheri, being a copy of that at Kârlê repeated here.[1] Only the difference in age between the two chaityas being greater, the degradation in style is much greater than here, where it appears to be

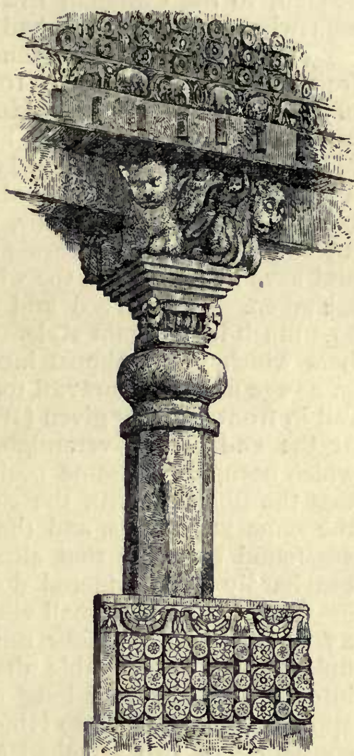
[1] *Ante*, p. 162. See also plate 11 of my folio work on the 'Rock-cut Temples,' where the pillars of the two caves are contrasted as here.

little more than a generation, and may be largely due to workmen from a different province.

The pillars in the verandah of cave No. 8 (Woodcut No. 103), are so similar to those in the great Kârlê chaitya, that we might hesitate to ascribe any very lengthened interval between them; indeed we find inscriptions at Kârlê of the same Ushavadâta and his wife Dakhamitrâ, the daughter of Nahapâna,



103. Pillar in Nahapâna Cave, Nâsik. (From a Photograph.)



104. Pillar in Gautamîputra Cave, Nâsik. (From a Photograph.)

who give two cells in the verandah of this cave in the years A.D. 119-123;[1] and as the inscriptions chiefly record endowments, this cave may have been excavated, for aught we know, a century or more before these donations were made and recorded. There

[1] The dates in Ushavadâta's inscriptions are 41, 42, and 45; and as Nahapâna, in a Junnar inscription, gives the date 46, the latter must have been alive at the earlier dates; and as the Kshatrapas use the *S*aka era, the Nâsik dates correspond to A.D. 119, 120 and 123.

are also minor differences in the proportions of the pillars and the execution of the figure sculptures, that may be indications of some difference of age. On the other hand, no vihâra on this side of India has a façade more richly ornamented than this. Those at Bhâjâ and Bedsâ are quite plain, and those around Kârlê, though richer, are inferior to this, so that on the whole the architectural evidence tends to confirm the date as subsequent to the Christian Era; and if so, then Kârlê may be of somewhat later date than had been previously ascribed to it.

The pillars of the Gautamîputra cave No. 3, as will be seen from the last woodcut (No. 104), have lost much of the elegance of those last described. How far this difference is to be ascribed to the first cave having been constructed under a Mâlwâ architect, whilst the latter was probably executed by a Telugu or Dakhani, it is hard to say. Instead of the graceful bell-shaped Persian capitals, we have the pudding forms that afterwards became so prevalent. The shafts are straight posts, and have no bases, and the whole shows an inferiority not to be mistaken. The carved and sculptured doorway also belongs to a much less elegant style. Besides this, there are three things here which prove almost incontestably that it belongs to the same age as the Amarâvatî tope erected in the 2nd century—the rail in front, already given (Woodcut No. 37, p. 113), the pilaster at the end of the verandah, and the bas-relief of a dâgaba, which occupies the same position on the back wall in this cave that the Bhairava with the club now occupies in No. 8.[1] It has the same attendants, and the same superfluity of umbrellas, as are found there, so that altogether the age of the excavation can hardly be considered doubtful.

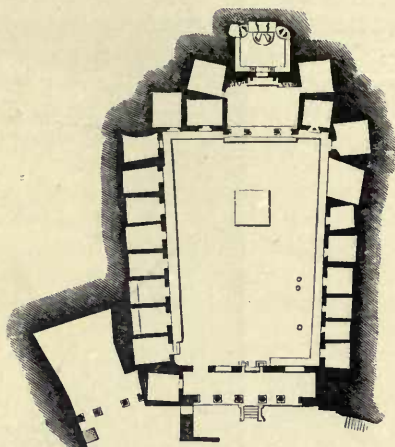
Cave No. 12 is a small vihâra, the central hall being 32 ft. by 23 ft., and with only four cells on one side. It had never been finished, and considerable alterations have been attempted in its interior at some date long subsequent to its first excavation, apparently to adapt it to Hindû worship. Its verandah, however, consisting of two attached and two free-standing columns, is apparently of the same age as the Nahapâna cave No. 8. An inscription upon it states that it was excavated by "Îndrâgnidatta, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattâmitrî."[2] None of these names can be recognised, but they point to an age when foreigners, possibly of the Panjâb or Arakhosia, visited the Dekhan.

The great vihâra (No. 15) beyond the chaitya cave, and 12 ft. above its level, is one of the most important of the series, not

[1] This is not original, but is a figure of Bhairava formed out of what was originally a dâgaba similar to that in cave 3.—'Cave Temples,' p. 270, and plates 19-23.

[2] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. p. 91.

only from its size, but from its ordinance and date (Woodcut No. 105). The hall is 61 ft. in depth by 37½ ft. wide at the outer end, increasing to 44 ft. at the inner, and with eight cells on each side. Originally it seems as if it had been only 40 ft. in depth, but at a later period was extended — perhaps by the lady Vâsu, mentioned in the inscription in the verandah. The addition forms its most marked peculiarity, which is that it has a regular sanctuary at its inner end, with two richly carved pillars in front (Woodcut No. 106), and within, a colossal figure of Buddha, seated, with flying and standing attendants, dwârpâls, dwarfs, and all the accompaniments usually found in the third and subsequent centuries belonging to the Mahâyâna school of Buddhism.



105. *S*rî Yajna Cave, No. 15 at Nâsik. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

Fortunately we have in this cave an inscription containing a well-known name. It is said to have been completed by Vâsu, wife of the commander-in-chief of the king *S*rîyajna *S*âtakarni, in that king's seventh year, after it had been excavated many years before by Vopaki, an ascetic, but had remained unfinished. We are not able to fix the exact year to which this date refers, but it does not seem doubtful that this king reigned in the last quarter of the 2nd century, and we consequently have in this cave a fixed point (about A.D. 185) on which to base our calculations for the period about that time. Further, over the doorway of the first cell on the left side is a short inscription, in letters of the 5th or 6th century, intimating the gift of a cave—perhaps only the cell—by a lay devotee Mammâ.[1]

Beyond this there is still another excavation, No. 17—it can hardly be called a vihâra—of very irregular shape, and covered with sculpture of a date perhaps four centuries more modern than that of the cave last described. Buddha is there represented in all his attitudes, standing or sitting, accompanied by chauri bearers, flying figures, dwarfs, etc. On one side is a colossal recumbent figure of him attaining Nirvâna, which is a sign of a comparatively modern date. Besides these, there are

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 114 and 116; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. pp. 93, 94.

Dnyâni Buddhas, Bodhisattwas, and all the modern pantheon of Buddhism, arranged in admired confusion, as in most of the modern caves. There is no inscription, but from its sculpture and the form of its pillars we may safely ascribe it to the last age of Buddhist art, say about the year 600 or later. The pillars approximate closely in style to those found at Elephanta, and in the Brahmanical caves at Elûrâ, which, from other evidence, have been assigned to dates varying from 600 to 800 years of our era.



106. Pillar in *S*rî Yajna Cave.

More has perhaps been said about the Nâsik caves than their architectural importance would seem at first sight to justify, but they are one of the most important of the purely Buddhist groups.[1] Their great merit, however, is that they belong to one of the most important of the older Indian dynasties, known as the Andhrabhrityas, *S*âtakarnis, or Sâtavâhanas. Owing to their coinage being mostly of lead, this dynasty was for long overlooked by numismatists and others, and could only be rehabilitated by their inscriptions and their architectural work, on which these are found inscribed. And labour on these materials has been rewarded by very important chronological results.[2]

Ajantâ Vihâras

As before mentioned, the central group of the four oldest caves at Ajantâ forms the nucleus from which the caves radiate south-east and south-west—eight in one direction, and fourteen

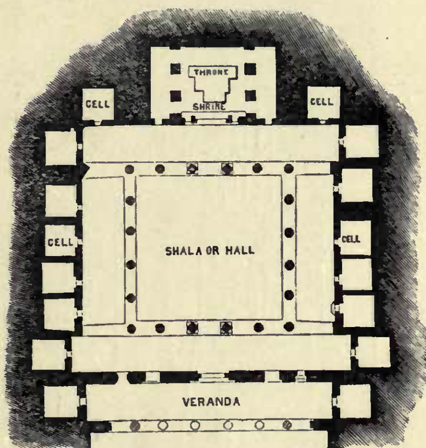
[1] For further details, see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 263 to 279, and plates.

[2] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 98-114; Bhandarkar, 'Early history of the Dekkan,' pp. 14-44.

in the other. It seems, however, that there was a pause in the excavation of caves after the first great effort, and that they were then extended, for some time at least, in a south-west direction. Thus caves Nos. 14 to 20 form a tolerably consecutive series, without any violent break. After that, or it may be contemporaneously with the last named, may be grouped Nos. 8, 7, and 6; and, lastly, Nos. 21 to 26 at one end of the series, and Nos. 1 to 5 at the other, form the latest and most ornate group of the whole series.[1]

As above explained, four in the centre are certainly anterior to the Christian Era. One, No. 10, is certainly the oldest here, and may consequently be contemporary with the gateways at Sânchi; and with it are associated Nos. 12 and 13. After this first effort, however, came the pause just alluded to, for Nos. 11, 14, and 15, which are the only caves we can safely assign to the next three centuries, are comparatively insignificant, either in extent or in richness of detail.

Leaving these, we come to two vihâras, Nos. 16 and 17, which are the most beautiful here, and, taken in conjunction with their paintings, probably the most interesting vihâras in India.



107. Plan of Cave No. 16 at Ajantâ. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

No. 16 is a twenty-pillared cave, measuring about 65 ft. each way (Woodcut No. 107), with sixteen cells and a regular sanctuary, in which is a figure of Buddha, seated, with his feet down. The general appearance of the interior may be judged of by the following woodcut (No. 108) in outline, but only a coloured representation in much greater detail could give an idea of the richness of effect produced by its decoration.[2] All

[1] The caves run in a semicircle along the north side of the Wâghorâ torrent, which, after falling over the cliff here, makes a bend to the north. They were numbered consecutively, like houses in a street, beginning at the south-east end, the first cave there being No. 1, the last accessible cave at the western end being No. 26. For a plan of the group, see 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. plate 21.

[2] In Mr. Griffiths's 'Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ,' plate 92, he gives a coloured view of the interior also of cave 1.

the walls are covered with frescoes representing scenes from the Buddhist jâtakas, or from the legends of Buddha's life, and the roof and pillars by arabesques and ornaments, generally of great beauty of outline, heightened by the most harmonious colouring.

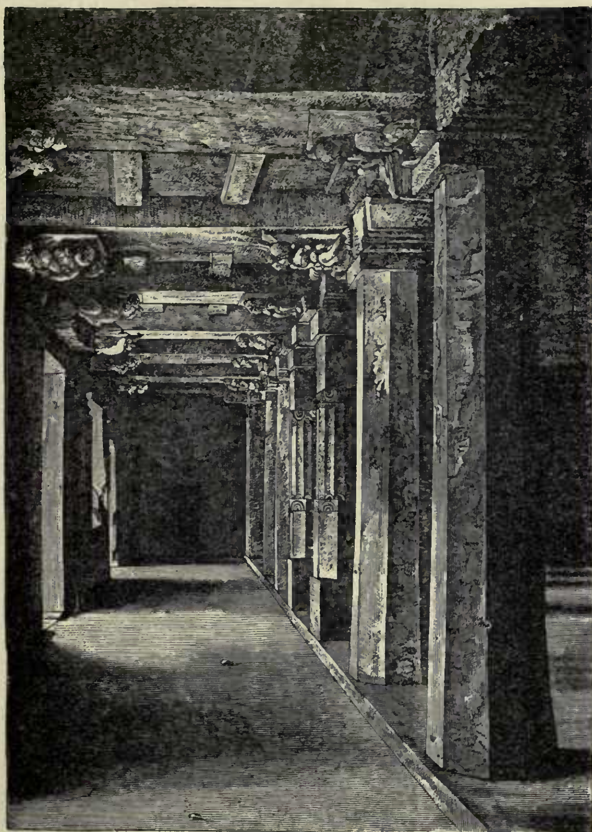


108. View of Interior of Vihâra No. 16, at Ajantâ. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

No. 17, which is very similar in plan, was long known as the Zodiac cave, from the figure of a Buddhist Bhava-chakra or 'wheel of life' painted at the left end of its verandah, which was mistaken by early visitors for a celestial emblem.[1] The general effect of its architecture internally may be gathered

[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1894, p. 370 and plate; 'Man' for January 1901. Dr. Bird peeled off many of the figures.—'Cave Temples,' pp. 309ffg.

from Woodcut No. 109 (from a photograph), or from the next woodcut (No. 110) representing one of its pillars to a larger scale, from which the curiously wooden construction of the roof will be better observed than from the photograph. It is, in fact, the usual mode of forming flat or terraced roofs at the present day throughout India, and which consequently



109. View in Cave No 17, at Ajantâ. (From a Photograph.)

does not seem to have varied from the 5th century at all events. As may be gathered from these illustrations, the pillars in these caves are almost indefinitely varied, generally in pairs, but no pillars in any one cave are at all like those in any other. In each cave, however, there is a general harmony of design and of form, which prevents their variety from being unpleasing. The effect, on the contrary, is singularly harmonious and satisfactory. The great interest of these two caves lies,

however, in their frescoes, which represent Buddhist legends on a scale and with a distinctness found nowhere else in India. The sculptures of Amarâvatî — which must be considerably earlier — are what most nearly approach them; but, as in most cases, painting admits of greater freedom and greater variety of incident than sculpture ever does, and certainly in this instance vindicates its claim to greater phonetic power. Many of the frets and architectural details painted on the roofs and pillars of these vihâras are also of great elegance and appropriateness,[1] and, when combined with the architecture, make up a whole unrivalled in India for its ethnographic as well as for its architectural beauty.

110. Pillar in Vihâra No. 17, at Ajantâ. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

Fortunately the age of these two caves is not altogether doubtful; there is a long inscription on each, much mutilated, it must be confessed, but of which

[1] For excellent illustrations of these, mostly in colour, see Mr. Griffiths's 'Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ajantâ,' vol. ii.

enough can be made out to show that they were excavated under kings of the Vindhya*s*akti race, one of whom, Pravarasena, whose name appears in the inscription on No. 16, married a daughter of a Mahârâja Devagupta. And though, as yet, we cannot fix a definite date for these princes, we may place the inscriptions epigraphically about A.D. 500, or possibly a little earlier.[1] Hence we may approximately date these two caves in the end of the 5th century. They are thus considerably more modern than the *S*rî Yajna cave, No. 15, at Nâsik, which is the result we would expect to arrive at from their architecture and the form of their sanctuaries.

Their great interest, therefore, from a historical point of view, consists in their being almost unique specimens of the architecture and arts of India during the great Gupta period.

Nos. 18, 19, and 20 succeed this group, both in position and in style, and probably occupied the first half of the 6th century in construction, bringing down our history to about A.D. 550.

Before proceeding further in this direction, the cave-diggers seem to have turned back and excavated Nos. 8, 7, and 6. The last named is the only two-storeyed cave at Ajantâ, and would be very interesting if it were not so fearfully ruined by damp and decay, owing to the faulty nature of the rock in which it is excavated. No. 7 has a singularly elegant verandah, broken by two projecting pavilions. Internally, it is small, and occupied by a whole pantheon of Buddhas.[2] It resembles somewhat No. 15 at Nâsik, with which it is perhaps nearly contemporary.

There still remain the first five caves at the south-east end, and the six last at the western: one of these is a chaitya, the other ten are vihâras of greater or less dimensions. Some are only commenced—and two—Nos. 4 and 24—which were intended to have been the finest of the series, are left in a very incomplete state: interesting, however, as showing the whole process of an excavation from its commencement to its completion. No. 4 is a 28-pillared cave, of which the hall is about 87 ft. square, and except the cells it is nearly finished; but No. 24, though the next largest, is planned with 20 pillars and a hall 73¼ ft. wide by 75 ft. deep—but inside, only the front aisle has been advanced towards completion, the pillars in the back and sides being only roughly blocked out. The verandah, however, had been sculptured in a style showing

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 53, 128.

[2] 'Rock-cut Temples,' plate 8. For a fuller account and illustrations, see 'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 299-300, and plate 31; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 52, and plates 27 and 28, fig. 1.

that it was intended to be one of the most highly finished monasteries in the group. The pillars of the façade, with one exception, are all destroyed: only the capitals, still attached to the roof, testify to the beauty of design and life and finish of the work. The woodcut No. 111 represents one of these bracket capitals, carved in much the same pattern as the others. The true capital having overhanging leaves, analogous to the Ionic volutes, and which forms so marked a feature in subsequent Indian architecture, seems first to have been perfected about the time this cave was excavated. It is so like in details to those in cave No. 3 at Aurangâbâd[1] that there can be little hesitation in assigning them to the same age. The capitals, pillars, and pilasters in this and Nos. 1, 2, and 21 to 26, with the very similar ones at Aurangâbâd may be taken as the types of the last and most elaborate phase of Buddhist architectural decoration in Western India.



111. Capital from Verandah ot Cave 24. (From a Photograph.)

Caves Nos. 1 and 2 are among the most richly sculptured of the caves. The façade, indeed, of No. 1 is the most elaborate and beautiful of its class at Ajantâ, and, with the corresponding caves at the opposite end, conveys a higher idea of the perfection to which decorative sculpture had attained at that age than anything else at Ajantâ.[2]

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iii. pp. 66, 69, and plates 44-47.

[2] Curiously enough, on the roof of cave 1, there are four square compartments representing the same scene in different manners — a king, or very important personage, drinking out of a cup, with male and female attendants. What the story is, is not known, but the persons represented are not Indians, but Persians, and the costumes those of the Sassanian period. — See Mr. Fergusson 'On the Identification of the Portrait of Chosroes II. among the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta,' in 'Jour. R. Asiatic Society,' vol. xi. (N.S.), pp. 155-170. Copies of these pictures by Mr Griffiths were among those destroyed by fire in the India Museum at Kensington. — Griffiths' 'Ajanta Paintings,' vol. ii. plates 94, 95.

The woodcut No. 112, from a photograph of one of the pillars of the verandah of Cave 1, may help to illustrate the mode in which decoration is applied to them. The square base changes into an octagon, but the passage from the



112. Pillar in the Verandah of Cave 1, Ajantâ. (From a Photograph.)

one to the other is broken by four little dwarf figures, who reappear on the capital for the same purpose. Above the octagon the shaft is adorned with spiral flutes of singularly pleasing design, bound together with bands of jewelled orna-

ments of great beauty. The capital is ornamented with an oblong bas-relief in the centre, containing a religious scene, as is the case with most of those in the cave, and is supported by flying figures on the brackets, as is also the case in many of the later caves. On the right front corner pillar in the hall the fluting is also spiral, but the twist is reversed in the upper section.[1]

With the last chaitya, which belongs to this group, these caves carry our history down certainly into the 7th century. The work in the unfinished caves, I fancy, must have been arrested by the troubles which took place in Central India about the year 650, or shortly afterwards, and after which it is hardly probable that any Buddhist community would have leisure or means to carry out works, on such a scale at least, as these Ajantâ vihâras.

It is, of course, impossible, without a much greater amount of illustration than is compatible with the nature of this work, to convey to those who have not seen them any idea of the various points of interest found in these caves; but the general reader will find a more detailed account in the volume on the 'Cave Temples of India,' supplemented in the 4th volume of the 'Archæological Survey of Western India.'

The fairly complete series of illustrations of the paintings as well as the architecture of these caves which we now possess, forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge, affording examples of Buddhist art, without admixture from any other religion, extending from the second century B.C. till the seventh, after our era; and besides illustrating the arts and feelings of those ages, they form a chronometric scale by which to judge of and synchronise other known series, with which, however, they differ in several important particulars. For instance, at Ajantâ, there is no single example of those bell-shaped Persian capitals to pillars, with waterpot bases; nor is there any example of animals with riders crowning the capitals, such as are found at Bedsâ, Kârlê, Nâsik, Salsette, Pitalkhorâ, and elsewhere.

The earlier copies of the paintings were lost when the disastrous fire at the Crystal Palace, in December 1866, destroyed Major Gill's facsimiles of the paintings—some twenty-five of them—many of large size.[2] Between 1872 and 1885 a serious effort,

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 49, and plate 18, fig. 2.

[2] The fate of these very remarkable remains of early Indian art has been most unfortunate. The Royal Asiatic Society memorialised the Court of Directors in 1844, that an artist might be engaged to make accurate copies of the ancient frescoes referred to in Mr. Fergusson's account of the Ajantâ Caves. This was promptly and generously approved by the Court, and Major Robert Gill spent about twelve years making copies of them; these were sent home from time to time, and were exhibited in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, where they were unfor-

however, was made by the Bombay Government to recover, as far as possible, this loss, and the publication of Mr Griffiths' work on a portion of the results is a splendid addition to our materials.

BÂGH.

At a distance of about 150 miles a little west of north from Ajantâ, and 30 miles west of Mandû, near a village of the name of Bâgh, in Mâlwâ, there exists a series of vihâras only little less interesting than the later series at Ajantâ They are situated in a secluded ravine in the side of the range of hills that bounds the valley of the Narbadâ on the north and were first visited or at least first described by Lieutenant Dangerfield, in the second volume of the 'Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay' (1818). They have since been described more in detail by Dr. Impey in the fifth volume of the 'Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society' (1854). Unfortunately the plates that were to accompany that paper were not published with it, but from them and from his paper the principal details that follow have been gleaned.

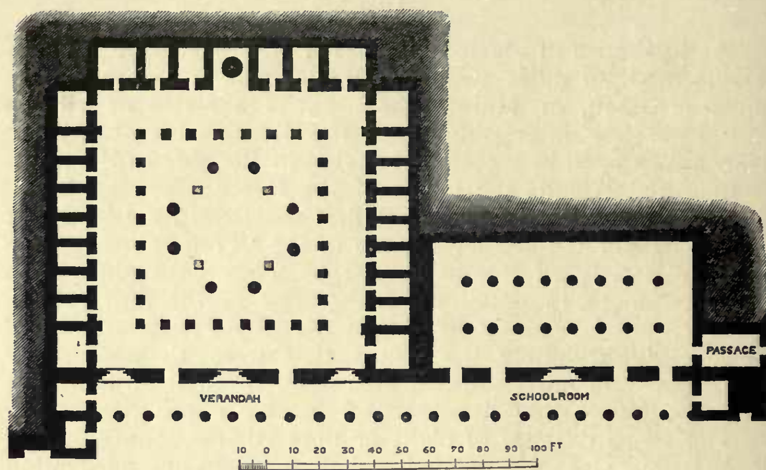
The series consists of eight or nine vihâras, some of them of the largest class, but no chaitya hall, nor does any excavation of that class seem ever to have been attempted here. On the other hand, the larger vihâras seem to have had a *S*âlâ or schoolroom attached to them, which may also have been employed, as Dr. Impey suggested, for religious service; but, like the Darbâr cave at Kanheri, it was more probably a Dharma*s*âlâ or refectory. The fact, however, that the sanctuaries of the vihâras generally have a dâgaba in them, instead of an image of Buddha, points to a distinction which may hereafter prove of value: possibly they belonged to a Hînayâna

tunately destroyed by fire in 1866—no photographs or coloured copies of them having been secured. Mr. Fergusson and the editor then called the attention of Government to the urgency of recopying what still remained—for visitors and the bats had destroyed much during the previous twenty or thirty years. Finally in 1872 a modest subsidy was provided to employ Mr. John Griffiths, of the Bombay Art School, with some of his students, to copy what was left. With a break of three years, this grant was renewed till 1885, after which the publication of the results was urged, but delayed; and again, out of 335 copies, 163 were destroyed and others damaged by a fire in South Kensington Museum, where they had been placed. Mr. Griffiths subsequently edited for Government a selection of the results,—'The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ajanta,' 1896, in two large folio volumes containing 156 plates, besides illustrations in the text.

A somewhat detailed account of the paintings was first published in 'Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta: their Paintings and Sculptures' by the editor (Bombay, 1879), which was reproduced with some trifling verbal changes, in the 'Bombay Gazetteer of Khandesh' (1880), pp. 496-574; and appeared again, rearranged, in the 'Aurangabad Gazetteer' (1884), pp. 430-506. See also 'Cave Temples,' pp. 284-288, 291, 306-307, 310-315, and 326-336, and plates 29-43.

sect. On the whole, they are purer and simpler than the latest at Ajantâ, though most probably of a slightly earlier age.

The plan of one has already been given (p. 182), but it is neither so large nor architecturally so important as the great vihâra, shown in plan, Woodcut No. 113. Its great



113. Great Vihâra Cave at Bâgh. (From a Plan by Dr. Impey.)

hall is about 96 ft. square, and would at Ajantâ rank as a twenty-eight pillared cave, like No. 4 there, but inside this are eight pillars ranged octagonally; and at a later age, apparently in consequence of some failure of the roof, the damaged portion was hewn out, making the central area higher than the rest of the hall, and four structural pillars—shaded lighter—were introduced. The architraves forming the inner sides of the octagon on the roof are carved with a double row of chaitya window ornaments.

The *s*âlâ connected with this vihâra measures 94 ft. by 44 ft., and the two are joined together by a verandah measuring 220 ft. in length, adorned by twenty free-standing pillars. At one time the whole of the back wall of this gallery and the inner walls of the vihâra were adorned with a series of frescoes, equalling in beauty and in interest those of Ajantâ. As in those at Ajantâ, the uninitiated would fail to trace among them any symptoms of Buddhism as generally understood. The principal subjects are processions on horseback, or on elephants. In the latter the number of women exceeds that of the men. Dancing and love-making are, as usual, prominently introduced, and only one small picture, containing two men, can be said to be appropriated to worship.

With one exception, no man or woman has any covering on their heads, and the men generally have the hair cropped short, and with only very small moustaches on the face. Some half-dozen are as dark as the Hindûs of the present day. The rest are very much fairer, many as fair as Spaniards, and nearly all wear coloured dresses.[1]

We are not at present in a position to say, and may not for a long time be able to feel sure, who the races are that are represented in these frescoes or in those at Ajantâ. Certain of the figures are doubtless imaginary superhuman beings—Râkshasas, Yakshas, and the like, and the scenes are more or less ideal. The style of art, especially at Bâgh, is very similar to that of Persia at about the same date.

So far as the materials yet available indicate, the earliest of this group of caves could not well have been commenced much before A.D. 500; the date of the latest, if our chronology is correct, could not well be carried down much beyond 600, but a complete survey of them is required before we can decide with confidence.

SALSETTE.

One of the most extensive of all the groups of Indian caves is that generally known as the Kanheri Caves on the Island of Salsette between Bombay and Thânâ. The great chaitya cave there, as mentioned above, is only a bad copy of the Kârlê cave, and was excavated in the end of the 2nd century, and none of the vihâras seem to be much earlier. It may have been because it was an island that it remained undisturbed by the troubles of the mainland, and that the practice of excavating caves lasted longer here than in any series above described. Be this as it may, the caves here go straggling on till they fade by almost imperceptible degrees into those of the Hindû religion. The Hindû caves of Montpezir or Mandape*s*var and Joge*s*var, and other Buddhist caves at Magathâna and Kondivtê, are so like them, and the change takes place so gradually, that it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between the two religions.

Although, therefore, we have not at Salsette any vihâras that can compare with those of Nâsik, Ajantâ, or Bâgh, yet because they range from the 2nd century to far into the 9th, and fade so gradually into the next phase, are they worthy of considerable attention.

As these caves are so near Bombay and Bassein, and so easily accessible, they early attracted attention, and were

[1] It is much to be regretted that no attempt has yet been made to secure faithful copies of these interesting wall-paintings, which are fast perishing. Some notes respecting them are given in 'Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta,' etc. (Bombay, 1879) pp. 94, 95.

described by Portuguese visitors of the 16th century and by numerous travellers during the 18th.[1] Daniell's assistants made a large number of drawings for him in 1795-1796, that were never published. Careful measured drawings were made of all of them by the brothers West in 1853-1859; but except the inscriptions and an account of excavations at cave 12, scarcely any of their work was published.[2]

A plan of one has already been given (Woodcut No. 101). It is a two-storeyed vihâra, and one of the finest here, though it would not be considered remarkable anywhere else. Another, of which a representation is given in my 'Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples,' plate 14, represents Avalokite*s*wara with eleven heads—the only instance I know of in India, though it is common in Tibet in modern times.[3] The others are generally cells, though a monograph of these caves would be a most valuable addition to our stock of knowledge of the development of Mahâyâna mythology, which is largely illustrated in their sculptures. Traces of painting have also been found in some of them.

Dhamnâr and Kholvi.

There are no vihâras at either of these places, which can at all compare, either in dimensions or in interest, with those already described. The largest, at Dhamnâr, is that already given in combination with the chaitya, Woodcut No. 86, p. 165, and, though important, is evidently transitional to another state of matters. Next to this is one called the 'Great Kacheri'; but it is only a six-celled vihâra, with a hall about 25 ft. square, encumbered by four pillars on its floor; and near the chaitya above alluded to is a similar hall, but smaller and without cells. At Kholvi[4] there is nothing that can correctly be called a vihâra at all. There is, indeed, one large hall, called 'Bhîm's house,' measuring 42 ft. by 22 ft.; but it has no cells, and is much more like what would be called a *S*âlâ at Bâgh than a vihâra. The others are mere cells, of no architectural importance.[5]

[1] Niebuhr, 'Voyage en Arabie et d'autres pays circonvoisins,' 1776-1780. Most of the plates referring to these caves were reproduced by Langles in his 'Monuments d'Hindostan,' vol. ii. plates 77, *et seqq.*

[2] Plates 53 and 54 in the volume upon the 'Cave Temples' are from this collection, which is now in the editor's possession, and might be published. For some account of the caves, see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 348-360, and plates; also 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 70, 71, and plates 42, 43.

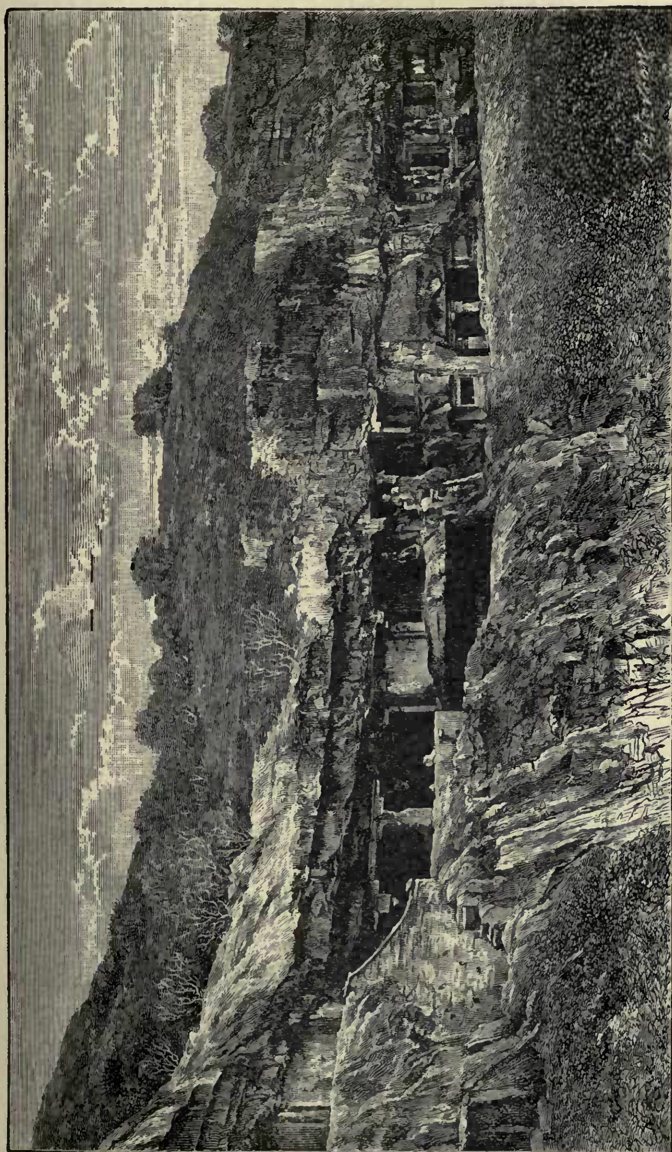
[3] 'Cave Temples,' plate 55, fig. 2, and p. 357; Schlagentweit, 'Buddhismus in Thibet,' plate 3; Grünwedel, 'Mythologie des Buddhism in Tibet u. Mongolei,' S. 65.

[4] The Kholvi group is situated more than 60 miles north of Ujjain, that of Dhamnâr about 22 further north, and deeper into the Central Indian jungles.

[5] Plans of these caves, with descriptions and some architectural details, will be found in Gen. Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. ii. pp. 270-288, plates 77-84. But till those of Kholvi are photographed we shall not be able to speak positively regarding them; the General's drawings are on too small a scale for that purpose.

ELÛRÂ.

At Elûrâ there are numerous vihâras at the extreme south

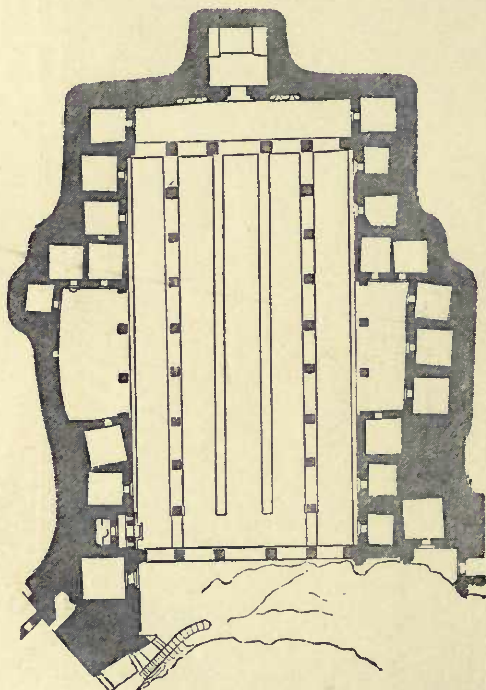


114. Buddhist Vihâras at the south end of the Elûrâ group. (From a Photograph.)

of the group and attached to the Viswakarma, or the great

chaitya above described (p. 160). Like it, however, they are all modern, but on that very account interesting, as showing more clearly than elsewhere the steps by which Buddhist cave-architecture faded, through devotion to the Mahâyâna idolatry, into something very like that of the Hindûs. Every step of the process can be clearly traced here, though the precise date at which the change took place cannot yet be fixed with certainty. The caves at the extremity of the series, as will be seen from the Woodcut No. 114 are very much ruined.

The great vihâra, which is also evidently contemporary with the chaitya, is known as the Mahârwârâ (No. 5), seen near the left in Woodcut No. 114, and, as will appear from the plan (Woodcut No. 115), it differs considerably from any of those illustrated above. Its dimensions are considerable, being 110 ft. in depth by 70 ft. across the central recesses, its great defect being the lowness of its roof. Its form, too, is exceptional. It looks more like a flat-roofed chaitya, with its three aisles, than an ordinary vihâra; and such it possibly was intended to be, and, if so, it is curious to observe that at Bedsâ (Woodcut No. 63, p. 138) we had one of the earliest complete vihâras, looking like a chaitya in plan; and here we have one of the latest, showing the same confusion of ideas: a thing very common in architectural history, where a new style or a new arrangement generally hampers itself with copying some incongruous form, which it casts off during its vigorous manhood, but to which it returns in its decrepitude—a sure sign that it is passing away. But the form of this cave is, perhaps,



115. Plan of Mahârwârâ Cave, Elûrâ. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

otherwise to be explained by the probability that, like the so-called Darbâr cave at Kanheri, this was a refectory, which may account for its arrangements.

Close to the Viswakarma (No. 10), is a small and very pretty vihâra (No. 8), in which the sanctuary stands free, with a passage all round it, as in some of the Buddhist caves at Aurangâbâd and in *S*aiva caves further on; and the appearance of the Mahâyâna warders on each side of the door would lead one rather to expect an image of *S*iva inside than the Buddha which actually occupies it. The details, however, of its architecture are the same as in the great cave.

Communicating with this one is a small square vihâra (No. 7), the roof of which has been supported by four pillars of the same detail as in the Dukhya-garh, which is the cave next the chaitya on the north; but though surrounded by cells it has no sanctuary or images.

Higher up the hill than these are two others (Nos. 6 and 9), containing numerous cells, and one with a very handsome hall, the outer half of which has unfortunately fallen in; enough, however, remains to show not only its plan, but all the details, which very much resemble those of the last group of vihâras at Ajantâ.

In the sanctuaries of both of these caves are figures of Buddhas sitting with their feet down. On each side of the image in the principal one are nine figures of Buddhas, or rather Bodhisattwas, seated cross-legged, and below them three and three figures, some cross-legged, and others standing, probably devotees, and — one of them a female — the Târâ of later Buddhism. Neither of these caves have been entirely finished.

There is still another group of these small vihâras (Nos. 2, 3, 4), further to the south, at the right in Woodcut 114, called the Dherwârâ or 'low caste's' quarter.[1] The first is square, with twelve pillars on the same plan as those at Ajantâ, though the pillars are of the cushion form of Elephanta and the Mahârwârâ, but the capitals are much better formed than in the last example, and more ornamented; the lateral galleries here contain figures of Buddha, all like the one in the sanctuary, sitting with their feet down, and there are only two cells on each side of the sanctuary. The next cave is similar in plan, though the detail is more like that of the Viswakarma. There are eleven cells, and in the sanctuary Buddha sitting with the feet down; it never has been finished, and is now much ruined. The last is a small plain vihâra with cells, but with two pillars in front of the shrine and cells, and much ruined.

[1] 'Cave Temples of India,' plates 57 and 58. Possibly 'Dherwârâ' is a corruption of Therawârâ or 'ascetics' quarter.'

The whole of the caves in this group resemble one another so much in detail and execution that it is difficult to make out any succession among them, and it is probable that they were all excavated within the same century as the Viswakarma.

The two temples, north of the Viswakarma, are particularly interesting to the antiquarian, as pointing out the successive steps by which the Buddhistical caves merged into the forms of the Brahmanical.

The first is No. 11, the Dôn Tal or Dukhya-garh, a Buddhist vihâra of which the lower storey was long completely silted up —hence its name of the 'two storeyed'; but in 1877 the ground floor was excavated, consisting of a verandah 90 ft. in length, with a shrine and the commencement of two cells. Most of its details are so similar to those above described that it may be assumed to be, most probably, of the same age. It is strictly Buddhist in all its details, and shows no more tendency towards Brahmanism than what was pointed out in speaking of the Viswakarma. All its three storeys have been left unfinished.

The next, or Tîn Tal (No. 12), is very similar to the last in arrangement, but on a greatly enlarged scale, and its numerous sculptures are all Buddhist, though deviating from the usual forms by a large representation of the female divinities of the Mahâyâna pantheon. Of its class, this cave is one of the most important and interesting in India; nowhere else do we find a three-storeyed cave temple—adapted for worship rather than as a monastery—executed with the same consistency of design and the like magnificence, so that there is a grandeur and propriety in its conception that it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture. Its sculptures are of extreme interest, and the delineation or photographing of the whole would be of the greatest value to the antiquary as illustrative of Buddhist iconography.[1]

It is not easy, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine whether the Elûrâ Buddhist group is later or earlier than those of Dhamnâr and Kholvi. It is certainly finer than either, and conforms more closely with the traditions of the style in its palmiest days; but that may be owing to local circumstances, of which we have no precise knowledge. The manner, however, in which it fades into the Hindû group is in itself sufficient to prove how late it is. If we take A.D. 600 as the medium date for the Viswakarma and its surroundings, and A.D. 750 as a time when Buddhism began to wane in Western India, we shall probably not err to any great extent; but we

[1] 'Cave Temples,' pp. 381-384, and plates 64, 65; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. pp. 16-22, and plates 14 fig. 2; 18 fig. 3; 19; and 20.

must wait for some inscriptions or more precise data before attempting to speak with precision on the subject.

A great deal more requires to be done before this great cartoon can be filled up with anything like completeness; but in the meanwhile it is satisfactory to know that in these "rock-cut temples," eked out by the few structural examples that exist, we have a complete history of the arts and liturgies of the Buddhists for the thousand years that ranged from B.C. 250 to A.D. 750; and that, when any one with zeal and intelligence enough for the purpose will devote himself to the task, he will be able to give us a more vivid and authentic account of this remarkable form of worship than can be gathered from the books known to us.

Aurangâbâd, Kudâ, and other Caves.

Besides the caves at Junnar, already noticed, there is a small but important series near Aurangâbâd, forming three small groups in the scarp of a range of hills to the north of the city, and consisting of twelve or thirteen excavations. The third or most easterly group consists of three unfinished caves without sculpture; but, except a chaitya cave in the first group—nearly half of which has fallen away—most of the others are very rich in sculpture, and the pillars are elaborately carved in the style of the later Ajantâ vihâras. Two in the first group, and two larger in the second, are planned on a purely Hindû arrangement, there being a passage for circumambulation quite round the shrine, with cells off this. The attendant figures in the shrines, the dwârpâls at the entrances, and numerous female figures sculptured in these caves, indicate that they belonged to a Mahâyâna or ritualistic sect of Buddhists. No inscription has been found to help us in determining their date, but their whole style indicates that they can hardly be placed earlier than the 7th century of our era, and perhaps towards the end of it. Since, however, they have been described and illustrated, with numerous examples of their richly carved pillars and remarkable sculptures, in the third volume of the 'Archæological Survey of Western India Reports,' reference may be made to that volume for further details.

The Kudâ caves in the Konkan, south from Bombay, form a group of twenty-two excavations, mostly plain and of small dimensions; but though they are rich in inscriptions, these afford us no key to the date of the caves further than that the alphabet of the inscriptions is closely allied to that used in Kârlê, Nâsik, and Kanheri inscriptions of Andhrabhritya

times.[1] The architectural style is plain, and the sculptures comparatively few; and as they have been described elsewhere they need not occupy us here. And for the twenty-eight excavations at Mahâd, about sixty at Karhâd, and other smaller groups in the Konkan and Dekhan, as they present no special features, we must also refer to the detailed accounts in the same works.

No important Buddhist remains have yet been discovered in the south of the peninsula, and the rapid manner in which Hiuen Tsiang passes through these countries, and the slight mention he makes of Buddhist establishments render it somewhat uncertain what important establishments belonging to that sect then existed in Dravida-desa. Yet we gather from him that Buddhists as well as Jains must, at one time, have been very numerous there, though the former had probably lost much of their influence by the 7th century. Their vihâras and temples, being usually of brick, would become the spoil of neighbouring towns and villages for building materials wherever the Buddhists ceased to frequent them, and all traces of them have long since disappeared.



116. Ancient Buddhist Tower at Negapattam. (From a sketch by Sir Walter Elliot.)

Negapattam, on the coast, 170 miles south from Madras, was the great port of Tanjor and the Kâverî delta, and was noted as a seat of Buddhist worship. We learn that a Buddhist temple here was endowed by Râjendra Chola I. in 1006 A.D., and that it had been built by one "Chûlâmanavaram King of Kidâram or Katâha"—possibly in south Burma or Siam. And in a later grant Kulottunga Chola I., in 1090, made gifts to at least two Buddhist temples here, whilst a Burmese inscription of the 15th century mentions a visit to Negapattam by some Buddhist priests from Pegu.

[1] 'Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India,' etc. pp. 3-22; 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. vii. pp. 253-257; 'Cave Temples,' pp. 204-209, and plate 5, fig. 1, and plate 7, fig. 1; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 12-18, and plate 8, and the inscriptions at pp. 84-88.

One remarkable fragment survived till 1867, about a mile north-west of Negapattam,[1] in a ruined brick tower of three storeys about 70 feet high, locally known as Puduveli-gopura, and to Europeans as the "China pagoda." The interior was open to the top, but showed marks of a floor about 20 ft. from the ground. The brickwork was described as good and closely fitted together without cement, and the storeys were marked off by outside cornices of stepped brickwork, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. Its general appearance in 1846 is presented by the accompanying woodcut (No. 116). This structure had probably formed part of one of the temples mentioned in the 11th century. With the consent of the Madras Government, it was pulled down by the Jesuit priests who had been expelled from the French territory of Pondicherry in 1845, and in its demolition several images of Buddha were found—the pedestal of one of them bearing an old Tamil inscription.[2]

[1] *Ante*, p. 33.

[2] In 1859 the Jesuit missionaries asked permission to pull it down and use the materials for their college, and the district engineer, reporting upon it as not deserving the name of an ancient monument, recommended that an estimate of Rs. 400, sanctioned for its conservation, should be cancelled, and the tower demolished. Sir W. Elliot opposed this, and the building would have been preserved, but the Jesuit priests threw obstructions in the way, and nothing was done. In 1867 they presented a fresh petition for permission to demolish it, which was granted.—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. vii. pp. 224 *et seqq.* vol xii. p. 311, and vol. xxii. p. 45. The cut is taken from Yule's 'Marco Polo' (3rd ed). vol. ii. p. 326.

NOTE. (*Ante*, p. 175).—Among the sculptures mentioned in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907,' p. 997, as discovered in the excavations made in recent years at Sârnâth, besides a fine capital and part of the shaft of an inscribed Asoka Lât, was an interesting flat capital which, though differing from the usual classic forms, bears a distinct resemblance to the capitals of the pilasters of the temple of Apollo Didymæos at Miletos. Conf. Durm, 'Die Baustile des Hdbuches. der Architectur,' Bd. i. S. 189; Texier and Pullan, 'Principal Ruins of Asia Minor,' plates 6-8. It is of the same style as the larger example previously discovered by Dr. Waddell at Patna—the ancient Pâtaliputra. The abacus of the latter is 49 in. long and 33½ in. in height, and is represented in the accompanying cut, No. 117. The Sârnâth one is only 13 in. high and, when entire, was about 25 in.



117. Capital found at Patna.

across the top, having its frieze sculptured with a horseman at the gallop, parts of a large plant being shown as beyond the horse (represented in 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' 1907, plate 3, fig. 4). In the Patna example a honeysuckle or similar plant occupies the area, and the whole form is more elegant and classical in feeling. (Waddell, 'Report on Excavations at Pâtaliputra,' p. 40 and plate 2.) Both capitals belong to the same order and must be of about the same age; but they differ so essentially from anything we know to be of the age of Asoka, and are so refined and classical in taste that, viewed in connection with the remains found at Jamâlgarhî and elsewhere, they seem, more probably, to belong to the period about the commencement of our era, when Hellenic influence in architecture was strongest.—*Infra*, p. 215.



118. Capital in Side Chapel of Cave xix., at Ajantâ.

CHAPTER VII.

GANDHÂRA MONASTERIES.

CONTENTS.

FEW of the later discoveries in India have been more fruitful of important results for the elucidation of the archæology of India than those obtained from the excavations of ruined monasteries in the neighbourhood of Peshâwar. They supply us with the materials for settling not only the question of the amount of influence classical art exercised on that of India, but also for solving many problems of Buddhist archæology and art.

As mentioned above, it is from their coins, and from them only, that the names of most of the kings of Baktria and their successors have been recovered; but we have not yet found a vestige of a building that can be said to have been erected by them or in their age, nor one piece of sculpture that, so far as we now know, could have been executed before their downfall, about B.C. 130. This, however, may be owing to the fact that Baktria proper has long been inhabited by fanatic Moslims, who destroy any representations of the human form they meet with, and no excavations for hidden examples have yet been undertaken in their country; while it is still uncertain how far the influence of the true Baktrians extended eastward, and whether, in fact, they ever really possessed the valley of Peshâwar, where so many of the sculptures have been found. No one, in fact, suspected their existence in our own territory till Lieutenants Lumsden and Stokes, in 1852, partially explored the half-buried monastery at Jamâlgarhî, which had been discovered by General Cunningham in 1848. It is situated about 36 miles north-east from Peshâwar, and from it these officers excavated a considerable number of sculptures, which afterwards came into the possession of the Hon. E. Clive Bayley. He published a short account of them in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,' in 1853, and brought the collection

itself to this country. Unfortunately, they were utterly destroyed in the disastrous fire that occurred in December 1866 at the Crystal Palace, where they were being exhibited, and this before they had been photographed, or any serious attempt made to compare them with other sculptures.

Since that time other collections have been dug out of another monastery eight miles further westward, at Takht-î-Bahai, and by Dr. Bellew at a third locality, 10 miles southward, called Shahr-î-Bahlol, some of which have found their way to this country. In 1874 Dr. Leitner brought home an extensive collection, principally from Takht-î-Bahai, which have now gone to Berlin.[1] Again, since the extension of British rule over the North-West Frontier Province during the last few years, numerous fresh sites have been discovered and excavated.[2] But since they were first discovered, numerous sites have been rifled, at least once; "mostly without definite plan and with motives not altogether disinterested. The history of these depredations would be long and lamentable—from the exploit of the Colonel who, as Cunningham tells us, carried off the statues from Jamâlgarhî on twelve camels, to those 'irresponsible diggings,' the ravages of which in the recently opened district of Swât, Sir H. Deane so justly deplores."[3] Of the earlier official excavations, the worst thing is that they were so unsystematically carried on that it is impossible to ascertain where hundreds of the sculptures now in the Lahor Museum came from, and in almost no instance can the position of any one piece of sculpture be fixed with anything like certainty.[4]

[1] Quite recently the splendid collection of Mr. M. L. Dames, has also gone to Berlin, because the British Museum would not, or could not, purchase it.

[2] As an example of how such remains were too often treated, we learn that in 1896 the contractors of the Military Works Department, to obtain readily stones for a culvert near Chakdarra, destroyed a little vihâra of great archæological interest.—Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 108.

[3] Foucher, *loc. cit.* tome i. p. 14; Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. v. p. 46; 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1896, p. 664. M. Foucher adds: "Hardly anywhere were the excavators at the trouble to unearth the buildings to the foundations, in order to determine their plans or restore the scheme of their decoration; their only care was to lay hands on the sculptures; and they took no trouble to put aside or protect pieces that were thought too heavy or too fragmentary for removal. In many places, headless trunks and mutilated reliefs strew the clearings and testify to the ignorance and *brutalité* with which the excavations were conducted, if we may use the word—for it is somewhat ironical to employ that term—since they were mostly left, without European supervision, to the direction of some native subaltern, or even to the discretion of the coolies of the nearest village."

[4] The mode in which the excavations were conducted by Government was to send out a party of sappers in the cold weather to dig, but the officer in charge of the party was the subaltern who happened to be in command of the company at the time. A new officer was consequently appointed every year, and no one was ever selected because he had any experience in such matters or any taste for such pursuits; and the result was, as might be expected, painfully disappointing.

The sculptures discovered have been partly collected in the Indian Museums—those of Lahor and Calcutta having between them 1700 or more specimens of this class of art, and small collections were sent to Madras, Rangoon, and Bombay in 1884; there is a large and fine collection at Berlin, and over a hundred pieces at the Louvre, whilst the small collection in the British Museum is due almost entirely to private donors.[1]

These remarkable sculptures have attracted more attention on the continent than in India or England, and the encouragement given by continental governments has conduced in a marked degree to their study and the solution of some of the problems they present.[2]

The essential elements of a Buddhist monastery were the stûpa and sanghârâma or quarters for the monks; the vihâra proper, or shrines for the images, might be arranged to form a court round the stûpa, or they might surround a separate court, between the stûpa and sanghârâma—and, as in the Mahâyâna schools the images were very numerous, the pantheon must often have overflowed the capacity of the stûpa courts.

The following plans (Woodcuts Nos. 119, 120), of the two principal monasteries which have been excavated in the vicinity of Peshâwar, will explain their arrangements in so far as they have been made out. As will be seen at a glance, they are very similar to each other, or at least consist of the same parts. First a circular or square court, AA, surrounded by cells, evidently intended to contain images, though none were found *in situ*. In the centre of each stands a circular or square platform, being the basement of a stûpa, approached by steps.[3] The circular one at Jamâlgarhî was 22 ft. in diameter and adorned with cross-legged, conventional, seated figures of Buddha, the smaller one, at Takht-î-Bahai, was 15 ft. square and ornamented by two rows of pilasters one over the other. Beyond this is an oblong court, BB, called the "pantheon," from the number of images, small models of topes, and other votive offerings of all sorts, that were found in it. It, like the last court, is surrounded by niches for images, and was the "vihâra" properly so called.

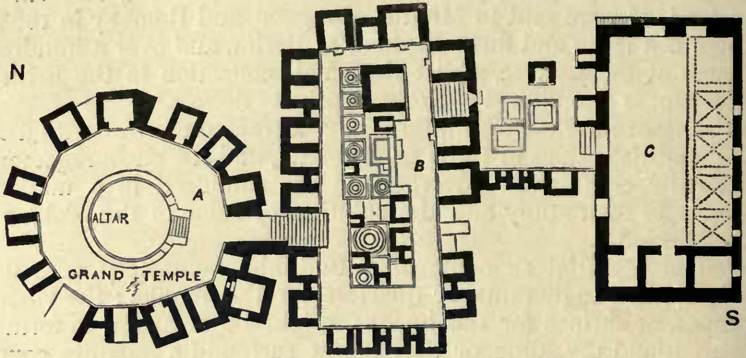
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[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 23-30.

[2] In 1893 Prof. A. Grünwedel, in a handbook of the Gandhâra sculptures at Berlin, discussed the origin of 'Buddhist Art in India,' elucidating the subject from the bas-reliefs in the Royal Museum there. An enlarged edition was issued in 1900, and an English translation revised and greatly extended was published (by Quaritch) in 1901. Dr. A. Foucher's Mission to the North-West Frontier, etc., has already been referred to, *ante*, p. 89.

[3] All the stûpas of the Panjâb and Gandhâra had steps up to the level of the basement, and usually on the side facing the monastery; thus, at Jamâlgarhî they were a little to the east of south, whilst at Takht-î-Bahai, they were on the north side. Some had steps on two, and others on all four sides.

Beyond this again was the sanghârâma or residence, CC, with the usual residential cells. At Takht-î-Bahai there is, at the north-



119. Plan of Monastery at Jamâlgarhî. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

120. Plan of Monastery at Takht-î-Bahai. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

west corner, a court, D, 51 ft. square, surrounded by a high wall with only one door leading into it. A corresponding court and of similar size exists at Jamâlgarhî; but it lies about 30 yards to the east, so that it could not be included in the woodcut. This has been identified by M. Foucher with the Service Hall, so often referred to in Buddhist literature, where all the Bhikshus or "members of the order" met privately on the nights of new and full moon to read their rules and go through their confessional forms, and where they met for all their more solemn purposes—as ordination, excommunication, and the like; and it was often used also as a refectory. This was known as the Upasthâna*s*âlâ or Meeting Hall. If this was the purpose of these buildings, which seems very probable, they must have been roofed in wood.[1]

When we attempt to compare these plans with those of rock-cut examples in India, we at once perceive the difficulty of comparing structural with rock-cut examples. The monastery or residential parts are the only ones readily recognised. The pantheon does not apparently exist at Ajantâ, nor is anything analogous to it attached to other series of caves. A group of small rock-cut memorial dâgabas exists outside the caves at Bhâjâ, and a much more extensive one of structural topes formed the cemetery at Kanheri, and similar groups may have existed elsewhere: but these are nowise analogous to the above. Numbers of small models of topes and votive offerings are found in the neighbourhood of all Buddhist establishments, and were originally no doubt deposited in some such place as this. The circular or square base of the stûpa marks the place which the chaitya occupies in all the rock-cut chaitya halls.

One of the most remarkable ornamental features that adorn this monastery is a series of bas-reliefs that adorn the front of the steps of the stairs leading from the so-called pantheon or vihâra to the circular court at Jamâlgarhî. They are sixteen in number, and each is carved with a bas-relief containing twenty, thirty, or forty figures according to the subject.[2] Among these the Vishvantara and Sâma jâtakas can easily be recognised,[3] and so may others when carefully examined.

[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. pp. 162-163. It had been suggested that this roofless hall might have been a cemetery (Gunningham 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v. p. 32); and it was pointed out that Turner in his 'Embassy to Tibet' (p. 317), describes a similar enclosure at Teshu-lumbu in which the bodies of the deceased monks were exposed to be devoured by the birds; and what happened there in 1800 might possibly have been practised at Peshâwar at a much earlier age; but that this was not the purpose of the two enclosures referred to is quite obvious.

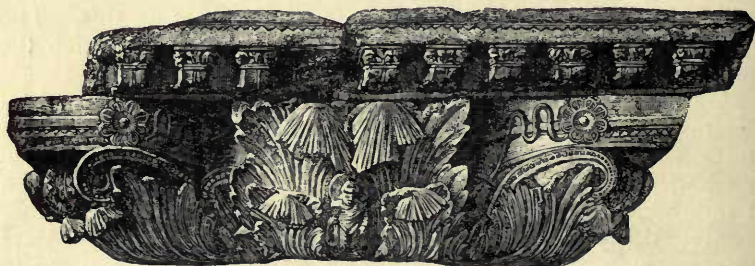
[2] These were removed by Gen. Cunningham, and several are now in the British Museum—'Journal of Indian Art and Industry,' vol. viii. p. 40, and plates 23, 24; 'Ancient Monuments, etc. of India,' plate 151; Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. v. p. 199.

[3] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plates 24 (fig. 3) and 36 (fig. 1); and 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1893, p. 313.

Besides these there are representations of the chase, processions, dancing, and domestic scenes of various kinds. In fact such a series of sixteen bas-reliefs, one over another, is hardly known to exist anywhere else, but is here only an appropriate part of an exuberance of sculptural ornamentation hardly to be matched, as existing in so small a space, in any other building of its class.



121. Corinthian Capital from Jamâlgarhî. (From a Photograph.)



122. Corinthian Capital from Jamâlgarhî. (From a Photograph.)[1]

The architecture of this monastery seems to have been of singular richness. General Cunningham brought away a dozen of capitals of the Corinthian order, and others exist in the Lahor Museum. As will be seen from the last two illustrations (Nos. 121, 122), they are unmistakably classical, but of a form to which it is not at first sight easy to assign a date. They are more Greek than Roman in the character of their foliage,

[1] The modillion cornice, though placed on the lower capital in the photograph, belongs in reality to another part of the building.

but more like Roman than Greek in the form of their volutes and general design. Perhaps it would be correct to say they are Indian copies or adaptations of classical capitals of the style of the Christian Era.

Not one of these was found *in situ*, nor, apparently, one quite entire, so that their use or position is not at first sight apparent. Some of them were square, and it is consequently not difficult to see they may have formed the caps of the antæ on each side of the cells, and are so represented in General Cunningham's plate (15). If this is so, the circular ones must have been placed on short circular pillars, one on each side, forming a porch to the cells. One at least seems to have stood free—like a stambha—and, as the General represents it (on plate 48), may have carried a group of elephants on its head.

All these capitals were apparently originally richly gilt, and most of them, as well as some of the best of the sculptures, show traces of gilding,[1] and, as others show traces of colour, the effect of the whole must have been gorgeous in the extreme. From the analogy of what we find in the caves at Ajantâ and Bâgh, as well as elsewhere, there can be little doubt that fresco-painting was also employed: but no gilding, as far as I know, has been found in India, nor indeed, with one or two exceptions, any analogue to the Corinthian capital.[2] The capitals found in India are either such as grew out of the necessities of their own wooden construction, or were copied from bell-shaped forms we are familiar with at Persepolis, where alone in Central Asia they seem to have been carried out in stone;[3] and they may have been so employed down to the time of Alexander, if not later. Certain it is, at all events, that this was the earliest form we know of employed in lithic architecture in India, and the one that retained its footing there certainly till after the Christian Era, and also among the Gandhâra sculptures to a still later date.

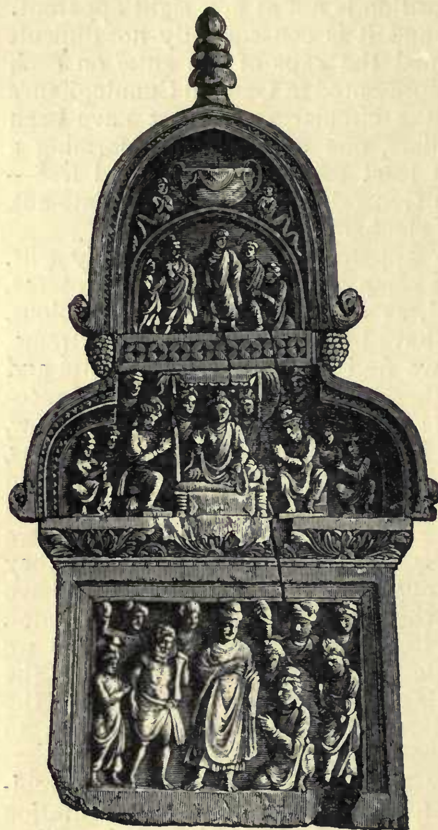
In the decorative sculptures of these monasteries, architectural elements are largely employed in the representation of buildings in which scenes are pourtrayed, and in pillars separating the panels. These present forms of Perso-Indian pillars employed side by side, sometimes on the same slab, with columns having classical capitals and bases. The capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them—the animal figures being changed, whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching figures with wings. It is the same absurd composition as is found in Assyrian and even

[1] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v. pp. 49 and 196.

[2] *Ante*, p. 207, *note*.

[3] 'The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.' By the Author. Part II. sect. i., *et passim*.

Lombard architecture, where pillars were placed on animals and monsters; and a similar practice was also long prevalent in Dravidian architecture.[1] Structurally the architecture of the age, we may suppose, would share in the mixed character of these sculptured representations. But the evidence may not be quite decisive; a stûpa, such as the best preserved at 'Alî Masjid, for example, affords but little aid in recovering the style of temples or other structures. What we see represented in the sculptures, together with such structural fragments as remain to us must be our chief guides.



123. Conventional Elevation of the Façade of a Cell from Jamâlgarhî.

It is not difficult to restore, approximately, the front of the cells in these monasteries, from the numerous representations of them found among the ruins, where they are used as conventional frames for sculptures. It probably was owing to the fact that their fronts may have been adorned with paintings representing scenes from the life of Buddha, or emblems of various sorts, that these miniature representations of them were used to convey the same design in sculpture. These gable-end shaped panels were fixed on four sides of the domes of the smaller stûpas at least, and whilst they may present the general features of the façades of the more highly decorated cells, it is not to be supposed that any of them were so richly sculptured (Woodcut No. 123).[2]

The form of the wooden framework which filled the upper

[1] Fergusson, 'Ancient and Mediæval Architecture,' 3rd ed., pp. 188, 593, 594.

[2] Conf. 'Buddhist Art in India' (Eng. transl.), p. 156, fig. 107: Foucher's 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' pp. 183-185, figs. 70-72.

part of all the great windows of the chaitya halls, from the earliest known examples, is also used for the same purpose in these Gandhâra monasteries. Few things among these sculptures are more common than these semicircular frames, filled with sculpture of the most varied design. They are in fact the counterparts of what would have been carried out in painted glass had they possessed such a material.

It is to be feared that it is hardly likely we shall now recover one of these cells or chapels in so perfect a state as to feel sure of its form and ornamentation. It would, however, be an immense gain to our knowledge of the subject if one were found, for it is hardly safe to depend on restorations made from conventional representations.

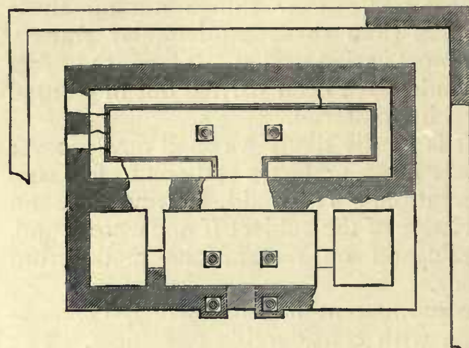
Meanwhile there is one monument in India which—*mutatis mutandis*—reproduces them with considerable exactness. The small detached rath at Mâmallapuram is both in plan and dimensions, as well as in design, an almost exact reproduction of these Jamâlgarhî cells. Its lower front is entirely open, flanked by two detached pillars. Above this are two roofs, with a narrow waist between them — somewhat differently arranged it must be confessed, but still extremely similar. In the Jamâlgarhî representations of these cells everything is simplified to admit of the display of sculpture. At Mâmallapuram all the architectural features are retained, but they are still marvellously alike, so much so, that there seems no doubt this little rath (Woodcut No. 185, page 329), with its circular termination, is as exact a copy of what a Buddhist chaitya hall was at the time it was carved, as that the great rath (Woodcut No. 89, p. 172) is a correct reproduction of a Buddhist vihâra at the same period.

If this is so, these Gandhâra sculptures and these raths represent the chaitya hall of the Buddhists in a much more complicated and elaborate form than we find it in the simple but majestic examples at Kârlê, Nâsik, or Ajantâ. The Jamâlgarhî cells are not at all so modern as the rath at Mâmallapuram, but they are certainly approaching to it in form.[1]

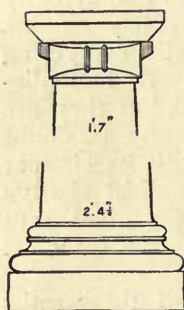
General Cunningham dug out a small vihâra at Shâh-Dherî, the ancient Taxila, which seems more ancient than these Peshâwar monasteries. As will be seen from the plan

[1] One curious peculiarity of these Gandhâra sculptures is that they generally retain the sloping jamb on each side of their openings. In India and in a structural building this peculiarity would certainly fix their age as anterior to the Christian Era. In Gandhâra it is found chiefly in decorative sculpture, but it seems also to have been occasionally employed structurally, as in the small vihâra near Chakdarra fort in Swât, destroyed in 1896 by the Military Works Department. — *Ante*, p. 210, note 2.

(Woodcut No. 124), it is not only small in dimensions, but simple in its arrangements—as simple, indeed, as any of those at Katak or in the western Ghâts. Like some of them it has a raised bench, not, however, divided into beds as there, but more like a continuous seat.[1] It no doubt, however, was used for both purposes. Its most remarkable peculiarity, however, is its Ionic order. As will be seen, the bases of the pillars are of the usual form, and as correct as any that could be found in Greece or Rome, from before the Christian Era to the age of Constantine, and, though the capital is not fully made out, there can be little doubt what was intended (Woodcut No. 125). Twelve coins of Azes were found close by, from which it may be inferred the building was not of earlier date than his age, or the 1st century B.C.,[2] and there is nothing in the architecture to militate against this idea. It seems the oldest thing yet found in this province.



124. Plan of Ionic Monastery, Shâh-Dherî. (From a Plan by General Cunningham.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.



125. Ionic Pillar, Shâh-Dherî. (From a Drawing by General Cunningham.)

The extraordinary classical character and the beauty of the sculptures found in these Gandhâra monasteries is of such surpassing interest for the history of Indian art, that it is of the utmost importance their age should be determined, if it is possible to do so. At present, sufficient materials do not exist in this country to enable the general public to form a correct opinion on any argument that may be brought forward on the subject; nor will they be in a position to do so till the Government can be induced to bring some of them home. They are quite thrown away where they now are; here, they would hardly be surpassed in interest by any recent discoveries of the same class. Quite

[1] Compare the plan of the Râmgarh cave, 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. ii. p. 245; or Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. xiii. p. 39 and plate 10.

[2] Assuming that his age has been correctly ascertained: Conf. 'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 78.

recently, however, the solution of most of the questions relating to these sculptures has been taken out of our hands by the French mission to India to study the materials on the spot; and M. Foucher has arranged and illustrated them with such acumen that his work becomes a standard one on the subject.[1]

Among Indian antiquaries different views have been held as to the age of these sculptures, General Cunningham's opinion was that the Baktrian Greeks carried with them into Asia the principles of Grecian sculpture and the forms of Grecian architecture, and either during their supremacy or after their expulsion from Baktria established a school of classical art in the Peshâwar valley. This view further assumed that, when Buddhism was established there under Kanishka and his successors, it bloomed into that rich and varied development we find exhibited in these Gandhâra monasteries. He admitted, however, that, as all the sculptures are Buddhist, the earliest must be limited to the age of Kanishka, which he assumed to be about B.C. 40,[2] and that they extend to A.D. 100, or thereabouts.

Another theory equally admitted the presence of the classical element, derived from the previous existence of the Baktrian Greeks, but spread the development of the classical feeling through Buddhist art over the whole period during which it existed in the valley, or from the 1st to the 7th or 8th century of our era, and ascribed its peculiar forms as much, if not more, to constant communication with the West, from the age of Augustus to that of Justinian, rather than to the original seed planted there by the Baktrians.[3]

Neither view satisfactorily met the conditions, and, in 1890,[4] Monsieur Émile Senart reviewed the question afresh and argued that the priestly type of Buddha with the nimbus—a veritable mark of the Græco-Buddhist school—first appearing on the coins of Kanishka, supplies one limit. And next, the regular appearance of this same type among the Amarâvatî sculptures, testifies that, when they were carved, the art of the north-west of India had a fixed type, and had extended its influence to the south-east of the peninsula; and since the Andhra inscriptions engraved on them cannot be assigned to a later date than the 2nd century

[1] The English reader will find an account of these sculptures generally and of their origin in 'Buddhist Art in India,' with 154 illustrations (London, 1901).

[2] 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v., Introduction, p. vi., and Appendix pp. 193-194. The date of Kanishka has long been a matter of controversy, the principal views respecting his era, being that of Mr. Fergusson, placing its epoch in A.D. 78; and the other, ably supported by Dr. J. F. Fleet and already referred to, throwing it back to B.C. 57, *ante*, p. 29.

[3] 'Journal R. Institute Brit. Architects,' 3rd ser. vol. i., 1894, pp. 93ff.

[4] 'Journal Asiatique' VIIIe série, tome xv. pp. 139-163. See also the remarks of Count Goblet D'Alviella, 'Ce que l'Inde doit a la Gréce,' pp. 58, 63ff.

of our era, it follows that "the zenith of the art and period of its greatest expansion falls before the second half of the 2nd century." Such an argument must have much weight in deciding this question.[1]

About the beginning of our era Greek art had become a matter of commerce and export, and Græculi travelled in all directions with their wares and models, ready to employ their skill in the service of Gaul, Skythian, or Indian to provide images for their pantheons by imitations from their own patterns. They could also represent for their employers the different classical orders of architecture, and would teach their pupils how to carve them; but, with or without models, the copy would be modified to suit the Indian taste; and so, for the acanthus of the Greek capital, were introduced the palms with which the Indian workmen were familiar; and the figures of Nikê—we see in the Corinthian capitals of antæ in the temple of Augustus erected about A.D. 10 at Ancyra, or in those of Priênê, were reproduced in Gandhâra as little figures of Buddha.[2] It is an imitation of Greek forms with divergencies—not a copy—but the suggestion must have come from those travelling Greek artists — probably Ionians — who were the agents by whom the Gandhâra sculptures were inspired, and Greek statuary was the model from which the Mahâyâna pantheon was evolved.[3]

Further, it is at least approximately correct to state that no statue of Buddha, in any of his conventional attitudes, has been found in India executed earlier than about the Christian Era. Those on the façade at Kârlê and in the western caves are avowedly insertions of the 2nd or 3rd centuries or later. There are none found at Bodh-Gayâ, Bharaut, or Sânchî; nor do I know of any one in India that can be dated before the 1st century. In these Gandhâra monasteries they are very frequent, and of a type which in India would be assumed to be as late as the 2nd or 3rd century; some of them even later.

It is true Buddhist books tell us frequently of statues of Buddha having been made at much earlier dates.[4] But Indian books have this fatal defect, that they represent facts and beliefs at the time they were written, or acquired the forms in which we now find them, without much reference to facts at the time at which they are supposed to have happened. The actual remains and the period to which they belong are our surest

[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 40ff.

[2] 'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 153. There is also a capital at Siah, in Syria, on which a bust is introduced, which may be as early as the Christian Era. —De Vogüé, 'Syrie Centrale,' plate 3.

[3] It may be accepted that Greek art furnished India with the images that served for the beliefs.—Goblet D'Alviella, 'Ce que l'Inde doit a la Gréce,' p. 152.

[4] 'Buddhist Art in India,' pp. 171ff.

guides, and we have now sufficient evidence to interpret these sculptures with reasonable confidence.

Besides the figures of Buddha, there are a great number of figures which have all got nimbuses or glories at the back of their heads. All have the tilaka on their foreheads, as Buddha has, and none have any kingly attributes, but all wear the same ornaments and amulets. These are recognised as representations of the Bodhisattwa or of Bodhisattwas. Until Gautama assumed Buddhahood, he was the Bodhisattwa of that age, and as such is represented with necklaces and ornaments. But the Mahâyâna school introduced many others into their iconography —mythical beings who are ultimately to be manifested as the Buddhas of future ages.[1]

A more important point than the mere presence of these conventional figures of Buddha or of saints in these monasteries, is their excessive reduplication ; to consecrate one was evidently, as among the Jains, a work of religious merit.

In India, no building or cave is known with a date anterior to, say, A.D. 100, in which more than one such figure is represented. Even at Amarâvatî they do not occur on the great rail which was erected at latest about the beginning of the Christian Era (*ante*, p. 122) but appear first on the basement, which was constructed in the 2nd century ; and they occur in such cases as Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajantâ, and are numerous in the later caves at Kanherî, Elûrâ, and Aurangâbâd, none of which seem to be earlier than A.D. 200, and most of them much later.

In the Gandhâra monasteries they exist literally in hundreds —on the base of the stûpas, on the walls, and in the cells. The latter is, indeed, the most remarkable peculiarity of any. Among the Jains, it is the practice to surround the courts of their temples with cells which are small shrines ; and here we find also numerous small cells surrounding the courts of the stûpas all consecrated as shrines for images of Buddha and saints, the monastery being quite separate from the structures for worship. And further, here are even separate courts constructed for secondary stûpas and numerous additional image chapels. This wealth of imagery, however, is accounted for by the fact that the Mahâyâna or Greater Translation was much more prevalent in the north of India than in the peninsula, and was considerably in advance of the Hînayâna school of Central India in all complications of ritual observances.

The few inscriptions found on Gandhâra sculptures or on the same sites, are dated in an unnamed era, and range from 78 to 384. One is dated in the twenty-sixth year of King Guduphara

[1] Among these the chief are Maitreya — who is expected to appear first— Avalokiteśvara or Padmapâni, Manjuśrî, Samantabhadra, Vajrapâni, etc.

or Gondophernês of Takshaṣilâ or Taxila, and in the year 103 of this era. Now early Christian tradition mentions this king in connection with the mission of St. Thomas, which would fall in the 1st century; and the only Indian era we know of about that time is the Samvat commencing B.C. 57, which makes the twenty-sixth year of Guduphara coincident with A.D. 46, and places his accession in A.D. 20-21. This is quite in agreement, not only with the tradition, but with the place assigned to the coinage of Guduphara; and we can hardly suppose that the other inscriptions should be dated in a different era.[1] Among these there are known three or four of the 1st century A.D., one each of the 2nd and 3rd century, and that of Hashtnagar is dated in 384, that is A.D. 327.[2] The last is not later than might be expected, for when Fah Hian passed through Gandhâra at the commencement of the 5th century, the monasteries were still in a flourishing condition. It was only a century later that the Buddhists were persecuted by the Hûnas under Toramâna and his son Mihirakula, and by that time the art had probably declined; these dates, however, are sufficient to substantiate the conclusion that the Gandhâra sculptures belong to the early centuries of our era, and that its most flourishing period may be assigned to about B.C. 50 to A.D. 200.

From what has been said above regarding the sculptures of Bharaut and Sânchî, it appears evident that the Indians had a school of art of their own before they knew anything of the arts of the Western world; but that native art seems to have had very little influence on the arts of Gandhâra. The Western arts, on the contrary, acting through that country, seem to have had considerable influence on those of India at periods about and subsequent to the Christian Era. It seems at least almost impossible to escape the conviction that the arts of Amarâvatî and the later caves, say of the Andhra period, betray marked evidence of Western influence; and it seems that it is only through Gandhâra that it can have reached them.

So strongly marked is all this that it may become a subject of an interesting investigation to enquire whether the Greeks were not the first who taught the Indians idolatry. There is no trace of images in the Vedas or in the laws of Manu, or any of the older books of the Hindûs. As repeatedly mentioned, there is as little trace of any image of Buddha or Buddhist figures being set up for worship much before the Christian Era. But the earliest, the finest, and the most essentially classical figures of Buddha are to be found in Gandhâra, and, so far as we

[1] Dr. Vogel ('Archæological Survey Annual,' 1903-1904, pp. 259ff.), proposes the Seleukidan era of B.C. 312, for these dates, which would place Mogas about the end of Aṣoka's reign, and Guduphara not long after! Conf. 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1906, pp. 706-711.

[2] 'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 84.

at present know, of an earlier date there than any found in India Proper.

Further, if there are traces of Christian doctrine in the 'Bhagavat Gîtâ,' and of classical learning in other poetic works of the Hindûs, we now know at least where they may have come from. In short, when we realise how strongly Hellenic influence prevailed in Gandhâra in the first few centuries after Christ, and think how many thousands, it may be millions, crossed the Indus, going eastward during that period and through that country, we ought not to be surprised at any amount of Western thought or art we may find in India.

In the meanwhile the question that bears most directly on the subject now in hand is the enquiry, how far the undoubted classical influence shown in these Gandhâra sculptures is due to the seed sown by the Baktrian Greeks during the existence of their kingdom there, and how much to the direct influence of Hellenic intercourse between the times of Augustus and Aurelian? Both, most probably, had a part in producing this remarkable result; but we have abundant evidence that the latter was very much more important than the former cause, and that about the commencement of the Christian Era the civilisation of the West exercised an influence on the arts and religion of the inhabitants of this part of India far greater than was formerly suspected.

The question of the subjects of the sculptures is beyond the scope of this work, and for this and their origin the reader must be referred to the excellent work of Mons. A. Foucher, and to the translation of Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India.'



126. Footprints of Buddha. (From a bas-relief at Amarâvatî.)

CHAPTER VIII.

CEYLON.

CONTENTS.

Introductory—Anurâdhapura—Polonnaruwa

Introductory.

If the materials existed for writing it in anything like a complete and satisfactory manner, there are few chapters in this history that ought to be so interesting or instructive as that which treats of the architecture of Ceylon. It alone, of all known countries, contains a complete series of Buddhist monuments extending from the time of Asoka to the present day, and in the 'Dîpawansa' and 'Mahâwansa' it possesses a history so detailed and generally so credible, that the dates and purposes of the earlier buildings can be ascertained with tolerable precision. We know, indeed, that the early chronology is based on the legend that the kingdom was founded at the date of Buddha's Nirvâna, which was placed in B.C. 543, and 236 years before the Council held in the eighteenth year of Asoka. But from Indian data we must place the Council about B.C. 246, and this reduces the dates dependent on the Nirvâna by fully sixty years. Lassen accepted the native chronology from the accession of Dutthagâmani, B.C. 161; but there are indications in Indian history that the correction must be continued till at least the 6th century A.D., after which the error perhaps diminishes till it finally vanishes in the 12th century at the time of the accession of Parâkramabâhu I. in 1153 A.D.[1] With this rectification we may be satisfied for our purposes.

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[1] Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' Ed. 2, Bd. II., Ss. 100f., 266, 287f., 1225f. In the 27th chapter of the 'Mahâwansa,' Dutthagâmani's accession is placed 146 years after Devânampiya Tissa, who began to reign about B.C. 246. Max Müller ('History of Ancient Sankrit Literature,' pp. 268-269 and 298ff.) ascribed the Nirvâna to B.C. 477 or 478; Dr. J. F. Fleet ('Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1906,' pp. 984ff.) discussed the evidence afresh, and ascribed it to B.C. 482. I am indebted to the latter for the substance of the above statement.

Besides the intrinsic interest of Sinhalese architecture, if it were possible to compare this unbroken series with its ascertained dates with the fragmentary groups on the continent of India, its parallelisms might throw much light on many questions that are obscure and uncertain, and the whole acquire a consistency that is now only too evidently wanting.[1]

The survey of the Ceylon monuments owed its first inception to Sir Hercules Robinson, then Governor, and in 1871 a series of photographs of the principal remains at Anurâdhapura and Polonnaruwa was taken by the late Mr. Lawton, under the personal direction of Mr J. G. Smither, Government Architect, and supplemented a little later by a second series, by Captain Hogg, R.E. These threw some light on the matter; but photographs alone—without plans or dimensions or descriptions—are most deceptive guides, and, for the time, they added little to our scientific knowledge. In 1873, however, under directions from the Governor, Sir William H. Gregory, a survey was made by Mr. Smither of what was then known at Anurâdhapura, and detailed plans and other architectural drawings of the more important ruins were eventually completed in accordance with recommendations by the late Mr. James Fergusson.[2] In 1894, however, Mr. Smither's most valuable work on Anurâdhapura was published; the plates of drawings in it are excellent, and the collotype photographs add materially to its interest and value. If we had delineations of the other remains in Ceylon excavated and surveyed since 1890, prepared and described with like skill and accuracy, they would be of the very highest value for the history of Sinhalese architecture.

Meanwhile, much progress has been made, for in 1884 the Governor, Sir Arthur H. Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, intrusted Mr. S. M. Burrows of the Civil Service, under the supervision

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[1] Sir Emerson Tennent's book, published in 1859, was one of the best works on the subject. He had, however, no special qualifications for the task, beyond what were to be expected from any well-educated gentleman of talent, and his description of the buildings is only meant for popular reading.

The two papers by Captain Chapman, in the third volume of the 'Transactions' (1832), and thirteenth volume of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' were for long the best account of the ruins of Anurâdhapura, and beyond these a few occasional notices were nearly all the printed matter we had to depend upon. Of late several 'Guide Books' have appeared: Burrows's 'Buried Cities of Ceylon' (4th ed. 1906); H. W. Cave's 'Ruined Cities of Ceylon' (8vo. ed. 1900); and J. Still's 'Ancient Capitals of Ceylon' (1907).

[2] Nothing was generally known in England of this survey till 1888, when a paper by Mr. John Capper on the Anurâdhapura dâgabas appeared in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' N.S., vol. xx., pp. 165-180. His son, Mr. G. Capper, had been employed in the survey under Mr. Smither, F.R.I.B.A., whose work — 'Architectural Remains: Anurâdhapura, Ceylon, comprising the dâgabas and certain other ancient ruined structures with fifty-seven plates' (Atlas fol.)—contains the results of the surveys made in 1873-77.

of the late Mr. R. W. Ievers, with the work of survey and excavation at Anurâdhapura, including the partial conservation of the crumbling remains, and clearing them of vegetation. This he carried on for a year and a half.[1] In 1890 a general survey was organised, and Mr. H. C. P. Bell of the same service was appointed Archæological Commissioner. He has supplied Government from time to time with progress reports on his work, especially at Anurâdhapura;[2] but no systematic account with architectural drawings has yet been published to which the student can apply for connected and detailed information.

One of the most striking peculiarities of Ceylonese art, as compared with that of the continent, was the almost total absence of sculpture known to us previous to the excavations made within the last thirty-five years. Now, however, there have been brought to light, besides carved capitals, string courses, friezes, and the like — a number of statues of Buddha, his disciples and other personages. The Tamil invaders, who often ravaged the richest provinces of the island, were Brahmanical Hindûs, and had no respect for Buddhist idols; whilst the reported wealth of the shrines was a strong temptation to their destruction in search of treasure. The Sinhalese, moreover, were chiefly adherents of the Hînayâna school, and had no pantheon to compare with that of the northern schools, and their principal figures would be those of the Buddha with his attendants. Further, as is the case in Burma, where is an unlimited amount of painting and carving, but little sculpture properly so called, something similar may have occurred in Ceylon. So far as we can now see, all the great topes were covered with chunâm, which may have been painted to any extent, and all the vihâras, as in Burma, were in wood or brick, and consequently unfitted for permanent sculpture. But there are evidences to show that most of the religious structures were ornamented with figures in chunâm, in more or less relief; and brick cores are met with on which representations of men and animals were moulded. Besides this, such information as we have would lead us to suppose that painting was a more favoured art with the islanders than sculpture.

[1] Between 1875 and 1880 the Ceylon Government had employed first Dr. P. Goldschmidt, and after his death, Dr. Edward Müller, to copy the inscriptions; and in 1883 a thin volume of texts and translations, with an accompanying series of plates, was issued by the latter scholar.

[2] These reports are printed by the Ceylon Government as 'Sessional Papers,' and the earlier ones are accompanied by rough lithographs of plans and sketches in pen and ink. Mr. Bell, however, issues his reports for 1900 onwards, with "half tone" block illustrations.

It is to be hoped the Ceylon Government, after having incurred the expense of the survey, will not fail to make the results available by adequate publication.

When Fah Hian, for instance, visited the island in A.D. 412-413, he describes an accompaniment to the procession of the Tooth relic as follows: "The king next causes to be placed on both sides of the road representations of the 500 bodily forms which the Bodhisattwa assumed during his successive births"—the jâtakas in fact. "These figures," he adds, "are all beautifully painted in divers colours, and have a very life-like appearance."[1] It was not that they could not sculpture in stone, for, as we shall presently see, some of their carvings are of great delicacy and cleverness of execution, but they seem to have preferred colour to the more permanent forms of representation. Early figures of the Buddha are comparatively few: possibly they were destroyed by the Tamil invaders; still the excavations of the last thirty years have brought to light quite a considerable number of various ages. On the embankments of many tanks there are slabs carved with five or seven headed serpents, which may be of any age, and at the foot of every important flight of steps there are two dwârpâls or doorkeepers with this strange appendage, and attached to each of the chapels of the Abhayagiri dâgaba are figures of a great Nâga. These may be regarded as an evidence of the early prevalence of the worship of serpents in the island.

Another peculiarity of the Ceylonese monuments is their situation in the two capitals of the island, for, it will have been observed, none of the remains of Buddhist architecture described in the previous chapters are found in the great capital cities of the Empire. They are detached monuments, spared by accident in some distant corner of the land, or rock-cut examples found in remote and secluded valleys. The Buddhist Palibothra has entirely perished—so has *S*râvastî and Vai*s*âlî; and it is with difficulty we can identify Kapilavastu, Kusinârâ, and other famous cities, whose magnificent monasteries and stûpas are described by the Chinese travellers in the 5th or 7th century of our era. In a great measure this may be owing to their having been built of brick and wood; and, in that climate, vegetation is singularly destructive of the first, and insects and decay of the second. But much is also due to the country having been densely peopled ever since the disappearance of the Buddhists. It may also be remarked that the people inhabiting the plains of Bengal since the extinction of Buddhism were either followers of the Brahmanical or Muhammadan religions—both inimical to them, or, at least, having no respect for their remains.

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[1] Beal, 'Buddhist Pilgrims,' p. 157; or 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i., introd. pp. lxxv., lxxvi.

In Ceylon the case is different. Though the great capitals were early deserted, the mass of the people are still Buddhists, as they have been for the last 2000 years, and there, consequently, cities are still found adorned with monuments, which, though in ruins, convey a sufficient impression of what those of India must have been in the days of her glory.

Anurâdhapura seems to have become the capital of Ceylon about 370 years before Christ, or about a century after the death of Buddha, and the fabled introduction of his religion into the island. It was not, however, till about B.C. 240, that it became a sacred city, and one of the principal capitals of Buddhism in the East, which it continued to be till the 9th century. Then, owing to the repeated and destructive invasions of the Malabars, an alternative capital was formed at Polonnaruwa, which gradually supplanted Anurâdhapura, and became the sole capital till the 13th century. That city reached its period of greatest prosperity and extension, apparently in the reign of Parâkrama Bâhu I., 1153-86, and then sank during a long and disastrous period into decay. The seat of Government, after 1236, was moved hither and thither, till the country fell into the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch, and finally succumbed to our power.

Anurâdhapura.

The city of Anurâdhapura until within quite recent years stood almost deserted in the midst of dense and sparsely inhabited jungle. Its public buildings must have suffered severely from the circumstances under which it perished, exposed for centuries to the attacks of foreign enemies. Besides this, the rank vegetation of Ceylon had been at work for 1000 years, stripping off all traces of plaster ornaments, and splitting the masonry in many places. Now, however, it is a prosperous town of about 4000 inhabitants, the capital of the North-Central Province, and on the railway from Colombo to Jaffna.

The very desolation, however, of its situation has preserved the ancient monuments from other and greater dangers. No bigoted Moslim has pulled them down to build mosques and monuments of his own faith; no indolent Hindû has allowed their materials to be used for private purposes or appropriated as private plunder; and only to a limited extent have English officials rendered them available for mending station roads and bridges.[1] We may be sure, however, that these ruins

[1] As in India, the ruins in Ceylon have suffered at the hands of the Public Works: thus we learn that "countless pillars and steps have been broken up to go into

deserve the greatest attention from the student of Buddhist architecture, and that a vast fund of information may be drawn from them when they have been sufficiently explored and fully delineated and described.

The peculiar fortune of Anurâdhapura is that it continued the capital of Ceylon for about ten centuries; and, alone of all Buddhist cities, it retains something like a complete series of the remains of its greatness during that period. We possess, moreover, in the 'Mahâwansa' and other Ceylonese chronicles, a tolerably authentic account of the building of these monuments, and of the purposes to which they were dedicated. Among the vestiges of its former grandeur still to be found, are the ruins of half-a-dozen or more large dome-shaped stûpas or dâgabas, and many smaller ones of numerous monasteries and of a terraced enclosure erected to contain the sacred Bo-tree, besides numerous other ruins and antiquities. Among these is the great mound usually called Elâla Sohona, or the tomb of the usurper Elâla; but this traditional name is incorrect, for recent excavation has shown that it covers the remains of a large stûpa about 180 ft. in diameter—possibly the Dakshina stûpa referred to in the chronicles.

Two of the dâgabas are of the largest size known: of one, the Abhayagiri,[1] the dome, continued down to the ground, is exactly hemispherical, and has a diameter of about 328 ft., being thus more than 1000 ft. in circumference, and with the base and spire must have made up a total elevation of about 260 ft., which is not far short of the traditional height of 120 cubits assigned to it in the 'Mahâwansa.'[2] It is ascribed to King Walagam-bâhu or Vattagâmani-Abhaya, who reconquered his kingdom late in the first century B.C. from foreign usurpers who had deposed him and occupied his throne for about fifteen years; and to commemorate the event he built a vihâra on the site of a Jaina temple. Nothing is said about his erecting the dâgaba or chaitya, though there must have

culverts on a road not traversed by a cart once in six months," and the ruins at Puliyan-kulama were "sadly destroyed for ashlar to build three or four large culverts on a branch road." Besides later damages caused by reckless blasting elsewhere, minor ruins also about Anurâdhapura disappeared on lands sold to natives prior to 1890. The restorations most to be feared are those by the priests, who "are erecting at Ruwanveli dâgaba a series of shrines in a modern style absolutely frightful." — Général L. de Beylié, 'L'Architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient,' p. 364.

[1] Until the accuracy, or otherwise of the current identifications are fully investigated, we can only follow the traditional account which, in the case of the more notable dâgabas can hardly be in error. The capital and pinnacle of the Abhayagiri were restored by prison labour in 1890.

[2] The cubit of Ceylon is nearly 2 ft. 3 in.; it has sometimes been taken as 2 ft. $3\frac{6}{7}$ in. The present total height from the platform to the top of the ruined spire is 232 ft.—Smither, 'Architectural Remains: Anurâdhapura,' p. 47.

been one in connection with the vihâra. It seems to be referred to about a century later;[1] and by Gajabâhu I., in the 2nd century A.D. we are told "it was constructed of a greater elevation, and he caused arches to be built at the four gates." Such casing of smaller dâgabas to enlarge them was not infrequent. The stûpa stands on a stone-paved platform 590 ft. square, raised about 9½ ft. above the ground level, and ascended on each side by a flight of steps 27 ft. wide. The excavations here and at the other large dâgabas have shown that, as with the Nepal and Indian chaityas, at each cardinal point there were richly carved, oblong projections from the circle of the lower pâsâdas or terraced basement, which were, doubtless, the chapels or thrones for the Dhyâni Buddhas. We have a similar arrangement also at Sânchi and in the Kalinga stûpas.[2]

The second tope is the Jetawanârâma, begun by King Mahâsena in the 4th century, and finished by his successor, Kittis-Siri Meghavanna. In form and dimensions it is almost identical with the last described, though somewhat more perfect in outline, owing probably to its being more modern than its rival.[3] Its chapels seem to have been quite ruined.

Next to these, but far more important from its sacredness, is the Ruwanveli dâgaba, erected by King Dutthagâmani, between the years B.C. 102 and 78, over a very imposing collection of relics, of which a full account is given in the 28th to 31st chapters of the 'Mahâwansa.' Its dimensions are very similar to those of the last two described; but it has been so much defaced, that except the remains of the circular plinths round its base, it has, like the rest, become only a huge shapeless mound of solid brickwork. The excavations, however, have made it plain that the dome had a diameter of 252 ft. 8 in., that, like all the others, it stood upon a basement of three plinths called pâsâdas, or procession terraces, together 15 ft. high, and rose from a stilted drum to a greater height than a hemisphere. The 'Mahâwansa' says it was 120 cubits high, or about 270 ft., but the present mound stands only about 179 ft. above the paved platform, which is 5 ft. 7 in. above the ground

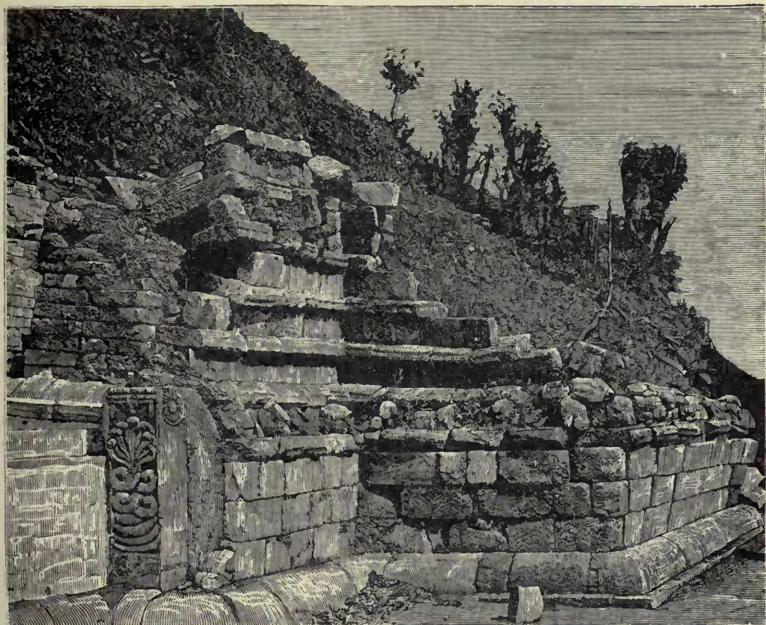
[1] Mahâwansa, ch. 35.

[2] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1902, p. 32; 'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 195. The *âsana*, or seat for Vairochana, is in the relic chamber. At the Mirisaveti dâgaba at Anurâdhapura, and at Rankot and Kiri dâgabas at Polonnaruwa, Mr. Bell has found several detached cells or chapels—probably of late date. That the Mahâyâna ritual had found acceptance in Ceylon by the 9th century or earlier, is evidenced by Mr. Bell's discovery at the Vijayârâma monastery of copper plaques bearing invocations to Akâsagarbha, Vairochana, Târâ, etc. — 'Sessional Papers,' 1896, pp. 460, 464-467.

[3] Its dome is 310 ft. in diameter and its height to the top of the square capital, 187 ft. 6 in., and to the top of the ruined spire 245 ft.—Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' plate 47.

level, and measures 475 ft. from north to south by 473 ft. across, the retaining wall being carved with elephants. The four thrones or chapels are found facing the cardinal points —that on the south being the least ruined.

The same king had previously erected another smaller dâgaba, about 133 ft. in diameter at the rise of the dome. It is known as the Mirisavetiya dâgaba, and like the last described it is very much ruined. Like the other dâgabas it had three low pâsâdas or terraces round the base from 5 to 6 ft. in breadth, together projecting 16 ft. 7 in. from the bell of the dâgaba, and rising to 13 ft. 5 in. from the pavement.[1]

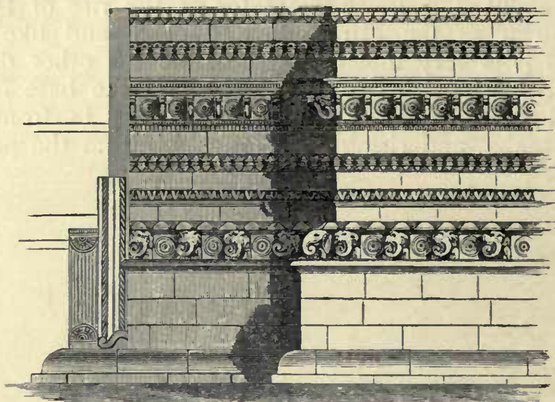


127. View of the north side of the west chapel, Ruwanveli Dâgaba. (From a Photograph.)

An excavation on the west side, however, revealed a handsome chapel, similar to those at the other dâgabas, but differing in detail, and in a much more perfect condition. The whole is elaborately carved in horizontal bands with elephants and other animals, rosettes, etc., and at the ends are richly-carved stelæ surmounted by lions. Behind the chapels at the Ruwanveli

[1] For full description and drawings, see Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' pp. 19-22, and plates 14-21. Excavation on the east side, in search of a corresponding structure proved fruitless. In 1890 the dâgaba was "being elaborately restored by prison labour at the expense of a Siamese prince."—'Sessional Papers,' 1890, p. 43. This restoration has been left unfinished for want of funds.

dâgaba are flights of steps by which access was had from the first to the second pâsâda or terrace. The first was reached from the pavement by a stair on the east side of the south chapel; whilst behind this chapel there is only one stair from the second to the third terrace. A somewhat similar arrange-



128. Part Elevation (restored) of front of the south chapel, Ruwanveli Dâgaba. Scale 1-85th.

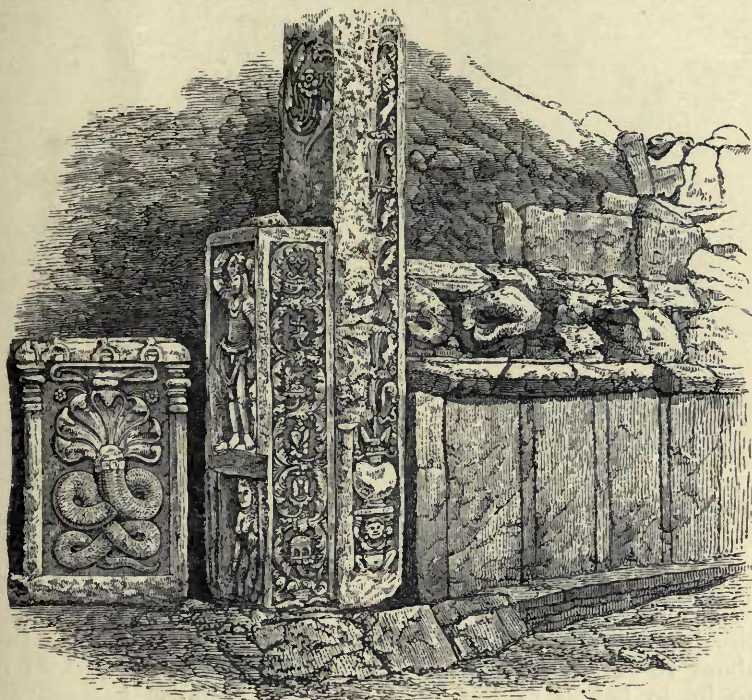
ment of stairs also existed at the Abhayagiri and Mirisavetiya dâgabas; and it is very probable also at the Jetawanârâma dâgaba, though the published results of the surveys do not show. The façade of the chapels consists first of a plain base, above which is a row of kneeling elephants with pateræ between them,[1] very like those used in the metopes of the Roman Doric order; above this are three plain faces divided by ornamental string-courses; then a bracket cornice with pateræ again, and above this two more plain faces and string-courses. Over this there was probably a frieze of animals and a band simulating a Buddhist rail, with a blocking course over it, as at the Mirisavetiya dâgaba.

At each end of this projecting arrangement were two stelæ —the inner covered by foliaged and other patterns, the outer in one instance, at the Ruwanveli, by a seven-headed serpent, as will be observed in the Woodcut No. 127; at the Abhayagiri, there are serpent figures at all the chapels—each on a separate stone—and here the inner stele is adorned with a pattern so nearly identical with that on the pillars of the western gateway at Sânchi,[2] that we may recognise them as belonging to about

[1] At the Mirisaveti these are lotus flowers.

[2] 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plate 19. In some respects it resembles the Woodcuts Nos. 39 and 40. Similar stelæ were also found at Amarâvatî.—'Archæolog. Survey of Southern India: Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeta Stûpas,' plate 33, fig. 2; plate 38, fig. 7; plate 40, fig. 3; plate 44, fig. 1; and plate 54, fig. 1.

the same age. On the other stele in this tope (Woodcut No. 129) we recognise the shield, the Swastika, the Triratna, and other Buddhist emblems with which we are already familiar.[1]



129. Stelæ at the east end of the north chapel, Abhayagiri Dâgaba. (From a Photograph.)

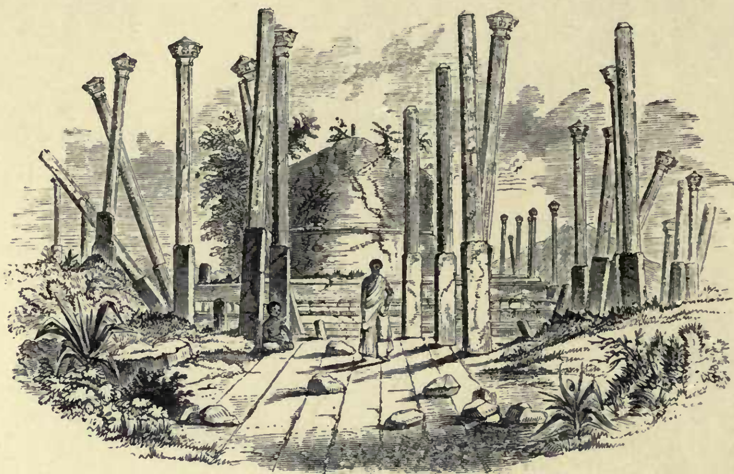
All this is architecturally so unlike anything we find of the same age on the continent of India, while its sculptured details are so nearly identical, that, when we come to know more about it, these differences and similarities may lead to most important inferences; but we must at present wait for the requisite information to enable us to see the bearing of these peculiarities.

Besides these four large buildings there are two smaller ones, known as the Thûpârâma and Lankârâma, very similar to one another in size and arrangement. The first named is represented in Woodcut No. 130. The dâgaba itself, though small, was originally of a singularly elegant bell-shaped outline.[2] As it

[1] For photographic illustrations of the stelæ, at each of the chapels of this dâgaba. —Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' plates 41-43.

[2] Since the drawing was made from which this cut is taken, it was thoroughly repaired in 1842, and made as unlike what it was as can well be conceived. —Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' plates 2-8.

appears since it was restored in 1842, is shown on Plate No. II. Its diameter and height are now nearly the same—at the base about 55 ft.; and it stands on a platform raised about 11 ft. from



130. Thûpârâma Dâgaba. (From an unpublished Lithograph by the late James Prinsep.)

the ground, on which are arranged four rows of tall pillars of strikingly slender proportions, which form by far the most important architectural ornament of the building. The inner circle stands about 3 ft. from the dâgaba, and the next two about 10 ft. from each other. The shafts are monoliths 22 ft. 10 in. in height in the inner row, and diminish successively by about 18 in. in the next two rows, in each of which the lower part, to a third of the height, is left square, each side being about 1 ft. These sustain octagonal capitals of singularly graceful outlines, 2 ft. 1 in. in height, and 2 ft. 2 in. across the top. They are carved with figures and foliage, and under the capitals the pillars are ornamented with fringes 14 in. deep, depending from kirttimukh faces carved in low relief on the angles. The sculpture on the capitals of the first and second circles are similar, namely squatting or dwarf human figures; in the third row the ornaments differ. The pillars in the fourth or outer circle are monoliths, 14 ft. in height including the capitals; they are entirely octagonal, and their shafts are 10 in. diameter. The capitals are very similar to those of the inner circles, but differ in dimensions and ornamentation. They are 21 in. in height and 18½ in. across the abacus, and are sculptured with sixteen capering dwarfs (Woodcut No. 131). They have octagonal seatings on the tops of 2½ in. high and 10 in. diameter,

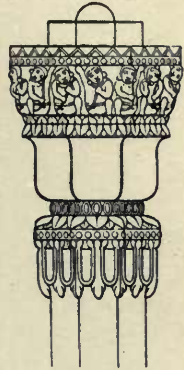
PLATE II.



THÛPÂRÂMA DÂGABA (AS RESTORED).

[*To face page* 234, Vol. I.

over which is a rounded boss 4 in. in diameter. Some of the capitals in the two inner rows have raised pads, and various forms of seatings that might have been supports for images or symbols; all in the third circle have square pads on them. Originally there have been 128 of these pillars belonging to the three inner circles,[2] and 48 more in the outer or fourth row; the latter are more slender than the others, and stand in a circle 14 ft. beyond the third.



131. Capital from outer circle at Thûpârâma Dâgaba. Scale 1/20th.[1]

This relic-shrine was originally erected by the celebrated King Devânampiya Tissa, about 246 years B.C., to contain the right collar bone of Buddha, which—say the Buddhist chroniclers—descending from the skies, placed itself on the crown of the monarch. As contemporary with A*s*oka it belongs to the most interesting period of Buddhist history, and is older, or, at least, as old, as anything now existing on the continent of India; and there is every reason to suppose it existed till 1842, as nearly as may be, in the form in which it was originally designed, having escaped alteration, and, what is more unusual in a Buddhist relic-shrine, having escaped augmentation. When the celebrated Tooth Relic was brought hither from India some time during the 4th century, it was deposited in a small building erected for the purpose to the south-east of the circular platform. This was known as the Daladâ Mâligâwa or Tooth relic Temple.

The Lankârâma (Woodcut No. 132) is extremely similar to the last—though there is no distinct historical mention of its erection in the Sinhalese chronicles. Its being encircled by pillars, like the Thûpârâma, might suggest that it belonged to about the same age,[3] and this seems supported by Mr. Smither's drawings, which point in that direction. The building, however, has more than once undergone restorations that may have nearly obliterated its more ancient features. Parâkrama Bâhu I. (1153-1186) repaired many of the old monuments—most probably

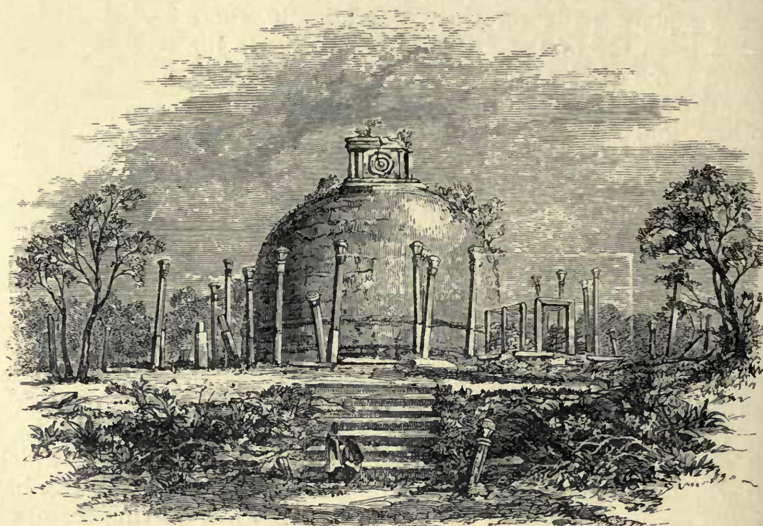
[1] From Smither's, 'Anurâdhapura', plate 7, fig. 3.

[2] These pillars were arranged thus: 52 in the inner circle, 36 in the second, and 40 in the third; those in the inner circle are only 2 ft. 5 in. apart, except in front of the chapels, where they are about 9 ft. 4 in. apart in each circle. None of the other pillars in one circle are directly opposite pillars in the next.

[3] Captain Chapman said it was built by Abhaya Tissa, A.D. 231; Major Forbes assigned it to Mahâsena between 277 and 304 (Sinhalese dates); and Mr Smither suggests that it might be the vihâra, unnamed by Turnour, mentioned as built by Mahâsiva, *cir.* B.C. 190; this last, however, was the Nagarangana vihâra. —'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xx. pp. 175f.; Forbes 'Eleven Years in Ceylon'; Wijesinha, 'Mahâwansa,' part i., p. 81.

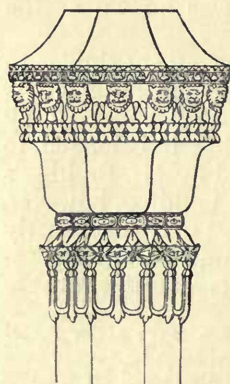
this among them, and in the 18th century it underwent a special restoration.

The base is 9 ft. high, and the dome upon this is hemi-



132. Lankârâma Dâgaba (1870). (From a Photograph.)

spherical and 38 ft. in diameter. The lower 4 ft. of the base has apparently been extended by an addition of varying breadth all round, which includes the innermost row of very graceful pillars. The second circle is 7 ft. 8 in. in advance of the first, and the third—like the fourth at the Thûpârâma—consists of more slender shafts only 12 ft. 5 in. high, and stands 16½ ft. outside the second circle. These pillars are all monolithic—the shaft and capital being in one piece. Those of the second circle stand 16 ft. 11 in. above the raised pavement on which the dâgaba stands, the level of the heads of the inner circle being 5 in. higher. In both, the shafts are 13 in. square to about a third of their height, above which they are octagonal. The capitals (Woodcut No. 133) are 26½ in. high and 2 ft. across at 6 in. below the top, from which they



133. Capital of Lankârâma pillars in the inner circles.[1] Scale 1/20th.

[1] From Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' plate 13, fig. 1.

curve inwards to 12 in. broad at the top, which is flat. All these capitals are carved with seated lions. In the third and outermost circle the shafts are 10 in. in diameter and octagonal throughout; their capitals are 25½ in. high and at greatest width 19 in., diminishing to 9½ in. at the top, ornamented, like those of the Thûpârâma, with sixteen dwarf figures instead of lions. There were 20 pillars in the inner circle, 28 in the second, and 40 in the third—those in one circle having no relation in position to those in the next.

As will be observed, the two last-mentioned dâgabas present us with a peculiarity not found on any example we have elsewhere met with outside Ceylon, inasmuch as they are surrounded by three circles of slender monolithic pillars of very elegant design. The purpose of those pillars is somewhat perplexing: it has been suggested that they may once have carried a roof,[1] but they are so slender, and arranged without relation of those in one circle to those in the next, that any roof—of however light materials—could hardly have been placed on them; and the examination of the capitals does not favour such a hypothesis. They rather correspond to the rails of Indian stûpas, marking out procession paths or *pradakshinas*, whilst they were probably also employed as stambhas or lâts. The tallest of them, in the two inner circles at the Thûpârâma, had tenons of different sizes and forms on the capitals—hardly two of them being alike—which indicate that they may have supported various religious symbols and images, such as Dharmachakras, Triratnas, etc. The pillars of the outer circles at the Thûpârâma and Lankârâma had also pads or fastenings on their capitals as if to retain metal or other symbols—perhaps of a different type from those on the two inner rows.[2]

There is still another—the Kujjatissârâma, better known as the Selachaitiya dâgaba—between the Ruwanveli and Abhayagiri stûpas, but so ruined that its architectural features were undistinguishable until excavated in 1895. It was a mere mound of ruined brickwork, rising about 15 ft. above the platform. The base has been about 37 ft. 5 in. in diameter, and it stands on a paved platform 46 ft. 9 in. square, rising 7 ft. 6 in. above the ground level, and enclosed by a stone parapet, with entrances on the east and south sides. It may perhaps belong to the reign of Lajji Tissa—about 55 B.C.[3] The spot at all events is said to have been hallowed by the presence of Ka*s*yapa, the Buddha preceding *S*âkyamuni.

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[1] Général L. de Beylié, 'L'Architecture de Hindoue en Extrême-Orient,' p. 361.

[2] Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' pp. 5-7, and plate 8.

[3] Mr. Bell identifies it with the *S*ila Thûpa built by that monarch.—'Sessional Paper,' xl. 1904.

Besides these, there are on the hill of Mihintale, eight miles to the east of the city, two important relic-shrines; one of the first class—the Mahâseya, erected on its summit to cover a hair that grew on the forehead of Buddha over his left eyebrow. The other—the Ambasthâla dâgaba—on a shoulder of the hill immediately below this—is of the same class as the Thûpârâma; it stands on the traditional spot where King Devânampiya-Tissa first met the Thêra Mahinda, and is said to have been erected by that king. The small central building stands on a base 29 ft. in diameter and about 3 ft. high; and the dome, where it rises from this, is 23 ft. in diameter and about 20 ft. high, rather oval in curvature and surmounted by a square capital supporting a stunted spire—the total height being about 30 ft. from the circular pavement on which it stands. It is surrounded by two concentric rows of pillars, which, as appears to have been usual when this mode of decoration was employed, rose to half the height of the central mound. The inner circle of twenty pillars stands 5 ft. from the basement, and the outer, of thirty-two shafts, is 12 ft. farther out. They are 12 ft. high with octagonal capitals 2 ft. in height. The platform is reached on the west side by a granite stair.[1]

There are, in addition to these, a great number of dâgabas of various sorts scattered over the area once covered by the old city, but whether any of them are particularly interesting, either from their architecture or their history, has not been ascertained, nor will it be till the whole site has been systematically and carefully surveyed.

There is another ruin at Anurâdhapura, which, if a little more perfect, would be even more interesting than those topes. It goes by the name of Loha Mahâpâya, or Great Brazen Monastery. We have a full account in the 'Mahâwansa' of its erection by the pious King Dutthagâmani (*cir.* B.C. 100),[2] according to a plan procured from heaven for the purpose—as well as a history of its subsequent destruction and rebuildings.

When first erected it is said to have been 100 cubits or 230 ft. square, and as high as it was broad; the height was divided into nine storeys, each containing 100 cells for priests, besides halls and other indispensable apartments. Nearly 200 years after its erection it required considerable repairs, but the first great disaster occurred in the reign of Mahâsena (4th century), who is said to have destroyed it utterly.[3] It was re-erected by his son, but with only five storeys instead of nine; and it never after this regained its pristine magnificence, but

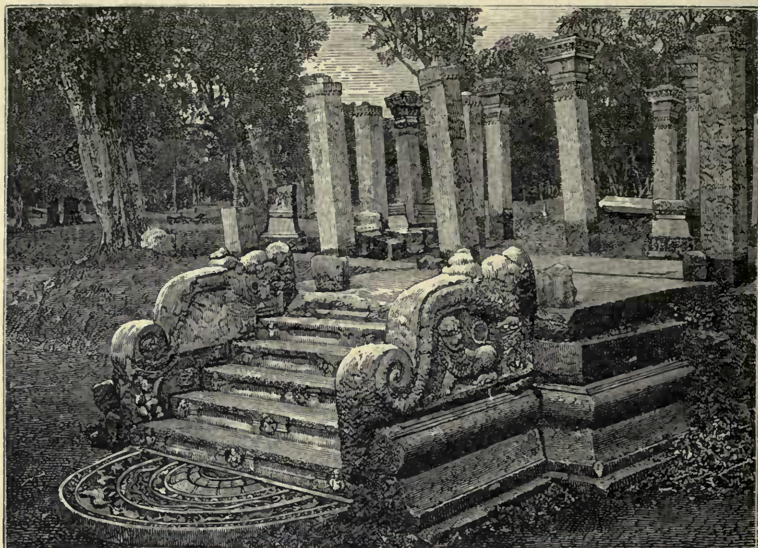
[1] Smither, 'Anurâdhapura,' p. 11.
[2] 'Mahâwansa,' Turnour's translation, p. 163, ch. 27.
[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 235, ch. 37.

gradually fell into decay even before the seat of government was removed to Polonnaruwa. Since that time it has been completely deserted, and all that now remains are the 1600 pillars which once supported it. These generally consist of unhewn blocks of granite about 12 ft. high; some of the central ones are sculptured, and many have been split into two, apparently at the time of the great rebuilding after its destruction by Mahâsena; as it is, they stand about 6 ft. apart from centre to centre in a compact phalanx, forty on each face, and covering a space of 250 ft. or 260 ft. each way. Upon the pillars must have been placed a strong wooden framing from which the remaining eight storeys rose, as in the modern Burmese monasteries.

There is only one difficulty in understanding the arrangement of the superstructure of this building, and that is the assertion of the 'Mahâwansa' that it consisted of nine storeys—afterwards of five—each containing 100 apartments. For myself I have no hesitation in rejecting this statement as impossible, not only from the difficulty of constructing and roofing such a building, but because its form is so utterly opposed to all the traditions of Eastern art. If we turn back to Fah Hian or Hiuen Tsiang's description of the great Dakhani monastery (page 171) or to the great rath at Mâmallapuram (Woodcut No. 89), or, indeed, to any of the 1001 temples of Southern India, all of which simulate three, five, or nine-storied residences, we get a distinct idea of what such a building may have been if erected in the Indian style. It would, too, be convenient and appropriate to the climate, each storey having its terrace for walking or sleeping in the open air, and the whole easily constructed and kept in order. All this will be clearer in the sequel, but in the meanwhile it hardly appears doubtful that the Loha Mahâpâyâ was originally of nine, and subsequently of five storeys, each less in dimension than the one below it. The top one was surmounted as at Mâmallapuram by a dome, but in this instance composed of bronze—whence its name; and, gilt and ornamented as it no doubt was, it must have been one of the most splendid buildings of the East. It was as high as the dâgabas, and, though not covering quite so much ground, was equal, in cubical contents, to the largest of our English cathedrals, and the body of the building was higher than any of them, omitting of course the spires, which are mere ornaments.

Besides these there are scattered about the ruins of Anurâdhapura many groups of pillars and basements that evidently belonged to vihâras, monasteries and halls for various

purposes. They were all raised on platforms or stylobates, and approached by one or more flights of steps, of a highly



134. Vihâra with Steps west of Ruwanveli Dâgaba. (From a Photograph.)



135. Moonstone at Foot of Steps leading to the Platform of the Bo-tree, Anurâdhapura. (From a Photograph.)

ornamental character. One of these, leading to a group of pillars attached to the Ruwanveli dâgaba, will convey some idea of their general character (Woodcut No. 134). At the foot of a flight of steps is a richly carved semicircular stone

threshold, popularly known as a "moonstone"[1] (Woodcut No. 135). Many of these are found at Anurâdhapura, and as many probably at Polonnaruwa. Some are large and some smaller than others, but they are all broadly similar in design. They are not peculiar, however, to Ceylon: in temples, especially in the south of India and in the cave temples, they are usually found in front of the entrance to the shrine and often at the outer doorways, and are known as lotus-slabs — the general pattern resembling the lotus flower. Inside an outer ornamental ring, in Anurâdhapura examples, is a procession of animals, divided from the next compartment by a richly elaborate scroll; within that again a row of birds bearing lotus buds, and then a lotus flower with a disc edged with leaves. The animals are always elephants, horses, lions, and bulls: the birds—hansas or sacred geese—chakwâs.[2] These, it will be recollected, are the animals which Fah Hian and Hiuen Tsiang describe as ornamenting the five storeys of the great Dakhani monastery, and which, as we shall afterwards see, were also arranged at Halebîd in the 13th century in precisely the same manner. For 1500 years they, and they only, seem to have been selected for architectural purposes, but why this was so we are yet unable to explain.

The risers of these stairs, though not adorned with storeyed bas-reliefs, like those of the Jamâlgarhî monastery in Gandhâra, are all richly ornamented, being divided, at Anurâdhapura, into two panels by figures of dwarfs, and framed by foliaged borders, while the jambs or flanking stones are also adorned by either figures of animals or bas-reliefs.

These steps lead to platforms on which stood various structures, as witnessed by the monoliths still standing on some of them; and, so far as information is available, the buildings were ecclesiastical, surrounded by brick walls, and the roofs supported on them and the pillars. In the case of the so-called Mahâsena's pavilion, and many other ruins of that type, there was a central and four subsidiary structures in the corners of the enclosure, which together constituted the vihâra —the larger and central building being probably a temple

[1] In Sinhalese—"Sandakada pahana," in Sanskrit—"padmasilâm."—Tawney's 'Prabandha-chintâmani,' p. 57. They are also called "ardhachandras"—"of half moon form." At the entrance to a vihâra north of the Lankârâma dâgaba, a fine flight of steps was excavated about twenty years ago, the large threshold stone to which presents the lotus only.—Cave's 'Ruined Cities of Ceylon' (8vo. ed.), p. 106, and plate 35. One from the Daladâ Mâligâwa at the Thûpârâma is represented in a photo-collotype in Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' plate 57, fig. 3; and another drawn to a small scale from the mis-named Mahâsena's pavilion, on plate 59; and in Cave's 'Ruined Cities,' plate 32.

[2] The Polonnaruwa examples are more crowded with ornament.

containing an image of the Buddha.[1] In others, such as that styled the Vijayârâma vihâra, there was a small dâgaba as well as a temple and other structures; and connected with each such vihâra would be the indispensable Service-hall or Uposathagharam. The "preaching halls" which Fah Hian mentions at the head of the four principal streets, where the religious members of the community of all classes assembled on stated days to listen to the preaching of the doctrine or "bana," may have been connected with certain of these vihâras.[2]

Besides these there is at Anurâdhapura a temple called Isurumuniya, partly cut in the rock, partly structural. Till within the last forty years the pillars of its porch still carried the wooden beams of a roof, but whether it was the original one or a subsequent addition is by no means clear. From the mortises in the face of the rock I would be inclined to believe that it was at least in the original form, but the building has been so knocked about and altered in modern times, that it is impossible to speak with certainty regarding it. So far as can be judged from photographs, I would be inclined to ascribe the original excavation to the 6th or 7th century.[3] The architecture of the steps and the Nâga dwârpâls are all of the old pattern, but coarser and showing unmistakable signs of decadence.

The excavations directed by Mr. Bell, among other important discoveries, have brought to light a regular "Buddhist railing" surrounding a rectangular site, near the Abhayagiri Dâgaba. The pillars of this rail were only 3 ft. 10 in. in height by 8 in. square — quite diminutive as compared with Indian examples —and standing 1 ft. apart with three cross-bars, surmounted by a coping 8 in. high; but it stood on a moulded basement about 3 ft. 9 in. in height, thus raising the whole to about 8 ft. 3 in. high. Except a little carving on the jambs of the entrance, the whole is perfectly plain.[4]

To us these are the most interesting of the remains of the ancient city, but to a Buddhist the greatest and most sacred of the vestiges of the past is the celebrated Bo-tree. This was long reverenced and worshipped even amidst the desolation in which it stood, and has been worshipped on this spot for more than 2000 years; and thus, if not the oldest, is certainly among the most ancient of the idols that still command the adoration of mankind.

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[1] Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' pp. 59-60 and plates 58, 59; and Spence Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 200-201.

[2] Fah Hian, chap. 38.

[3] "The doorway is fine, and the temple is unique in many respects." — Cave's 'Ruined Cities of Ceylon,' p. 63.

[4] 'Second Archæological Survey Report,' pp. 3, 4. A small fragment of Buddhist railing had also been found here in 1873. — Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' p. 50 and plate 44.

When Asoka, according to tradition, sent his son Mahinda and his daughter Sangamittâ, to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon, one of the most precious things which they brought was a branch of the celebrated tree which still grows at Bodh-Gayâ[1] (Woodcut No. 19). The branch, so says the legend, spontaneously severed itself from the parent stem, and planted itself in a golden vase prepared for its reception. According to the prophecy, it was to be "always green, never growing nor decaying," and certainly present appearances would go far to confirm such an assertion, for, notwithstanding its age, it is small, and does not seem to increase. Its being evergreen is only a characteristic of its species, the *Ficus religiosa*; our acquaintance with it, however, must extend over a longer series of years than it yet does, before we can speak with certainty as to its stationary qualities. Its branches, however, are already propped up to preserve them.



136. View of the Sacred Bo-tree, Anurâdhapura. (From Sir E. Tennent's 'Ceylon.')

It grows from the top of a small pyramid, which rises in three terraces, each about 12 ft. in height, in the centre of a large square enclosure popularly known as "Udamaluwa," but by the priests called Mahâ-Vihâra. But though the place is large, sacred, and adorned with stairs of some pretension, none of the architectural features which at present surround it are such as to require notice in a work like the present.

[1] Singularly enough, the natives of Bihâr ascribe the planting of their Bo-tree to Dutthagâmani, the pious king of Ceylon.—Buchanan Hamilton's 'Statistics of Bihar,' Montgomery Martin's edition, vol. i. p. 76.

Polonnaruwa.[1]

Although very much more modern in date, and consequently less pure in style, the ruins at Polonnaruwa are scarcely less interesting than those of the northern capital to which it succeeded. They form a link between the ancient and modern styles at a time when the Buddhists had ceased to exist, or at least to build, on the continent of India, and, when properly illustrated, will enable us to speak with confidence of much that we find beyond the Ganges. Much of what we know of these ruins is due to the publications of Sir Emerson Tennent,[2] which, though most valuable contributions, were far from exhausting the subject. According to this authority, the principal ruins extend in a line nearly north and south for about a mile and a half from the palace to the Gal Vihâra, and comprise two dâgabas, besides a number of smaller edifices. The greater part seems to have been erected during the reign of Parâkrama Bâhu I., 1153-86, though, as the city became the capital of the kingdom in the 9th century, it is probable that investigation may yet reveal some of earlier date; while, as it was not finally deserted till 1293, some of them may also be more modern.

If not the oldest, certainly the most interesting group at Polonnaruwa is that of the rock-cut sculptures known as the Gal Vihâra. They are not rock-cut temples in the sense in which the term is understood in India, being neither residences nor chaitya halls. On the left, on the face of the rock, is a figure of Buddha, seated in the usual cross-legged conventional attitude, 15 ft. in height, and backed by a throne of exceeding richness: perhaps the most elaborate specimen of its class known to exist anywhere. Next to this is a cell, with two pillars in front, on the back wall of which is another seated figure of Buddha, but certainly of a more modern aspect than that last described. Beyond this is a figure standing in the open air, now supposed to represent Ananda—the cousin of Buddha;[3]

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[1] In inscriptions the city is called Pulastipura and Kalingapura, and its modern name is Topâwæwa or Topâwa. As, however, that here given is the only one by which it is known in English literature, it is retained.

[2] 'Christianity in Ceylon,' Murray, 1850; 'An Account of the Island of Ceylon,' 2 vols., Longmans, 1859. Mr. Lawton's and Captain Hogg's photographs added considerably to the precision but not to the extent of our knowledge. Mr. Smither's volume on Anurâdhapura is by far the most important addition yet made to the architecture of Ceylon. Mr. Bell's 'Progress Reports' are a mine of information, but require to be digested and arranged with fuller and better architectural illustrations. As yet the survey of Polonnaruwa is not published, but Mr. Bell has very kindly supplied me with a proof of his 'Annual Report' for 1903, which, with three preceding, is devoted chiefly to the remains at that place.

[3] This is a modern local designation: except perhaps in China, Ananda scarcely appears in Buddhist iconography.

and still further to the right another of Buddha, lying down in the conventional attitude of his attaining Nirvâna. This figure is 46 ft. long, while the standing one is only 23 ft. high.[1] These Nirvâna figures are rare in India, but there is one in the most modern cave at Ajantâ, No. 26, 23 ft. 3 in. long (Woodcut No. 29 on page 101), and others in the latest caves at Nâsik and Salsette. None of these, however, so far as I know, ever attained in India such dimensions as this.

Not far south of the Gal Vihâra stands one of the principal religious groups of the city, consisting first of the Jetawanârâma Temple, built of brick, 170 ft. long by 70 ft. wide, with walls 12 ft. in thickness covered with chunam, and still about 70 ft. high. It was divided into two halls, the inner or shrine being wider than the outer or eastern one, and containing an erect statue of Buddha built of brick, 58 ft. in height, much injured. The entrance is flanked by two polygonal turrets, on the bases of which were dwârpâlas or yakshas in high relief, and the highly carved stone steps at the entrance were each 20 ft. long. On the north side of it is the Kiri Dâgaba—about 70 ft. in diameter and nearly 100 ft. in height—with two smaller topes, standing on raised platforms; the whole space, measuring 577 ft. by 500 ft., was apparently at one time entirely filled with objects of religious adoration. The whole certainly belongs to the age of Parâkrama Bâhu I. It was, however, built of brick, and plastered, which gives it an appearance of inferiority even beyond what is due to the inferior style of that age.

Next in importance to this is the Rankot Dâgaba, about 500 yards south of the Jetawanârâma, 186 ft. in diameter, and of about the same in height. This, though only half that of some of those in the older capital, is still larger than any known to exist on the continent of India. It is ascribed to Kîrtî Nissanka Malla, a Kalinga prince, at the end of the 12th century, and is in fair preservation. Its base is surrounded, like those in Burma, by eight small brick shrines—two at each of the cardinal points — having conical roofs, and between each pair is an *âsana*, or seat for a Dhyâni Buddha.

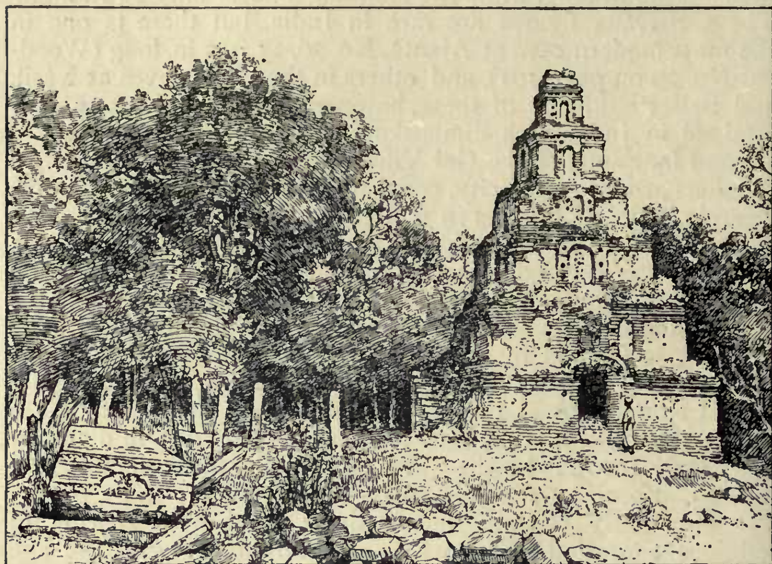
At some five furlongs south from this stands the Sât Mahal Prâsâda (Woodcut No. 137), which is one of the most interesting buildings of the place, as it is one of the most perfect representations existing of the seven-storeyed temples of Assyria.

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[1] There are two colossal statues of Buddha, one at Sæseruwa, in the North-Western Province, 39 ft. 3 in. high, the other at a place called Aukana, to the east of the Kalâwæwa tank, in the North Central Province, 39 ft. high. They are extremely similar to one another, and—except in dimensions and position of the arms — to that at the Gal Vihâra. — 'Sessional papers,' xl., 1904, pp. 6 and 12.

A descriptive inventory of the monuments of Ceylon is a great desideratum.

It is also interesting as affording a hint as to the appearance of the five or nine-storeyed monasteries mentioned in a previous



137. Sât Mahal Prâsâda and Galpota, from the south. (From a Photograph.)

page (239). This one, however, never was a residence, nor does it simulate one, like the raths at Mâmallapuram or other buildings in the Dravidian style, which will be described in a subsequent chapter. Its base is 28 ft. 6 in. square, each storey diminishes in size and height—the uppermost being ruined—but the total height is still 53 ft. Statues of stucco, in high relief, ornamented each storey; and there is a flight of steps, but it reaches only to the top of the first storey.[1] The style of this peculiar tower suggests a comparison with those structures known in Cambodia as "Prasats," from which it seems to be copied; and about the time when this one was erected by Nissanka Malla at the end of the 12th century, Ceylon was in pretty close intercourse with Cambodia.[2]

In front of it lies a splendid stone table 26 ft. 10 in. long, 4 ft. 7 in. broad, and from 16 to 26 in. thick. It is known as the Galpota or stone book, and bears a long inscription

[1] Cave's 'Ruined Cities of Ceylon,' p. 154; Mr. Bell's 'Report for 1903.'

[2] Compare illustrations of Prasats in Lajonquière, 'Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge,' tome i. pp. xx., xxii., 199, 201, 218; Aymonier, 'Le Cambodge,' tome ii. p. 427, etc.; 'Mahâwansa,' ch. 76, vv. 21, 22.

PLATE III.



THE WATA-DÂGE (From a Photograph, 1907.)

[*To face page* 246, Vol. I.

PLATE IV.



THE THÛPÂRÂMA TEMPLE, POLONNARUWA.

To face page 247, Vol. I.

recording the acts and virtues of King Kîrtî Nissanka Malla (1187-1196). The carving on its border represents a double row of hansas or sacred geese—always a favourite subject of the Buddhist sculptors.[1] At each end of this stone is engraved a representation of *S*rî with her two elephants with their water-pots (Woodcut No. 3).

Beside the Sât Mahal Prâsâda is the Wata-Dâ-ge, a circular building, which, so far as is at present known, is all but unique.[2] It is a circular enclosure, open to the sky, 58 ft. 2 in. in diameter, and surrounded by a wall 14 ft. high, once decorated with paintings (Plate No. III.). Inside were found the remains of a small brick dâgaba and broken figures of Buddhas at the cardinal points, as also the broken shafts of pillars of two circles that had surrounded the dâgaba. Round the outer circumference of the wall is a narrow passage, enclosed by a highly ornamental screen about 3 ft. high, adorned with a range of thirty-two slender pillar shafts, 6 ft. in height with highly carved capitals, like those of the outermost circle at the Thûpârâma dâgaba (Woodcut No. 130). Below this is a richly carved stylobate, about 4 ft. 6 in. high, standing on a circular platform 120 ft. in diameter, about 20 ft. broad and 4 ft. 6 in. above the ground level. The principal entrance is from the north side, but at the other cardinal points also are flights of steps leading up to the enclosure, more elaborate than any others that have yet been discovered in Ceylon. They all have highly carved thresholds or moonstones to start from. Their risers are each adorned with twelve figures of dwarfs, and their side pieces, or jambs, are of exceptional richness, and each has a pair of Nâga-headed dwârpâls at the sides of its steps.[3] Altogether this is one of the most interesting buildings in Ceylon, as well as one of the richest in sculptural decorations.[4]

Close to the Wata-Dâ-ge, on its south-west side, is the Thûpârâma temple, a large, oblong brick structure, built by Parâkrama Bahu I., the walls of which are full 5 ft. in thickness (Plate No. IV.). The principal entrance is on the east side and a smaller one on the north, and it has four narrow windows divided by round mullions. The temple consists of a vestibule and inner hall, vaulted in the Hindû method by corbelling inwards the successive layers of brick. Over this is a low, square tower. Round the base of the building runs a low dado of lions somewhat boldly worked in stucco.

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[1] They occur also on A*s*oka's pillars in the earliest known sculptures in India (Woodcut No. 6).

[2] Mr. Bell mentions the ruins of a very similar "Circular Relic-shrine" at Mediri-giriya, 20 miles north of Polonnaruwa.—'Annual Report, 1903.'

[3] This is probably the Daladâ Mâli-gâwa, erected by Parâkrama Bahu in the second half of the 12th century.—'Mahâwansa,' ch. 73 and 78.

[4] Smither's 'Anurâdhapura,' p. 12.

Besides these, there are at Polonnaruwa several of those groups of pillars, without roofs or walls, which we tried to describe in speaking of Anurâdhapura. One, called the Audience Hall,[1] seems to be very similar to those of the northern capital; a vihâra, the so-called Heta-Dâ-ge, close to the Sât Mahal Prâsâda, is more extensive, and has been profusely ornamented;[2] but no mere description is of much use, and till we see the plans and more details it is needless speculating on what they may or may not have been.

Polonnaruwa likewise possesses another point of interest of considerable importance, though hardly germane to our present subject. Among its ruins are several buildings in the Dravidian style of architecture: one of these, miscalled the Daladâ Mâligâwa, is really a *S*aiva temple, erected probably by Nissanka Malla, about A.D. 1190. It is built of granite and, except the roof and outer mandapa, is in fair preservation.[3] Another building, though called the Vishnu Dewala, was also dedicated to the worship of *S*iva, as is testified by the presence of the bull alongside of it, and also apparently on its roof (Plate No. V.). It is the lowest and flattest of those buildings I have yet met with, and whilst in general style and carving resembling the preceding, it is more like a direct literal copy from a constructive vihâra than even the raths at Mâmallapuram (Woodcut No. 185, p. 329). This may arise either from its being a copy of an actual vihâra existing at the time it was built, or to its being very old. Those at Mâmallapuram, even if older than this one, may have gone through certain stages towards their present conventional forms before they were cut in the rock.[4]

It is unfortunate for the history of architecture in Ceylon that the oldest and finest of her rock-cut temples—as those, for instance, at Dambulla—are only natural caverns, slightly improved by art; and those mentioned above, as the Isurumuniya at Anurâdhapura, and Gal Vihâra rock temple at Polonnaruwa, with a recumbent figure of Buddha entering Nirvâna hewn on the rock, besides being comparatively modern, have little architecture about them, and that little by

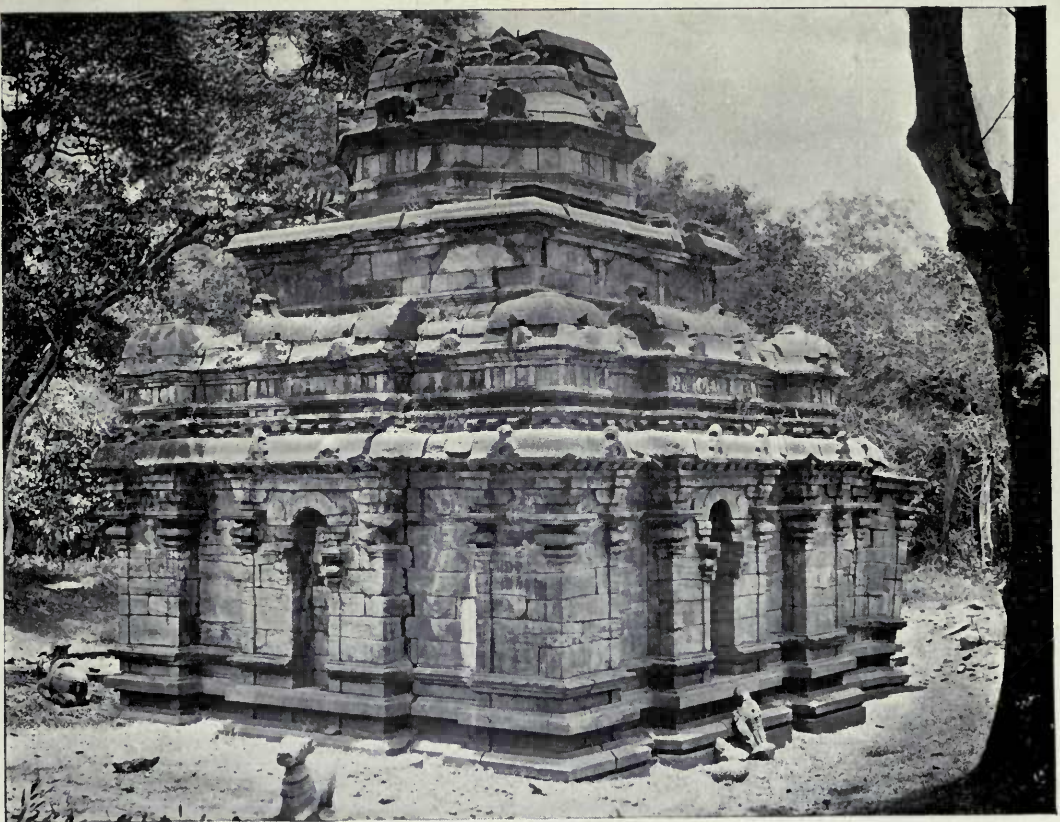
[1] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. ii. p. 247; Mr. Bell's 'Annual Report, 1900,' p. 9.

[2] The proof of Mr. Bell's 'Annual Report, 1903,' contains a description of this vihâra, but no plan or section is there given.

[3] Nissanka Malla was of a Kalinga family, and would naturally incline to the Hindû style of architecture. There are remains also of a group of Hindû temples, chiefly of brick, but too much ruined to be of architectural importance.

[4] The Editor is indebted to Lord Stanmore, G.C.M.G., Mr. James G. Smither, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner in Ceylon, for much valued assistance in the revision of this chapter.

PLATE V.



SAIVA TEMPLE AT POLONNARUWA.

[*To face page* 248, Vol. I.

no means of a good class. Generally speaking, what architecture these Sinhalese caves do possess is developed on applied façades of masonry, never of the same age as the caves themselves, and generally more remarkable for grotesqueness than beauty. Besides, the form of these caves being accidental, they want that interest which attaches so strongly to those of India, as illustrating the religious forms and ceremonies of the early Buddhists. Indeed, their only point of interest seems to consist in their being still used for the celebration of the same rites to which they were originally dedicated 2000 years ago.

There are some interesting ancient bridges, formed on upright stone pillars, over which stone lintels are placed, and on these other stone beams, about 5½ feet in length from one lintel to another, to form the road; but these have no architectural features worth attention.[1]

Conclusion.

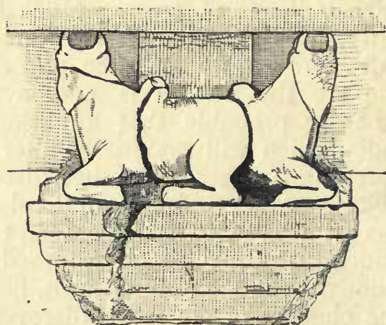
Although the above sketch cannot pretend to be anything like a complete and exhaustive treatise on the subject, it may probably be accepted, as far as it goes, as a fairly correct and intelligible description of Buddhist architecture in India. We certainly know the beginning of the style, and as certainly its end. The succession of the buildings hardly admits of doubt, and their dates are generally ascertained within narrow limits of error. Much has been done, during the last fifty years, to delineate the numerous examples of Buddhist architecture known in India, and all that is most essential to complete the history is now available for the purpose. It is hardly probable that anything will be now discovered in India which will materially alter the views put forward in the preceding pages. Another discovery like that at Bharaut may reward the industry of explorers; but even that, though it has given breadth and precision to our enquiries, and added so much to our stores of knowledge, has altered little that was known before. It is difficult, however, to form an opinion on the chances of any such discoveries being now made.

But even such a sketch as that contained in the preceding pages is sufficient to prove that it is almost impossible to overrate the importance of architecture and its associated arts in elucidating and giving precision to our knowledge of Buddhist history and mythology, from the time when it

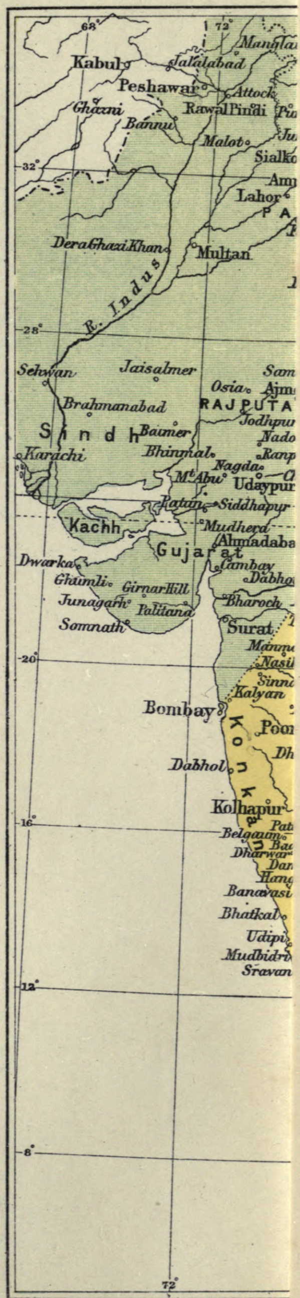
[1] 'Third Archæological Report,' p. 7.

became the religion of the state till it perished in so far as India was concerned. In the rails at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut, we have a complete picture of Buddhism as it existed during the great Mauryan dynasty (B.C. 320 to B.C. 180). At Sânchi and the western caves we have as complete a representation of the form it took from the 2nd century before our era to the 3rd after it. At Amarâvatî, and from the Gandhâra monasteries, we learn what modifications had been introduced between our era and the 3rd century; and from the Ajantâ and later caves we trace its history downward through its period of decay till it faded away altogether.

During the first half of this thousand years we have no contemporary records except those written in stone, and during the latter we have no books we can depend upon; but the architecture, with its sculptures and paintings, remain, and bear the indelible impress of the thoughts, the feelings, and the aspirations of those who executed them, and supply us with a vast amount of exact knowledge on the subject which is not attainable by any other means now known to us.



138. Capital of a Pilaster, Pitalkhorâ.



Kabul
Jalalabad
Peshawar
Attock
Ghazni
Rawal Pindi
Bannu
Malot
Sialko
Lahor
Dera Ghazi Khan
Multan
R. Indus
Sehwan
Jaisalmer
Osia
RAJPUTA
Brahmanabad
Sindh
Barmer
Karachi
Bhinmal
Nagda
Mt. Abu
Udaypur
Patan
Siddhapur
Kachh
Mudhera
Ahmadaba
Gujarat
Dwarka
Cambay
Ghumli
Girnar Hill
Junagarh
Palitana
Bharoch
Somnath
Surat
Bombay
Kalyan
Konkan
Dabhol
Kolhapur
Belgaum
Dharwar
Banavasi
Bhatkal
Udipi
Mudbidri
Sravan



London: John Murray.

BOOK II.

ARCHITECTURE IN THE HIMALAYAS.



CHAPTER I.

KASHMÎR.

CONTENTS.

Temples—Mârtând—Avantipur—Bûniâr—Pandrethan—Malot.

ALTHOUGH neither so beautiful in itself, nor so interesting either from an artistic or historical point of view as many others, the architecture of the valley of Kashmîr has attracted more attention in modern times than that of almost any other style in India, and a greater number of special treatises have been written regarding it than are devoted to all the other styles put together. This arises partly from the beauty of the valley in which the Kashmîri temples are situated. The beauty of its scenery has at all times attracted tourists to its verdant snow-encircled plains, and the perfection of its climate has induced them to linger there, and devote their leisure to the investigation of its treasures, natural and artistic. In this respect their fate is widely different from that of temples situated on the hot and dusty plains of India, where every official is too busy to devote himself to such a task, and travellers too hurried to linger for a leisurely and loving survey of their beauties.

Apart, however, from this adventitious advantage, the temples of Kashmîr do form a group well worthy of attention. When one or two spurious examples are got rid of, they form a complete and homogeneous group, extending through about five centuries (A.D. 600 to A.D. 1100), singularly uniform in their development and very local, being unlike any other style known

in India. They have besides this a certain classical element, which can hardly be mistaken, and is sufficient in itself to attract the attention of Europeans who are interested in detecting their own familiar forms in this remote valley in the Himâlayas.

The earliest of the modern investigators of the subject were Messrs. Moorcroft and Trebeck, who visited the valley in 1819-1825.[1] They were both acute and intelligent observers, but having no special knowledge of the subject, their observations on the architecture of the valley do not add much to our knowledge of its history.

They were followed by G. T. Vigne in 1833, who being an artist drew the buildings with wonderful correctness, so as to bring out the peculiarities of the style, and also to approximate their history with very tolerable exactness.[2] About the same time Baron Hügel gave his impressions on the subject to the public, but in a manner much less critical than his predecessors.[3]

In 1848, Captain (afterwards General Sir) A. Cunningham published in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,' an essay on what he called the "Aryan Order of Architecture," but which was wholly devoted to that of Kashmîr.[4] It was illustrated by seventeen folding plates, containing map, plans, elevations, and views, and in fact all that was required for settling the history of the style, and, but for one or two unfortunate mistakes, would have left little to be done by his successors in this field of enquiry.

In 1866, the Rev. W. C. Cowie published in the same journal an essay on the same subject, as a supplement to General Cunningham's paper, describing several temples he had not visited, and adding considerably to our knowledge of those he had described. This paper was also extensively illustrated.[5]

In consequence of all this wealth of literature, very little remained to be done, when in 1868 Lieutenant Cole, R.E., obtained an appointment as superintendent in the Archæological Survey of India, and proceeded to Kashmîr with a staff quite sufficient to settle all the remaining outstanding questions.[6] Unfortunately, however, Lieutenant Cole had no previous know-

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[1] 'Travels in the Himalayan Provinces and in Ladakh and Kashmir,' London, Murray, 1841.

[2] 'Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, etc.,' two vols. 8vo., London, Colburn, 1842; 2nd ed. 1844.

[3] 'Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab.' Translated by Major Jervis, London, 1845.

[4] *Loc. cit.* vol. xvii. part ii. pp. 241-327.

[5] 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,' vol. xxxv. pp. 91-123.

[6] 'Illustrations of the Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, etc., prepared, under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council,' by Lieut. H. H. Cole, R.E., quarto, London, 1869.

ledge of Indian antiquities in general, and had not qualified himself by any special study for the investigation he was deputed to undertake. All, therefore, he could do was to adopt blindly General Cunningham's dates, and in this there would have been no great harm, but, when he came across a temple which had escaped his predecessor's attention, he arbitrarily interpolated it into the General's series with a date of his own. As all these dates are given as if perfectly ascertained, without any of the reasoning on which they are based, they would, if accepted, lead to the most erroneous conclusions. Putting these, however, aside, Lieutenant Cole's plans and architectural details were a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject, and with his photographs and those now available by others, enable those who have not had an opportunity of visiting the valley to form an opinion of their own, and with all these lights there seems little difficulty in ascertaining all the really important facts connected with this style.

The first and most misleading mistake that has been made with reference to Kashmîri architecture, was the assumption by General Cunningham that the enclosure to Zainu-l-'Abidîn's tomb in *S*rînagar originally belonged to an ancient Kashmîri temple. Lieutenant Cole boldly printed on his plates "probable date A.D. 400 to 500," a mistake as nearly as may be of 1000 years, as it is hardly doubtful that it was erected for or by the prince whose name it bears, and who in A.D. 1417 succeeded his brother—their father being Sikandar, who bore the ill-omened nickname of Bhûtshikan, the idol-breaker.[1] As will be seen from the woodcut (No. 139), it consists of a series of small pointed arches in rectangular frames, such as are very frequently found in Muhammadan art, and, though it occupies the site of an early temple, and parts may be much older, the peculiarities of the gateway and other parts are just such as are found in all contemporary Moslim art in India. All the mosques and tombs for instance at Ahmadâbâd, A.D. 1400-1572, are made up of details borrowed from the architecture of the Hindûs and Jains, and the bases of their minarets and their internal pillars can only be distinguished from those of the heathen by their position, and by the substitution of foliage for human figures in the niches or places where the Hindûs would have introduced images of their gods.

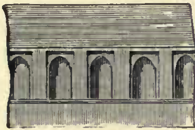


139. Tomb of Zainu-l-'Abidîn. Elevation of Arches. (From a Drawing by Lieut. Cole.)

[1] He boasted of having demolished all the temples in Kashmîr. The tomb of his queen is constructed on a base, and with materials of Hindû shrines.—'Calcutta Review,' vol. liv. (1872), p. 27.

In this instance, however, there is no incongruity, no borrowed features; every stone was carved for the place where it is found. There are niches, it is true, on each side of the gateway, like those found at Mârtând and other pagan temples; but like those at Ahmadâbâd they are without images, and the arch in brick which surmounts this gateway is a radiating arch, which appears certainly to be integral, but, if so, could not possibly be erected by a Hindû.[1] With the knowledge we now possess, it is not likely that any one can mistake the fact, that this enclosure was erected in its present form, by the prince whose name it bears, to surround his tomb, in the Muhammadan cemetery of the city in which it is found.

Assuming this for the present, it gives us a hint as to the age of the other anomalous building in Kashmîr—the temple that crowns the hill, called the Takht-i-Sulaimân, near the capital. Inside the octagonal enclosure that surrounds the platform on which the temple stands is a range of arches (Woodcut No. 140), similar to those of the tomb of Zainu-l-'Abidîn (Woodcut No. 139), not so distinctly pointed, nor so Saracenic in detail, but still very nearly resembling them, only a little more debased in style. At the bottom of the steps is a round-headed doorway, not, it is true, surmounted by a true arch, but by a curved lintel of one stone, such as are universal in the Hindû imitations of Muhammadan architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries. The same is the case in the small temples alongside, which are evidently of the same age.[2] The temple too, itself, is far from having an ancient look. The one most like it, that I am acquainted with, is that erected by Chait Singh of Benares (1770-1781) at Râmnagar, at the end of the 18th century. I know of no straight-lined pyramid of a much older date than that, and no temple with a polygonal plan, combined with a circular cell, as is the case here, that is of ancient date.[3] The cell itself with the Linga is undoubtedly quite modern; and the four pillars in the cell, with the Persian inscriptions upon them, are avowedly of the 17th century. It is suggested, moreover, that they belong to a repair; my conviction, however, is, from a review of the whole evidence, that the temple, as it now stands, was



140. Takht-i-Sulaimân. Elevation of Arches. (From a Drawing by Lieut. Cole.)

[1] I cannot make out the span of this arch. According to the rods laid across the photograph (No. 4) it appears to be 15 ft.; according to the scale on the plan, only half that amount.

[2] Lieut. Cole's plates, 1-4.

[3] The polygonal basement, however, is constructed of remarkably massive blocks and without mortar, and must thus be relegated to an earlier period.—Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' vol. ii. p. 290.

commenced by some nameless Hindûs, in honour of *S*iva, during the tolerant reign of Jahângîr, and that the building was stopped at the date engraved on the staircase, A.H. 1069 (A.D. 1659), the first year of the reign of the bigot Aurangzeb. It was then unfinished, and has consequently remained a ruin ever since, which may give it an ancient look, but not such as to justify any one putting it 1879 years before what seems to be its true date.

If we may thus get rid of these two anomalous and exceptional examples, the history of all the remaining temples in the valley is more than usually homogeneous and easily intelligible. The date of the principal example—the temple at Mârtând—is hardly doubtful (A.D. 750); and of the others, some may be slightly older, but none can be carried further back than the reign of Ranâditya, in the 6th century, if the temple founded by him at Simharotsikâ still exist.[1] Nor can any one be brought down below, say 1000, which is the latest date we can possibly assign to that of Pâyer.[2] Between these dates, with a very little local knowledge, the whole might easily be arranged. Such a classification is, however, by no means necessary at present. The style during these six centuries is so uniform that it may be taken as one, for the purposes of a general history.

TEMPLES.

Before proceeding to speak of the temples themselves, it may add to the clearness of what follows if we first explain what the peculiarities of the style are. This we are able to do from a small model in stone of a Kashmîri temple (Woodcut No. 141), which was drawn by General Cunningham; such miniature temples being common throughout India, and copies of their larger prototypes.

The temple in this instance is surmounted by four roofs (in the built examples, so far as they are known, there are only two or three), which are obviously copied from the usual wooden roofs common to most buildings in Kashmîr, where the upper pyramid covers the central part of the building, and the lower a verandah, separated from the centre either by walls or merely by a range of pillars.[3] In the

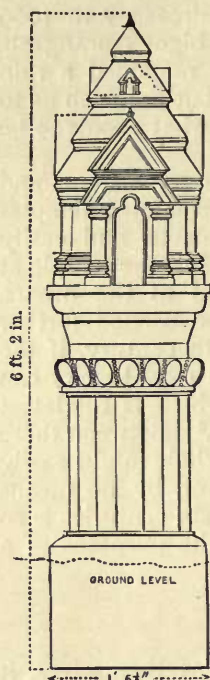
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[1] Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' bk. iii. v. 462, and note; also note on vv. 453-454.

[2] Vigne regarded this temple as more modern than any of the others, whilst Cunningham ascribed it to the end of the 5th century. Vigne called the village Payech, which has been followed by subsequent writers; the real name is Pâyer—it is in the pargana of *S*âvur.—*Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 473.

[3] See drawing of mosque by Vigne, vol. i. p. 269; and also 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii. (1848) pt. ii. p. 253, containing General

wooden examples the interval between the two roofs seems to have been left open for light and air; in the stone buildings it is closed with ornaments. Besides this, however, all these roofs are relieved by dormer windows, of a pattern very similar to those found in mediæval buildings in Europe; and the same steep, sloping lines are used also to cover doorways and porches, these being virtually a section of the main roof itself, and evidently a copy of the same wooden construction.



1. Model of Temple in Kashmîr.

The pillars which support the porticoes, and the one on which the model stands, are by far the most striking peculiarity of this style, their shafts being so distinctly like those of the Grecian Doric, and unlike anything of the class found in other parts of India. Generally they are from three to four diameters in height, diminishing slightly towards the capital, and adorned with sixteen flutes, rather shallower than those of the Grecian order. Both the bases and capitals are, it is true, far more complicated than would have been tolerated in Greece, but at Pæstum and in Rome we find, with the Doric order, a complexity of mouldings by no means unlike that found here. These peculiarities are still more evident in the annexed representations of two pillars, one found in *S*rînagar (Woodcut No. 142), which is a far more highly ornamented example than the last, but equally classical in its details, and, if anything, more unlike any known examples of true Hindû architecture. The other (Woodcut No. 143) is from Shâdipur, and is perhaps more modern; the diameter of the pillar is 13¼ in., and the upper fillet of the abacus is 20¼ in. square. Nowhere in Kashmîr do we find any trace of the bracket capital of the Hindûs, nor of the changes from square to

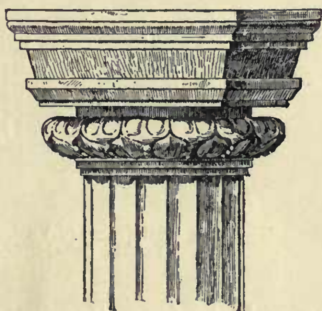
Cunningham's paper on the subject, from which this woodcut is taken. These miniature models of temples occur here and there throughout Kashmîr: on the Pîr-Panjâl road between *S*upiyan and Râmuh, is one; another is at Kohil near Pâyer; a third is built into the embankment of the Nali Mar canal; two in the *S*rînagar lake that are often submerged; and one photographed by Major Cole ('Illustrations of Ancient Buildings,' No. 44), near the Jâmi Masjid. In these there is an interior cell scarcely a foot square; but near the village of Pattan are two such models which are not hollowed out, the place of the doorway being represented by a small carved panel.—'Calcutta Review,' vol. liv. p. 26.

octagon, or to the polygon of sixteen sides, and so on. Now that we are familiar with the extent of classical influence that prevailed in Gandhâra (*ante*, p. 217) down to about the 5th century, we have no difficulty in understanding whence these quasi-Grecian forms were derived, nor why they should be found so prevalent in this valley. It adds, however, very considerably to our interest in the subject to find that the civilisation of the West left so strong an impress on the arts of this part of India that its influence can be detected in all the Kashmîri buildings down to the time when the local style perished under Muhammadan influence in the 14th century. Although, therefore, there can be no mistake about the forms of the columns in the architecture of Kashmîr being derived from the classical styles of the West, and as little doubt as to the countries through which it was introduced into the valley, it must not be overlooked that the classical influence is fainter and more remote from its source in Kashmîr than in Gandhâra. Nothing resembling the Corinthian capitals of the Jamâlgarhî monastery are found in the valley. The classical features in Kashmîr are in degree more like those of the Mânikyâla tope and the very latest examples in the Peshâwar valley. The one style, in fact, seems to commence where the other ends, and to carry on the tradition for centuries after it had been lost in the country from which it was introduced.





142. Pillar at *S*rînagar. (From a Drawing by W. Carpenter, Esq.)



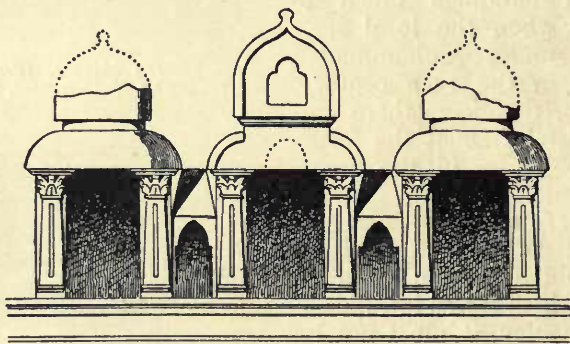
143. Capital from Shâdipur. (From a Drawing by F. H. Andrews, Esq.)

The fact, however, of a quasi-Doric order being currently used in the valley from the 8th to the 12th century, renders it probable that if remains of greater antiquity had been preserved,

we should have found that it was introduced at a much earlier period, or about coeval with the appearance of the Corinthian order of the Gandhâra monasteries. As both were evidently derived from the same source, it seems most unlikely that there should be any break in the continuity of the tradition.

No example of the Doric order has yet been found in Gandhâra, but, as both Ionic and Corinthian capitals have been found there, it seems more than probable that the Doric existed there also; but as our knowledge is still somewhat limited, we ought not to be surprised at any deficiencies in our series that may from time to time become apparent.

There is still one other peculiarity of this style to account for. This is the trefoiled arch, which is everywhere prevalent, but which is not to be accounted for by any constructive requirement. Now at Takht-î-Bahai and at 'Alî Masjid we meet with trefoiled arches, over niches for sculptures,[1] and in



144. Restoration of Vihâra Cells on the west side of the Court of Takht-î-Bahai Stûpa.[2] Scale about 12 ft. to 1 in.

the gablets from Gandhâra stûpas, such as that represented in Woodcut No. 123 (p. 216), the frames are of this form. And round the stûpa court at Takht-î-Bahai most of the small shrines or cells were roofed by a sort of double dome —a smaller one set upon a larger and flatter one (Woodcut No. 144); and if we conceive a vertical section made of one of these cells, it will be perceived that the outline would be just that of Woodcut No. 123, or such a trefoil as is every-

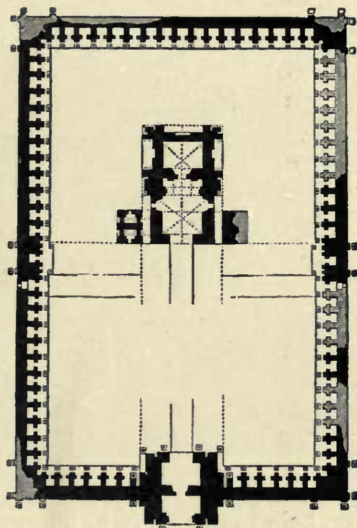
[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 199, fig. 80, and pp. 19, 201, figs. 2 and 81.

[2] From Foucher, *ut sup.*, p. 126; modified from Cunningham, 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v. plate 9.—Conf. 'Ancient Monuments of India,' part i. plate 69.

where prevalent in Kashmîr. Or, if we refer to Woodcut No. 60 or to 72,[1] the section of the cave at Ajantâ, which it represents, affords a similar outline; and, as in Kashmîr and everywhere else in India, architectural decoration is made up of small models of large buildings applied as decorative features wherever required, it is by no means improbable that the trefoiled façade may have been adopted in Kashmîr as currently as the simple horse-shoe form was throughout the Buddhist buildings of India Proper. All these features, however, mark a local style differing from anything else in India.

MÂRTÂND.

By far the finest and most typical example of the Kashmîri style is the temple of Mârtând, situated about 5 miles east of Islâmâbâd, the old capital of the valley. It is the architectural lion of Kashmîr, and all tourists think it necessary to go into raptures about its beauty and magnificence, comparing it to Palmyra or Thebes, or other wonderful groups of ruins of the old world. Great part, however, of the admiration it excites is due to its situation. It stands well on an elevated plateau, from which a most extensive view is obtained, over a great part of the valley. No tree or house interferes with its solitary grandeur, and its ruins—shaken down apparently by an earthquake—lie scattered as they fell, and, unobscured by vegetation, they are the most impressive remains of early Kashmîr architecture; nor are they vulgarised by any modern accretions. Add to this the mystery that hangs over their origin, and a Western impress on its details—unusual in the East—but which calls back the



145. Temple of Mârtând. (From a Drawing by Gen. A. Cunningham.) Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

[1] See also Woodcut No. 80. On the Toran attached to the rail at Bharaut are elevations of chaitya halls, shown in section, which represent this trefoil form with great exactness.—Cunningham, 'Stûpa of Bharhut,' plates 6 and 9.

memory of familiar forms and suggests memories that throw a veil of poetry over its history more than sufficient to excite admiration in the most prosaic spectators. When, however, we come to reduce its dimensions to scale (Woodcut No. 145), and to examine its pretensions to rank among the great examples of architectural art, the rhapsodies of which it has been the theme seem a little out of place.

The temple itself (Woodcut No. 146) is a very small build-



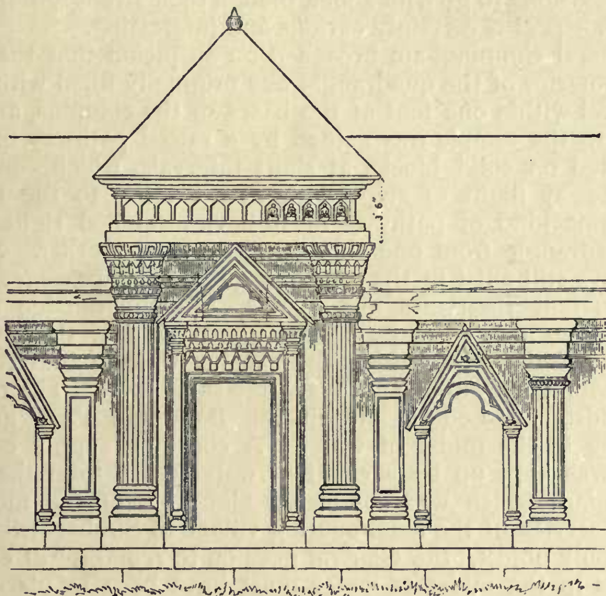
146. View of Temple at Mârtând, from the East. (From a Photograph.)

ing, being only 60 ft. in length by 36 ft. in width. The width of the west façade, however, is eked out by two wings or adjuncts, which make it about 60 ft., thus making its length and breadth about equal. General Cunningham also estimated its height, when complete, at 60 ft.—making the three extreme dimensions equal; but this is only conjectural.

The roof of the temple has so entirely disappeared that Baron Hügel doubted if it ever possessed one. General Cunningham, on the other hand, had no doubts on the subject,[1]

[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii., Sept. 1848, p. 267.

and restored it in stone on his plate No. 14. The absence, however, of any fragments on the floor of the temple that could have belonged to the roof, militates seriously against this view; and, looking at the tenuity of the walls and the large voids they include, I doubt extremely if they ever could have supported a stone roof of the usual design. When, too, the plan is carefully examined, it will be seen that none of



147. Central Cell of Court at Mârtând. (From a Drawing by Gen. A. Cunningham.) Scale, 10 ft. to 1 in.

the masses are square; and it is very difficult to see how the roof of the porch could, if in stone, be fitted to that over the cella. Taking all these things into consideration, my impression is, that its roof—it certainly had one—was in wood; and knowing how extensively the Buddhists used wooden roofs for their chaitya halls, I see no improbability of this being the case here at the time this temple was erected.

The courtyard that surrounds and encloses this temple is, in its state of ruin, a more remarkable object than the temple itself. Its internal dimensions are 220 ft. by 142 ft.,[1] which are respectable, though not excessive; they are not much

[1] Cunningham in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii. (1848), pt. ii. p. 269.

more than those of the temple of Neminâth at Girnâr (Woodcut No. 280), which are 165 ft. and 105 ft., though that is by no means a large Jaina temple. On each face is a central cell, larger and higher than the colonnade in which it is placed (Woodcut No. 147), but even then only 30 ft. in height to the summit of the roof, supposing it to be completed, and the pillars on each side of it are only 15 ft. high, which are not dimensions to go wild about, though their strongly-impressed Grecian aspect is certainly curious and interesting.

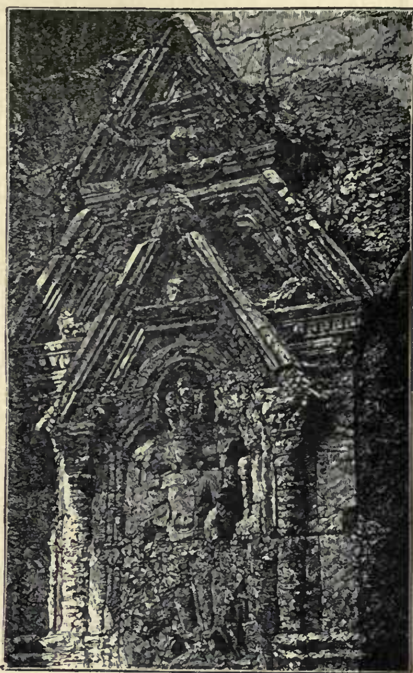
General Cunningham broached "a suspicion that the whole of the interior of the quadrangle was originally filled with water to a level within one foot of the bases of the columns, and that access to the temple was gained by a raised pathway of slabs, supported on solid blocks at short intervals, which connected the gateway flight of steps with that leading to the temple. The same kind of pathway must have stretched right across the quadrangle from one side doorway to the other. Similar pathways still exist in the Shâlimâr gardens, as passages across the different reservoirs and canals. On the outside of the quadrangle, and close by the northern side of the gateway, there is a drain by which the surplus water found its exit, thus keeping the surface always at the same level. The temples at Pândrethan Ledarî, and in the Bârâmûla Pass, are still standing in the midst of water. A constant supply of fresh water was kept up by a canal or watercourse from the River Lambadari, which was conducted alongside of the mountain for the service of the neighbouring village of Simharotsikâ," etc. "The only object," the General goes on to remark, "of erecting temples in the midst of water must have been to place them more immediately under the protection of the Nâgas, or human-bodied and snake-tailed gods, who were zealously worshipped for ages throughout Kashmîr."[1] But for this hypothesis there is no sufficient basis, for there are no springs on the arid plateau where the temple stands, and the old irrigation canal from the Lidar could not have served the purpose. Moreover, the temple was undoubtedly dedicated to Sûrya-Nârâyan or Vishnu-Sûrya; and the polycephalous snake-hoods over some of the abraded figures on the walls are only indicative of Sûrya or Vishnu.[2]

The 'Râjataranginî' distinctly states that the "wonderful temple of Mârtânda with its massive walls of stone within a

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 273. Temples were very frequently placed beside springs (Nâgas), which were enclosed in separate walled basins. — Stein, in 'Vienna Oriental Journal,' vol. v. p. 347. The Pândrethan and Bârâmûla temples have been flooded by the rise of their surroundings.

[2] As an example we may refer to the figure of Vishnu in Cave III. at Bâdâmi.—'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. i. plates 25 and 30; or Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 149.

lofty enclosure" was built by King Lalitâditya-Muktâpîda,[1] who ruled about A.D. 725 to 760.[2] Jonarâja, a Kashmîr chronicler of the first half of the 15th century, tells us that Sikandar Shâh Bhûtshikan (1393 - 1416) destroyed the image, and probably he wrecked the temple itself. The court, however, had been used as a fortification in Jayasimha's reign, A.D. 1128 to 1149.



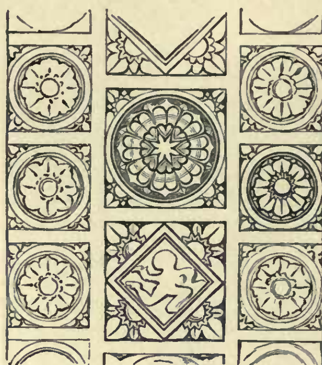
148. Niche with Figure at Mârtând. (From a Photograph.)

Unfortunately, the stone of which the temple is built is of so friable a nature that the sculptures are now barely recognisable, but, so far as can be made out from such photographs as exist, the principal figures in the niches have snake-hoods, which are recognised adjuncts of certain forms of Vishnu (Woodcut No. 148). Any one on the spot, with a competent know- of Hindû mythology, could determine the character of these sculptures; but no one has yet visited it with the preparation necessary to settle this and other uncertain points regarding the architecture and mythology of the place. A monograph, however, of this temple would be a work well worthy of any pains that might be bestowed upon it by any Indian archæologist; for, besides its historical and mythological importance, many of its details are of great beauty, and they have never been drawn with the care they so well merit (Wood-

[1] Gen. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 263, misinterpreting this passage ('Râjataranginî,' bk. iv. v. 192, and iii. v. 462), ascribed the temple to Ranâditya, and the enclosure only to Lalitâditya. Simharotsikâ, where Ranâditya built a temple to Mârtânda in the 6th century, cannot now be identified.

[2] Stein, 'Râjataranginî,' vol. i. introd., p. 88, and bk. iv. ver. 192. Lalitâditya was a great patron of Vaishnavism, but he also countenanced Buddhism, which flourished in Kashmîr in the 8th century, and built a vihâra at Parihâsapur with a colossal image of Buddha, and another vihâra and a stûpa at Hushkapur, bk. iv. verses 188, 200, 203.

cut No. 149). As the typical example of a quasi-classical style, a perfect knowledge of its peculiarities would be a landmark in the history of the style both before and after its known date.



149. Soffit of Arch at Mârtând. (From a Sketch by the late Mr. Wilson, B.C.S.)

The site of the ancient city of Parihâsapura, where Lalitâditya erected four Vaishnava temples and a Buddhist vihâra, was discovered by Dr. Stein, in 1892, near the village of Divar, with the ruins of half-a-dozen temples, said to have been destroyed by Sikandar Shâh—the remains of the spacious courts that had surrounded them being still traceable. In 1896, many of the stones, till then *in situ*, had been removed and broken up by contractors for road-metal.[1]

Avantipur.

Next in importance to Mârtând, among Kashmîri temples, are those of Avantipur, now Vântipor, on the right bank of the Jehlam, halfway between *S*rînagar and Islâmâbâd, all erected certainly within the limits of the reign of Avantivarman, the first king of the Utpala dynasty, and who reigned from A.D. 855 to A.D. 883. The stone with which they are erected is so friable, and the temples themselves are so ruined, that there might be a difficulty in ascertaining to what religion they were dedicated if the 'Râjataranginî' were not so distinct in describing this monarch as conducting himself as a follower of *S*iva, whilst he had been brought up as a worshipper of Vishnu,[2] and naming these temples as dedicated, one—built before his accession—to the latter, and after that event, the temple of Avantî*s*wara to *S*iva.

The two principal ruins stand in courtyards of nearly the same size, about 200 ft. by 160 ft. or 170 ft. internally. One has pillars all round, like Mârtând, and almost identical in design and dimensions. The other is astylar, but the temple itself was much more important than in the first example.[3]

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[1] Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' vol. ii. pp. 300-303.

[2] Ibid., bk. v. verses 43-45.

[3] Plans of these temples with details are given by Cunningham, plates 17 and 18, and by Lieut. Cole with photographs, plates 20 to 27, and 2 to 5 for details. Mr. Cowie also adds considerably to our information on the subject. The dimensions quoted in the text are from Lieut. Cole, and are in excess of those given by General Cunningham. The

The central shrines of both have been reduced to heaps of stones, and it is now impossible to determine which was the Vaishnava and which the *S*aiva shrine. Of the smaller temple, owing to part of the court having been long since silted up, there are more remains than of the other, from which every pillar has been removed, possibly by Shâh Jahân and other Mughal emperors, for their summer palaces and Shâlimâr gardens near *S*rînagar. Portions of the gateways of both still remain.[1]

The characteristic that seems most clearly to distinguish the style of the temples at Mârtând from that of those at Avantipur is the greater richness of detail which the latter exhibit; just such a tendency, in fact, towards the more elaborate carvings of the Hindû style as one might expect from their difference in date. Several of these have been given by the three authors to whose works I have so often had occasion to allude, and to which the reader is referred; but the annexed fragment (Woodcut No. 150) of one of its columns is as elegant in itself, and almost as interesting historically, as the Doric of the examples quoted above, inasmuch as if it is compared with the pillars of the tomb of Mycenæ[2] it seems difficult to escape the conviction that the two forms were derived from some common source. At all events, there is nothing between the Peloponnesos and Kashmîr, so far as we now know, that so nearly resembles it.



150. Pillar at Avantipur. (From a Drawing by Mr Wilson, B.C.S.)

At *S*ankarapurâ, now Patân, between *S*rînagar and Bârâmûla, *S*ankaravarman (A.D. 883-902) the son and successor of Avantivarman, with his Queen Sugandhâ, erected two *S*aiva temples which still exist, though the corridors that doubtless once enclosed their courts have disappeared. Like most other Kashmîri temples they consisted only of a shrine or vimâna, without mandapa, but had recessed porches forming small chapels on three sides. *S*ankaravarman is said to have brought the materials for his buildings here from Parihâsapura, about 7 miles off.[3]

latter gives the dimensions inside the court of the one as 191 ft. by 171; and of the other as 172 ft. by 146½. The second is in the village, and he proposed to identify it with the Avantiswâmin temple and the first, about half a mile to the north-west, as the Avantîsvara or *S*aiva temple.

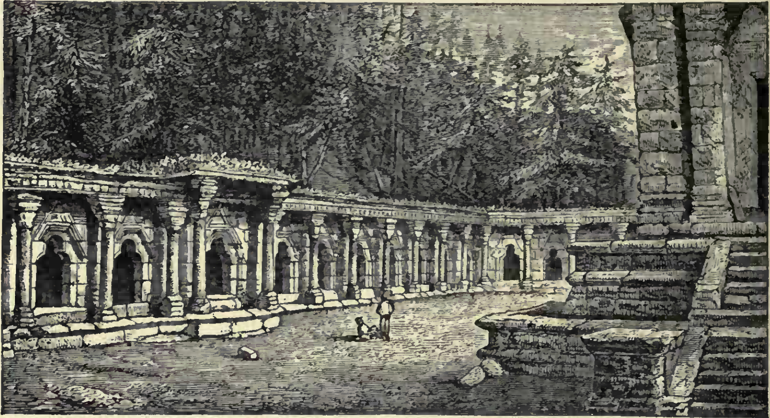
[1] Cunningham, *loc cit.* pp. 276 *et seqq.*, and plate 17; Bernier's 'Travels A.D. 1656-1668' (ed. 1891), p. 400.

[2] 'History of Ancient and Mediæval Architecture,' vol. i. Woodcut 125, p. 244.

[3] Gen. Cunningham has given descriptions and outline plans of these

Bhaniyâr or Bûniâr.

At a place near the remote village of Bûniâr or Bhaniyâr, on the road between Ûrî and Naoshahra, there stands one of the best-preserved temples in the valley. During long ages of neglect, silt and mud had so accumulated as to half bury the place. It was, however, excavated a good many years ago by orders of the Mahârâja, and hence its nearly perfect



151. View of Court of Temple at Bûniâr. (From a Photograph.)

state.[1] Its dimensions are less than those of the temples last described, the court being only 145 ft. by 120 ft., but, except from natural decay of the stone, it is nearly perfect, and gives a very fair idea of the style of these buildings. The trefoiled arch, with its tall pediment, the detached column and its architrave, are as distinctly shown here as in any other existing example of a Kashmîri colonnade, and present all those quasi-classical features which we know were inherited from the neighbouring province of Gandhâra. The central temple is small, only 26 ft. square over all; the cell is 13½ ft. square inside with walls over 6 ft. thick, supported on a basement 4 ft. high, and its roof is now covered with wooden shingles; but whether that was the original covering is not certain. Looking, however, at the central side-cell of the colonnade (Woodcut No. 151),

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temples.—*Loc. cit.* pp. 282, 283, and plate 20; Cole, 'Illustrations of Ancient Buildings,' plates 28-35; conf. 'Râjatarangînî,' bk. v. verses 156-158, and 161.

[1] Cole, 'Ancient Buildings,' p. 23, and plates 37 and 38. Another ruined temple, but far more decayed, is on the road between Bûniâr and Ûrî.—Stein, 'Râjataranginî,' vol. ii. p. 404.

it seems doubtful whether General Cunningham was justified in restoring the roof of the temple, or of the central cell at Mârtând in stone. My impression rather is, as hinted above, that the temple-roof was in wood; that of the side-cell in stone, but flat.

At a place called Wâniyat or Vângath—32 miles from *S*rînagar, near the sacred Haramukh peaks—are two groups of temples, together about seventeen in all, which were carefully examined and described by the Rev. Mr. Cowie,[1] and plans and photographs are found in Lieutenant Cole's book.[2] They differ somewhat from those we have been describing, inasmuch as they do not seem to have been enclosed in colonnaded courts, and each group consists of one large and several smaller temples, unsymmetrically arranged. The larger ones are 30 ft. and 32 ft. square in plan over all; the smaller 10 ft. or 12 ft. They are of various ages, and the two principal temples are most probably those of Bhûte*s*a in the east group, and Jyeshtha in the other.[3]

There are no inscriptions, nor any historical indications that would enable us to fix the date of the Wâniyat temples with certainty, and the stone has decayed to such an extent that the details cannot be defined with the precision necessary for comparison with other examples; but whether this decay arises from time or from the nature of the stone there are no means of knowing.[4] This Tîrtha at Haramukh was famous from very early times, and we learn that Lalitâditya-Muktâpîda built here a stone temple to Jyeshtha in the 8th century, and made gifts to the Bhute*s*a temples. The Jyeshtha shrine is thus probably among the earliest. Early in the 11th century the temples were plundered, after which they were probably restored and modernised by Uchahala (A.D. 1101-1111), and again plundered by hillmen before 1150. They would almost certainly suffer also at the hands of Sikandar Shâh at the end of the 14th century.

Among the remaining examples, perhaps the one that most clearly exhibits the characteristics of the style is that at Pândrethan, about 3 miles from *S*rînagar (Woodcut No. 152). It still is a well-preserved little temple, standing in the middle of the village, and is in all probability the Vaishnava temple built during the reign of King Pârthva (A.D. 906-921) by his

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[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxxv. (1866), pp. 101 *et seqq.*

[2] 'Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmîr,' pp. 11ff., plates 6 to 11.

[3] Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' bk. v. vv. 55-59 and note, and bk. i. v. 107, note.

[4] Lieut. Cole, basing his inferences on certain similarities he detected between them and the temple on the Takht-i-Sulaimân, which he believed was erected B.C. 220, ascribed their erection to the first century after Christ.

minister, and named Meruvardhana-swâmin.[1] It now stands in the water of a shallow pool that occupies the former courtyard. Originally, it seems to have had a third storey or division to its roof, but that has fallen; the lower part of the building, however, exhibits all the characteristic features of the style in as much perfection as almost any other known example. It consists of a shrine only, 11 ft. 7 in. square inside, with doors on all four sides, and the inside roof covered with sculpture.



152. Temple at Pândrethan.
(From a Drawing by Gen. Cunningham.)

One last example must conclude our illustrations of Kashmîri architecture. The temple at Pâyer, though one of the smallest, is among the most elegant, and also one of the most entire examples of the style (Woodcut No. 153). Its dimensions are only 8 ft. square for the superstructure, with a door on each side, and 21 ft. high, including the basement; but with even these dimensions it acquires a certain dignity from being erected with only six stones — four for the walls and two for the roof.[2] It stands by itself on a knoll, without any court, or any of the surroundings of the older temples, and is dedicated to *S*iva. It would be interesting if its date could be ascertained, as it carries with it that of the cave of Bhaumajo or Bumazu, and of several other temples.[3] Vigne, from its perfect preservation

[1] 'Râjataranginî,' bk. v., v. 267; Moorcroft, 'Travels,' vol. ii. p. 240; Hügel, 'Kaschmir,' Bd. i., S. 260; Vigne, 'Travels,' vol. ii. p. 38; Cunningham, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii., pt. ii. pp. 283 *et seqq.*, and plate 21; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' pp. 143-146.

[2] Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 256; Growse says 'ten stones,' adding four for the tympana over the doors.

[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxxv. pp. 100 *et seqq.*; and Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' bk. vi., vv. 177, 178, note. It is probably the same as the temple of Bhîmake*s*ava built (950-958 A.D.) by Bhîma *S*âhi, King of Kâbul or Udabhânda.

regarded it as the most modern of the series, and Cunningham, founding on a mistake,[1] argued for its being a temple erected by Narendrâditya, before the end of the 5th century. It is



153. Temple at Pâyer. (From a Photograph.)

evidently much later than Mârtând, and may be ascribed, architecturally, with some confidence to the 10th century.

In order to write a complete monography of the Kashmîri style, we ought to be able to trace it to a much earlier period. We know that it was influenced by that of Gandhâra, from which it was not distant, and from which it was subject to invasion.

There were among the Gandhâra vihâras as we now know, buildings with sloping stone roofs, and that all along the Himâlayas, these double and triple roofs, sloping to four sides—

[1] 'Râjataranginî,' bk. iii. ver. 383; the temple of Narendraswâmin referred to was undoubtedly Vaishnava, and this upsets his argument, for the Pâyer temple is *S*aiva; *svâmin* is the invariable termination of the names of Vaishnava shrines in Kashmîr.

known as "for four waters"—have always been in common use.[1]

We learn from tradition that in the time of Asoka, B.C. 250, missionaries were sent to convert the inhabitants of the valley to the Buddhist faith, and that, at a later date, the Turushka king Kanishka ruled over Kashmîr, and was a patron of the Buddhist religion; and we know that in the 7th century Hiuen Tsiang found Buddhism, if not the only religion, at least one of the dominant cults of the people. The details he mentions, and the fact of his lingering here for two whole years (A.D. 633 and A.D. 634) to study its forms and scriptures, proves how important this religion then was.[2] More than a century later (A.D. 759), U-k'ong, another Chinese Buddhist, reached Kashmîr, and spent fully four years in literary study, and visiting the sacred sites and monasteries, stating that he found more than three hundred convents, and many stûpas.[3] But scarcely a vestige of a chaitya or of a vihâra has yet come to light; and though there are mounds which may contain stûpas, it is most improbable that they will contain any architectural forms that may be of use for our purposes.[4] All the ancient monasteries seem to have been destroyed on the decline of the religion.

We now know sufficiently the forms and age of the Gandhâra monasteries (*ante*, pp. 211 *et seqq.*) to supply most of the missing links connecting the Kashmîri style with that of the outer world; but till the temples in the Salt Range, and other little-frequented parts of the Panjâb are examined, we shall not know all that we desire. Meanwhile the annexed woodcut (No. 154), representing a temple at Malot, in the Jehlam district, shows how nearly the Panjâbi style resembled that of Kashmîr.[5] There are the same trefoil-headed openings; the fluted pillars, with quasi-classical bases and capitals; and a general similarity of style not to be mistaken. There is another temple very similar, but smaller, at Katâs, 12 miles north-west from Malot;

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[1] Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' pp. 116, 131-136.

[2] Beal, 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' pp. 68-72; Julien, 'Vie de Hiouen Thsang,' pp. 91-96.

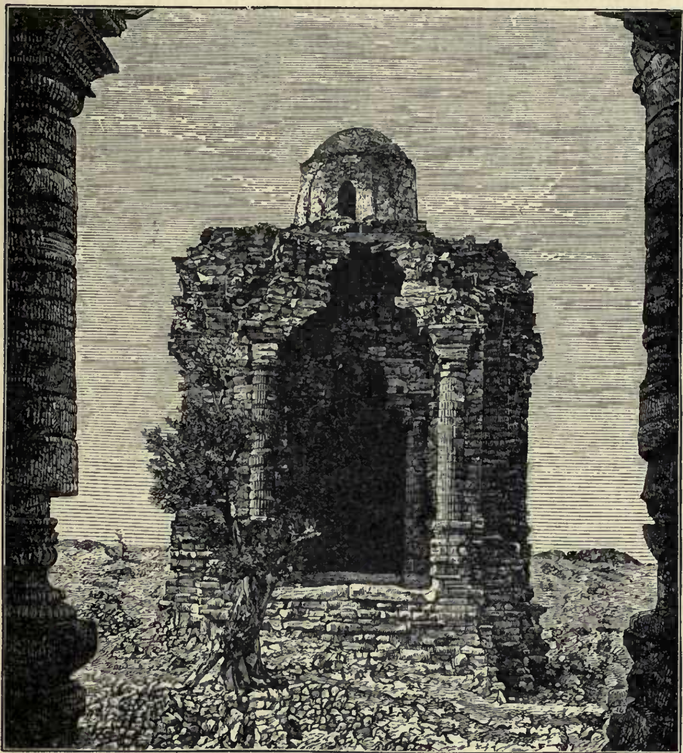
[3] Dr. Stein has succeeded in identifying the localities referred to by U-k'ong in his 'Notes on Ou-k'ong's Account, of Kaçmîr' (Wien, 1896). See also 'L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong (751 - 790) traduit et annoté par MM. Sylvain Lévi et Ed. Chavannes' in 'Journal Asiatique,' ix. sér. tome vi. (1895), pp. 341-384.

[4] Near Ushkür the ancient Hushkapura, on the Jehlam, opposite to Bârâmûla was a Buddhist stûpa—still intact till 1882—when, under Gen. Cunningham's instructions, one of his assistants dug into it and razed it to the ground. It had been constructed along with a vihâra, by Lalitâditya early in the 8th century.—Lawrence's 'Valley of Kashmir,' p. 163; Stein's 'Râjataranginî,' bk. iv., note on v. 188.

[5] It appears from Hiuen Tsiang, that in the 7th century the northern Panjâb was subject to Kashmîr.—Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. pp. 136, 143, 147, and 163; 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 192.

both are near Pind Dâdan Khân, and there are others in the neighbourhood, which may form a connecting link between the Kashmîri temples and other varieties of style in the Himâlaya region.

So many and so various are the points of interest connected with the style of the ancient buildings in Kashmîr, that they deserve much fuller illustration than is compatible with the



154. Temple at Malot, in the Salt Range. (From a Photograph.)

scope of the present work. Though not magnificent, they are very pleasing and appropriate examples of art, and they have this advantage over most of the Indian styles, that Kashmîr possesses, in the 'Râjataranginî,' what may be said to be the only Indian history in existence,[1] and Dr. A. M. Stein's admirable edition and translation of that work has done much to fix the dates of many of the buildings, and to supply a basis for a scientific and historic treatment of the whole.

[1] See *ante* p. 8.

The earliest references to the religious beliefs of Kashmîr connect them with the worship of Nâgas or serpent deities, supposed to preside over springs, lakes, and rivers; hence they correspond closely with the classical Naiads or Potameids. Numerous temples were erected to them at all the more famous springs, and to these the earliest and more popular pilgrimages were made, and continue to be even till the present time. Even the Muhammadan Kashmirians pay superstitious and hardly obscure reverence to them; the "ziârats" or shrines of their Pîrs or saints are largely fixed at the old sacred spots, and sometimes they seem to have been the native shrines appropriated by the ruling caste.[1] The Nâga divinities were accepted by the Buddhists and worked into the mythology of the Mahâyâna school. Until the 6th century Buddhism was probably the predominant religion of the country. Mihirakula, a White Hûn—whose coins indicate that he was a *S*aiva—acquired the sovereignty about A.D. 530, and was a bitter persecutor of the Buddhists, at the same time fostering the Brahmanical cult. When Hiuen Tsiang visited the country in the 7th century, Buddhism seems to have considerably revived. The kings of the Kârkota and Utpala dynasties were tolerant, and, as we learn, built Buddhist vihâras as well as Hindû temples, and U-k'ong, who reached Kashmîr in A.D. 759—probably in the reign of Lalitâditya-Muktâpîda—speaks of the Buddhist establishments as being numerous and very flourishing.[2] By the 14th century, however, the Hindû rulers had become weak and effete, and a military adventurer from the south murdered Kotâ Rânî, the widow of the last sovereign, A.D. 1339, and usurped the legal power as Shâh Mîr. The immigration of foreigners that followed rapidly led the way, under the new Moslim dynasty, to the general conversion of the people to the Musalmân religion, and by the end of the century this had become an accomplished fact.

As Muhammadanism rose in power the old temples were either destroyed, as under the iconoclastic zeal of Sikandar Shâh, 1393 to 1416, or they were neglected and fell to ruin; after that we have only the tomb of Zainu-l-'Abidîn and the temple on the Takht-i-Sulaimân that can be classed as examples of the style, though the latter can hardly even claim a title to that affiliation.

[1] It seems not improbable that the Ziârat of Pîr Hâjî Muhammad Sâhib at *S*rînagar, may represent the Ranaswâmin temple of Ranâditya, erected in the 6th century; the Bumazu temple also is now regarded as the Ziârat of Bâba Bâmadîn Sâhib.—'Râjataranginî,' bk. iii., vv. 453-454, note, and bk. vi., vv. 177, 178, note.

[2] We read of the iconoclast Harsha (1089-1101) sparing two colossal images of Buddha: one in *S*rînagar, and the other at Parihâsapur—probably that established by Lalitâditya in the 8th century.—'Râjataranginî,' bk. vii., vv. 1097, *sq.*, and bk. iv., vv. 200.

CHAPTER II.

NEPÂL AND TIBET.

CONTENTS.

ANY one looking at the map, and the map only, would probably be inclined to fancy that, from their similarity of situation and surroundings, the arts and archæology of Nepâl must resemble those of Kashmîr. It would not, however, be easy to make a greater mistake, for there are no two provinces of India which are more diametrically opposed to one another in these respects than these two Himâlayan states. Partly this is due to local peculiarities. The valley of Nepâl proper—in which the three old capitals, Patân, Bhâtgâon, and Kâthmându, are situated—is only about 15 miles north and south, by 20 east and west. It is true, the bulk of the population of the Gurkha state live in the valleys that surround this central point; but they are sparse and isolated communities, having very little communication with each other. Kashmîr, on the other hand, is one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the world, measuring more than 100 miles in one direction and more than 70 in another, without any ridges or interruptions of importance, and capable of maintaining a large population on one vast, unbroken fertile plain.

Another point of difference is, that Kashmîr never was a thoroughfare. The population who now possess it entered it from the south, and have retained possession of it—in all historical times, at least—in sufficient numbers to keep back any immigration from the north. In Nepâl, on the contrary, the bulk of the population are of Tibetan, or Mongol origin from the north, left there apparently in their passage southward; and, so far as we can gather from such histories as exist, the southern races who are found there entered the valley in the beginning of the 14th century, and never in such numbers as

materially to modify the essentially Turanian character of the people.

Nepâl also differs from Kashmîr from the fact that the Muhammadans never had possession of their valley, and never, consequently, influenced their arts or their religions. The architectural history of the two valleys differs, consequently, in the following particulars:—In Kashmîr we have a Buddhist period, developing by the 8th century into an original quasi-classical style, that lasted till it, in its turn, was supplanted by that of the Moslim in the 15th century. In Nepâl we have no succession of styles—no history in fact—for we hardly know when any of the three religions was introduced; but what we find is the Vaishnava, *S*aiva, and Buddhist religions existing side by side at the present day, and flourishing with a rank luxuriance unknown on the plains of Bengal, where probably their exuberance was checked by the example of the Moslims, who, as just remarked, had no influence in the valley.

Owing to the principal monuments in Nepâl—except the older chaityas—being modern, and to the people being too poor to indulge in such magnificence as is found on the plains, the buildings of Nepâl cannot compare, as architectural objects, with those found in other parts of India. But, on the other hand, the very fact of their being comparatively modern gives them an interest of their own, and though it is an exaggeration, it is a characteristic one, when it is said that in Nepâl there are more temples than houses, and more idols than men;[1] it is true to such an extent that there is an unlimited field for enquiry, and even if not splendid, the buildings are marvellously picturesque. Judging from photographs and such materials as are available, I have no hesitation in asserting that there are some streets and palaces in Kâthmândû and Bhâtgâon which are more picturesque, and more striking as architectural compositions, than are to be found in any other cities in India.[2] The style may be called barbarous, and the buildings have the defect of being principally in wood; but their height, their variety of outline, their wealth of carving and richness of colour, are such as are not to be found in Benares or any other city of the plains.

The real point of interest in the architecture of Nepâl to

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[1] The towns of Kâthmândû, Patân and Bhâtgâon, which are within a short distance of one another, are crowded with sacred edifices—Buddhist, *S*aiva, and Vaishnava. The number of these shrines is estimated at 2000.

[2] We have now further illustrations in 'Le Népal, étude historique d'un Royaume Hindou,' par Sylvain Lévi, 3 tomes, Paris, 1905-1908; Dr. G. Le Bon, 'Voyage au Népal' in 'Tour du Monde,' 1886, 1er. sem.; and 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' pp. 223-246, and figs. 364-398.

the true student of the art lies in its ethnographic meaning. When fully mastered, it presents us with a complete microcosm of India as it was in the 7th century, when Hiuen Tsiang visited it — when the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions flourished side by side; and when the distinctive features of the various races were far more marked than they have since become under the powerful solvent of the Muhammadan domination.

From all these causes I believe that if the materials existed, and it were possible to write an exhaustive history of the architecture of the valley of Nepâl, it would throw more light on most of the problems that are now perplexing us than that of any other province in India. It only, however, can be done by some one on the spot, and perfectly familiar not only with the Nepalese buildings, but with all the phases of the question;[1] but even then its value would be more ethnographic than æsthetic. If this were an ethnographic history of architecture, to which the æsthetic question were subordinate, it would be indispensable that it should be attempted, however incomplete the materials might be; but the contrary being the case, it must suffice here to point out the forms of the architecture, merely indicating the modes in which the various styles are divided among the different races.

Like that of so many other countries of India, the mythic history of Nepâl commences even before the Kaliyug, and among its pre-historic visitors are mentioned Vipa*s*yî and the other five Buddhas that preceded *S*âkyamuni, together with Manjû*s*rî Bodhisattwa, Svayambhû—the self-existent, *S*iva as Pa*s*upati, Vishnu, and other gods of the Hindû Pantheon. These do not concern us: tradition adds that A*s*oka visited the valley and built five chaityas, one in the centre of Patân and the others at the four cardinal points round it, which are still pointed out. We come to historical fact in the 5th century A.D. when we meet with the earliest inscriptions.[2] They belong to the later kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty,

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[1] Nepâl is fortunate in having possessed in the late Mr. Brian H. Hodgson one of the most acute observers that ever graced the Bengal Civil Service. At the time, however, when he was Resident in the valley, none of the questions mooted in this work can be said to have been started; and he was mainly engrossed in exploring and communicating to others the unsuspected wealth of Buddhist learning which he found in Nepâl, and the services he rendered to this cause are incalculably great. Nor did he neglect the architecture, as the numerous drawings in his collections bear witness.

[2] The Nepâl inscriptions were first copied and translated by Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji.—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. ix. pp. 163-194, and commented on, vol. xiii. pp. 411-428.

whose ancestors seem to have come from Vai*s*âlî and established themselves in Nepâl, and who seem to have been some of them Vaishnavas and others *S*aivas. Their inscriptions apparently range from late in the 5th century till into the 7th,[1] when Am*s*uvarman founded a new dynasty, and possibly employed a Tibetan era in his inscriptions.[2]

Buddhism had no doubt got a strong foothold among the Newars at an early date — not improbably in the time of A*s*oka; but about the end of the 5th century, or soon after, we hear of the patriarch Vasubandhu in his old age going on a mission to Nepâl with 500 disciples, and founding monasteries and making converts.

The Newars had entered the country from the north, and were undoubtedly of Tibetan origin.[3] Like most of the Himâlayan tribes they were snake-worshippers, and the Buddhist missionaries who visited them accepted their legends and made them part of their system. Hindû emigration into the valley must have begun early, and the kings of the long dynasty that ended about A.D. 600 all bear Hindû names, whilst their inscriptions indicate that they worshipped the Hindû gods. The Am*s*uvarman or Thâkurî dynasty were Vai*s*yas like Harshavardhana, and were succeeded by other Râjput families. In 1097 Nânyadeva from Tirhût invaded and subjugated the country, and again in 1324 Harisimha, of the same race—fearing the invasion of the Muhammadans under Ghyâsu*d*-dîn Tughlak—moved up from Simraun in the Tirai and, overcoming the petty chiefs, assumed the government.[4] But his dynasty does not appear to have ruled for a long period, and the four chief towns—Bhâtgâon, Banepa, Patân, and Kâthmândû had each their own princes till the year 1768, when a weak sovereign having called in the assistance of a neighbouring Gurkha Râja, he seized the kingdom, and his successors still rule in Nepâl. They apparently were originally of the Magar tribe,[5] but having mixed with the immigrant Hindûs, call themselves Râjputs, and have adopted the Hindû religion, though in a form very different from that known in the plains, and differing in a manner we would

[1] The dates range from 386 to 518 of an undefined era. There are difficulties in supposing the *S*aka era to be meant, and M. Sylvain Lévi assumes a Lichchhavi era beginning A.D. 111. The inscriptions are in classical Sanskrit, and testify to the literary culture of the country at that age.—'Népal,' tome ii. pp. 112, 114.

[2] M. Sylvain Lévi supposes he started an era of his own from A.D. 595, or eleven years before Harsha's.

[3] The traditional connection of the Newars with the Nayyars of Malabar is only a myth of Brahmanical invention in order to get over caste difficulties.

[4] Sylvain Lévi, 'Népal,' tome ii. p. 324f.

[5] Buchanan Hamilton, 'Account of the Kingdom of Nepal,' p. 22.

scarcely be inclined to expect. When the religion of the destroyer was introduced into a country that professed the mild religion of Buddha, it might naturally be supposed that its most savage features would be toned down, so as to meet, to some extent at least, the prejudices of the followers of the religion it was superseding. So far from this being the case in this instance, it is said that when first introduced the gods were propitiated with human sacrifices, till warned in a dream to desist and substitute animals.[1] Besides this, the images of Durgâ or Kâlî, though hideous and repulsive enough in the plains, are ten times more so in Nepâl, where Tantric rites and sorcery prevail as in Tibet; and, in fact, throughout there is an exaggeration of all the most hideous features of the religion, that would lead to the belief that it found a singularly congenial soil in the valley, and blossomed with unusual exuberance there. So far, too, as the architecture of the *S*aiva temples in Nepâl is concerned, it seems to indicate that the worship came into the valley from the north, rather than from the plains of Bengal. The architecture of the temples of Vishnu, on the contrary, seems evidently to be an offshoot of the art of the plains.

STÛPAS OR CHAITYAS.

The Buddhist chaityas must be regarded as the oldest monuments in Nepâl. Four of them are ascribed to A*s*oka, who is said to have visited the valley and built one in the centre of Patân, and others at the four cardinal points round the city.[2] They were not called stûpas, since they contained no relics, but are strictly chaityas or monuments intended to call forth pious thoughts. The chaityas of the cardinal points still exist intact in their great outlines; and their general appearance, as M. Sylvain Lévi remarks, does not contradict the tradition:—a hemispherical mound of earth, covered by a revetment of brick, surrounded by a plinth also of brick which serves as a circular path. Four chapels perhaps of later date are placed round the dome at the four points of the compass and joined to it—each containing the image of one of the four "cardinal" Buddhas.[3] These chaityas still preserve the form of the earliest Buddhist monuments. The plinth is the only feature of an architectural

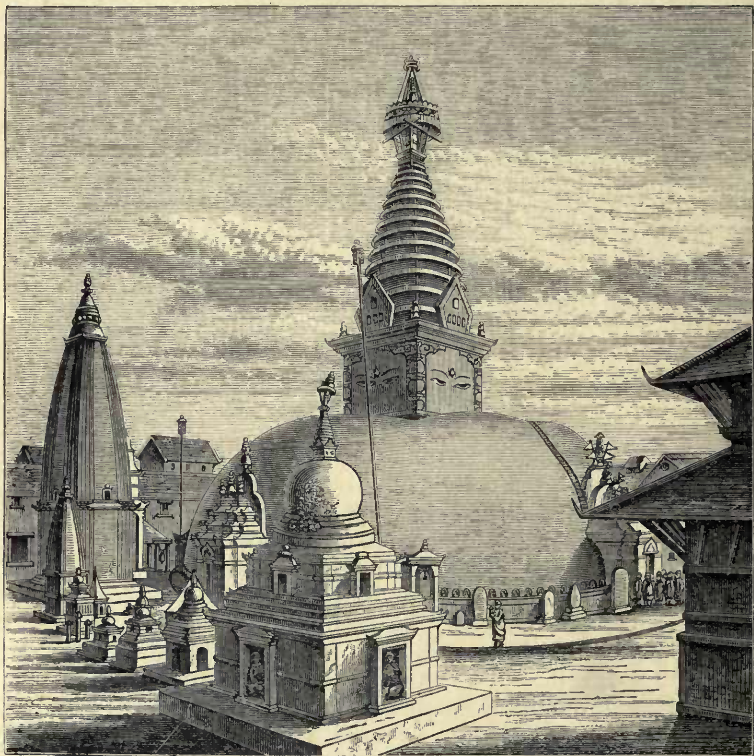
[1] Buchanan Hamilton, 'Account of the Kingdom of Nepal,' pp. 35 and 211.

[2] Oldfield's 'Sketches from Nepal,' vol. ii. p. 246; D. Wright's 'History of Nepal,' p. 116; and Sylvain Lévi, 'Népal,' tome i. pp. 263 and 331.

[3] See *ante*, p. 230 *note*. The Buddhas are: Amitâbha on the west; Amoghasiddha on the north; Akshobhya on the east; and Ratnasambhava on the south. The A*s*oka chaityas and all the largest temples have also a shrine for Vairochana to the right of Akshobhya's: his proper place is in the centre of the chaitya.

kind, but still rudimentary, which modified the rough outline of the primitive stûpa; but the lofty spire of brick and masonry, with its thirteen discs representing *chhatras* or umbrellas, is a development of much later date, which has even been changed into a solid cone or pyramid.[1]

After these, the two most important Buddhist monuments in the valley of Nepâl are those of Swayambhûnâth and of



155. Temple of Swayambhûnâth, Nepâl. (From a Drawing in the Hodgson Collection.)

Bodhnâth;[2] the former beautifully situated on a gentle eminence about half a mile from Kâthmândû, the latter at Bodhnâth about three and a half miles east from it; it is greatly reverenced by the Tibetans under the name of the Ma-gu-ta chorten.

[1] Sylvain Lévi, 'Népal,' tome ii. pp. 1, 2.

[2] A view of this chaitya forms the frontispiece of Buchanan Hamilton's volume; it also figures in Wright's 'History of Nepal,' plate ix. p. 100; Oldfield's 'Sketches from Népal,' vol. ii. p. 260; and in Sylvain Lévi's 'Népal,' tome i. p. 151, from a photograph.

No very precise information is to be had about the date of either, but, in their present form at least, they are not the oldest in the valley. According to Brian H. Hodgson, there are several low, flat, tumuli-like chaityas, with very moderate chhattrâvalîs or finials, which are older, and may be of any age; but, as will be seen from the previous woodcut (No. 155), that at Swayambhûnâth is of an irregular clumsy form, and chiefly remarkable for the exaggerated form of its tee or finial.[1] This is, in fact, the most marked characteristic of the modern Tibetan chaitya, which in China is carried frequently to such an extent that the stûpa becomes evanescent, and the *chhattrâvalî* or spire changes into a nine or thirteen storeyed tower. This chaitya stands on a narrow plinth projecting about 2 ft. from the face of the dome; and the five shrines of the Dnyâni Buddhas, built partly into this plinth, were constructed by Râja Pratâpa Malla in the 17th century.[2]

The great Bodhnâth chaitya is ascribed to King Mânadeva of the 6th century, as also to a Tibetan Lama, named Khasa, of later date.[3] It is raised on three successive platforms or terraces, together about 45 ft. high, on which stands the great dome, 90 ft. in diameter and rising another 45 ft., and over this is the pyramidal brick spire, reconstructed in 1825-1826, and of about the same height. These chaityas are so subject to periodical repairs and "restorations" that it is hard to say how much of them is original.

In Mr. Hodgson's collection there are nearly one hundred drawings of chaityas in Nepâl, all different, most of them small, and generally highly ornamented; but none of them grand, and none exhibiting that elegance of form or beauty of detail which characterises the buildings of the plains. From a low, flat mound, one-tenth of its diameter in height, they rise to such a tall building as this, which is a common form, bearing the name of Kosthakar (Woodcut No. 156), in which the chaitya is only the crowning ornament, and between these there is every conceivable variety of shape and detail. Among others, there is a four-faced lingam of *S*iva, with a corresponding emblem with four Buddhas; and altogether such a confusion of the two religions as is scarcely conceivable.

By far the most characteristic and beautiful temples of the

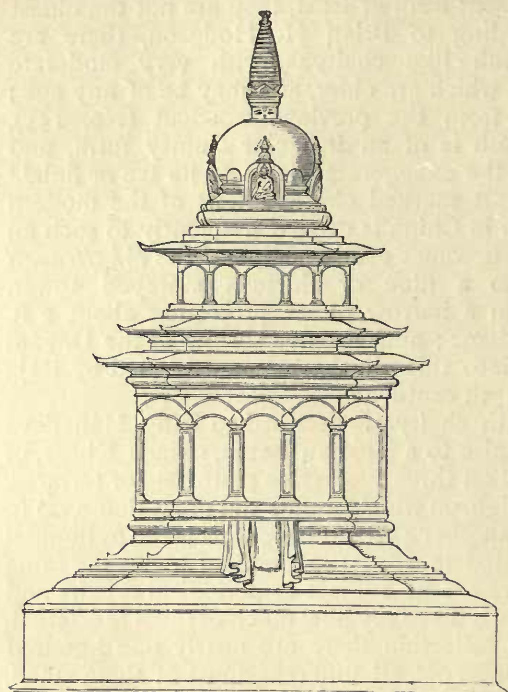
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[1] For a detailed account of this chaitya and its surrounding shrines, see Oldfield's 'Sketches from Nepal,' vol. ii. pp. 219-246.

[2] In an upper room of a small temple on the west of it is preserved a perpetual flame as a symbol of Adi-Buddha, which is believed to have been derived from heaven. It is tended by a family of Tibetan lâmas, in two cauldrons half-filled with ghî, on which the lighted wicks float. If by any mischance it should be extinguished, it must be renewed from another similar flame preserved at the temple of Khâsâ Bodhnâth.

[3] The legend of its erection is given in Waddell's 'Lamaism,' pp. 315-317; conf. S. Lévi, 'Le Népal,' tome i. p. 151.

Nepalese are those possessing many storeys divided with sloping roofs. They are unlike anything found in Bengal, and all their affinities seem with those in Burma or China. Usually, they seem to be dedicated either to Vaishnava or to *S*aiva worship, but in the temple of Mahâbuddha at Patân, *S*akyamuni occupies the basal floor, Amitâbha the second storey, a small stone chaitya the third, a Dharmadhâtu Mandala or relic shrine the fourth, and a Vajra-dhâtu Mandala the fifth or apex of the building, which externally consists of a small chûdâmani, or jewel-headed chaitya. This temple is perhaps the most elaborately carved in the valley. It is about 75 feet high, and of unusual shape in Nepâl. It was built about the close of the 16th century, by a Buddhist Newar, named Abhaya-râja, who in the reign of Amara Malla had gone on pilgrimage to Bodh-Gayâ, and brought back plans or a model of the Mahâbodhi temple, and, with his family, began to construct this model of it.[1]



156. Nepalese Kosthakar. No scale.

One of the most elegant of the sloping roofed class is the Bhawâni temple at Bhâtgâon, represented in the woodcut (No. 157). It was built in 1703 by Bhûpatîndra Malla to enshrine a secret Tantric goddess, which to this day is not allowed to be seen. It is five storeys in height, but stands particularly well on a pyramid of five steps, which gives it a greater dignity than many of its congeners.[2] Another at Patân,

[1] Wright 'History of Nepal,' p. 204; Oldfield, 'Sketches from Nepal,' vol. i., plate at p. 272, and vol. ii. p. 269.

[2] The stair up these five stages is guarded by pairs of colossal figures; below are two athletes, above them two elephants, then two lions, two tigers, and at the top the goddesses or demons —Singhinî and Vyâghrinî. The temple itself is mostly of wood.



157. Devî Bhawânî Temple, Bhâtgâon. (From a Photograph.)

dedicated to Mahâdeva, is seen in the centre of the woodcut (No. 158). It is only two storeys in height, but has the



158. Temples of Mahâdeva and Krishnâ, Patân. (From a Photograph.)

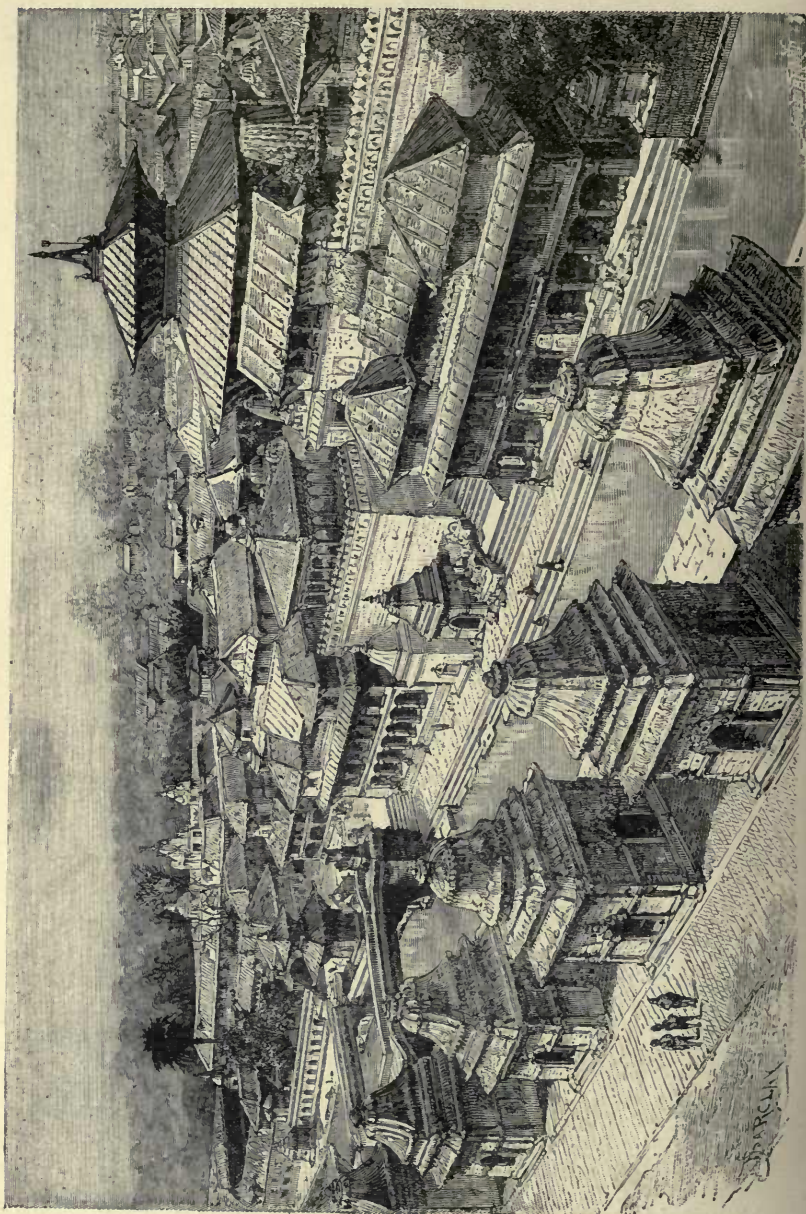
same characteristic form of roof, which is nearly universal in all buildings, civil or ecclesiastical, which have any pretension to architectural design. The temple on the left of the last cut is dedicated to Krishnâ, and will be easily recognised by any one familiar with the architecture of the plains from its *s*ikhara or spire, with the curvilinear outline, and its clustering pavilions, not arranged quite like the ordinary types, but still so as to be unmistakably Bengali.

About 3 miles east from Kâthmându, on the right bank of the Bâgmatî stream, is the sacred village of Pa*s*upati—the Benares of the Nepalese worshippers of *S*iva. The place consists almost entirely of temples and chapels of stone and wood, and is sacred to Pa*s*upati or *S*iva as the god of beasts. A general view of the village is given in the woodcut (No. 159). On the right is prominent the double roof of the great temple of Pa*s*upatinâth—the most venerated Linga shrine of the *S*aivas in Nepâl. Its doors are overlaid with silver carved in the style of those in the palace at Bhâtgâon and at Patân. The tri*s*ula of the god may be seen to the right of the temple as well as on its summit; but the great Nandi or bull that rests in front of the shrine is hid by the surrounding buildings. Close by it is the place where widows are burnt as *Satîs* along with the bodies of their dead husbands; and the little chapels along the side of the river are commemorative of the more notable. None of the temples here are of any antiquity, most of them—if not all—dating since the beginning of the 17th century.[1]

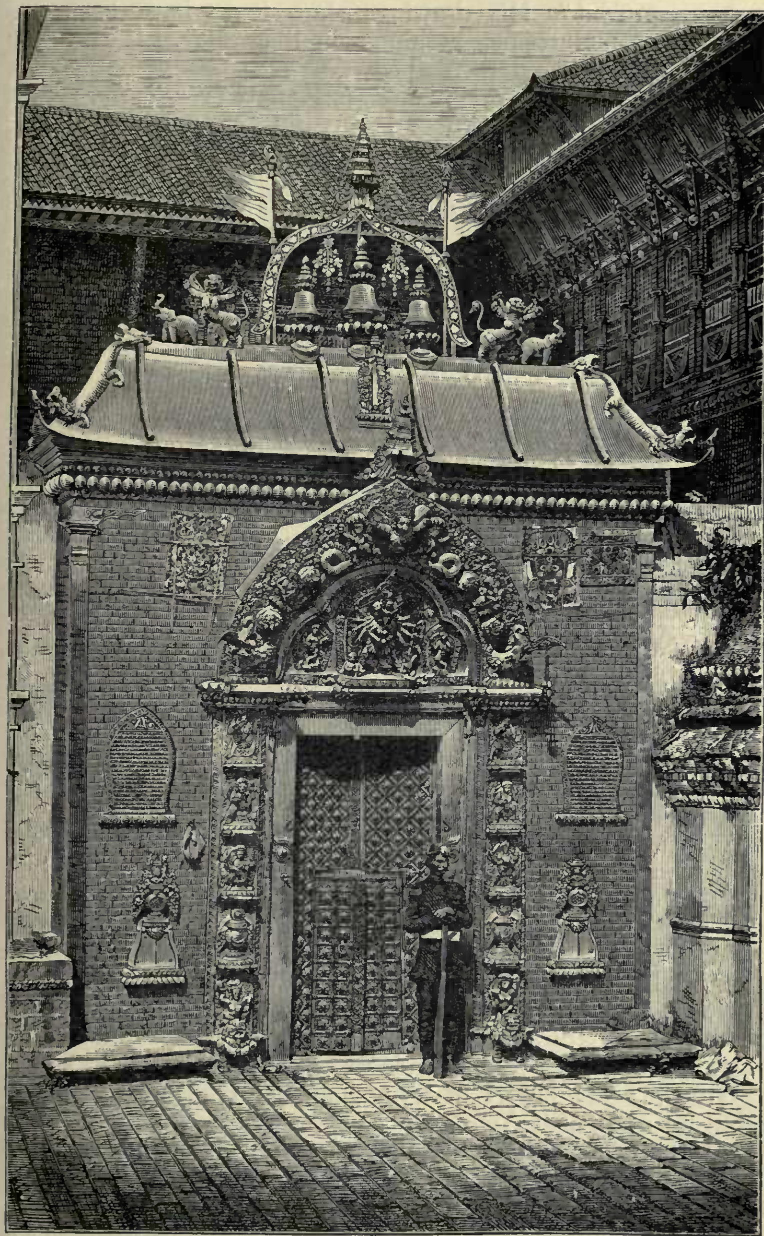
One other example must complete our illustration of the architecture of Nepâl. It is a doorway leading to the darbâr at Bhâtgâon, and is a singularly characteristic specimen of the style, but partaking much more of China than of India in the style of its ornaments (Woodcut No. 160, p. 285). It is indeed so like an archway in the Nankau Pass, near Pekin—given further on—that I was at first inclined to ascribe them to the same age. The Chinese example, however, is dated in 1345[2]; this one, according to Mr Hodgson, was erected as late as 1725, yet their ornamentation is the same. In the centre is Garuda, with a seven-headed snake-hood; and on either hand are Nâgas, with seven-headed hoods also; and the general character of the foliaged ornaments is so similar that it is difficult to believe in so great a lapse of time between them; but I cannot question Mr Hodgson's evidence. Since he was in Nepâl the building on the left-hand side of the cut has

[1] Sylvain Lévi's 'Le Népal,' tome i. pp. 357-366. The illustration (No. 159) is from G. Le Bon's 'Monuments,' p. 245.

[2] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' (N.S.), vol. v. p. 18.



159. Pasupati—General view of the temples and the burning ghât.



160. Doorway of Darbâr, Bhâtgâon. (From a Photograph.)

been "improved." His drawings show it to have been one of the most picturesque buildings in the valley. It certainly is not so now.

In speaking of the architecture of Kanara (vol. ii., pp. 76, 77, 83), the similarity that existed between that of that remote province and the style that is found in this Himâlayan valley will be remarked; and scarcely any one can look at the illustrations referred to, especially Woodcuts Nos. 303 and 306, and not perceive the similarity between them and the Nepalese examples, though it might require a familiarity with all the photographs to make it evident, without its being pointed out.

Wooden Temples.

In the Himâlayan districts between Kashmîr and Nepâl, in Kullû, Chambâ, Kângra, and Kumâon, there are a vast number of temples, regarding which it would be extremely interesting to have more information than we now possess. They are all in wood, generally Deodar pine, and, like most buildings in that material, more fantastic in shape, but at the same time more picturesque and more richly carved than buildings in more permanent and more intractable materials. What we now know of them, however, is mainly derived from photographs, taken without any system, only as pictures, because the buildings were either picturesque in themselves or so situated as to improve the landscape. No one yet has thought of measuring them, nor of enquiring into their age or traditions; and till this is done it is impossible to treat of them in anything like a satisfactory manner.

General Sir A. Cunningham in his Report for 1878-1879 made some mention of the temples he visited at Barmâwar, Chaitrârî, and Chambâ; but beyond stating to what divinities they were severally dedicated, and the inscriptions found, his remarks on the architecture are of the briefest.[1] In 1902 and in 1903, the provincial archæological surveyor visited the same places, but in search of epigraphical materials, and the chief addition of an architectural nature was a number of photographs, which, without plans and descriptions made on the spot, do not help us.

In 1883 the late Mr. Wm. Simpson read to the Royal Institute of British Architects a paper on 'Architecture in the Himâlayas,' in which he brought to notice that most of the houses in the hill country between the Satlaj and the Ganges valley are built of wood and stone; timber being used in

[1] 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. xiv. pp. 110-114.

alternate layers to bind the courses of stone together.[1] Upon this base of wood and stone stands the real dwelling which is altogether of wood, and on beams it overhangs the more solid structure beneath, and provides the dwelling with a verandah. The gable line of the pointed roof is not straight, but has an angle in it, making it steeper above, where protection was most indispensable, whilst the slope diminished over the external parts, that is in the eaves where leakage was least to be dreaded. This gives a Chinese look to these Himâlayan houses.

That this style of structure is not devoid of a certain picturesqueness may be judged from a sketch of a Hindû temple at Chergâon (Woodcut No. 161), on the Satlaj above Sarâhan.



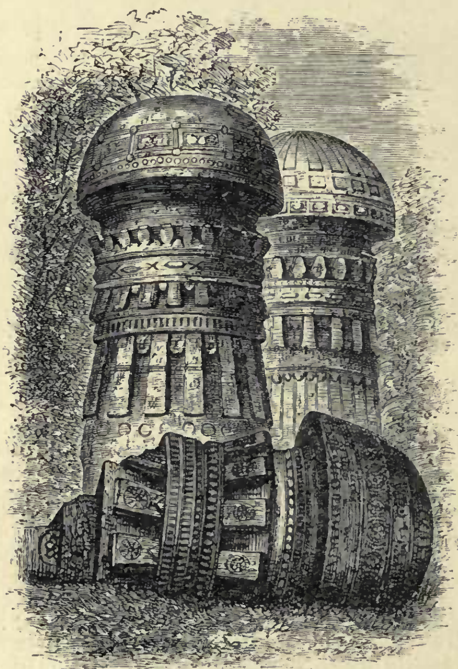
161. Hindû Temple at Chergâon in Chambâ.
(From a Sketch by the late Mr. W. Simpson.)

It illustrates, too, the form to which the *s*ikhara is reduced in such a building; and it may be noted that the corners of the projecting roofs are ornamented with quaint forms of gargoyles, sometimes representing the form of a bird stuck on the snout of a saurian or serpent.

Whenever this chapter of Indian architectural history comes to be written, it will form a curious pendant to that of the wooden architecture of Sweden and Norway, the similarities between the two groups being both striking and instructive. It cannot be expected that any ethnographical or political connection can be traced between peoples so remote from one another which could influence their architectural forms; but

[1] 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' Session 1882-1883, pp. 65ffg.

it is curious to observe how people come independently to adopt the same forms and similar modes of decoration when using the same materials for like purposes, and under similar climatic influences. Although it may consequently be impossible to trace any influence that the people of the Himâlayas could have exerted on the peoples of the north-west of Europe, it is by no means clear that in these wooden structures we may not find the germ of much that is now perplexing us with regard to the earlier forms of Hindû stone architecture. Like Buddhist architecture, there can hardly be a doubt that much of it was derived from wooden originals, and it is difficult to see any locality where wooden styles were likely to be earlier adopted and longer practised than in those valleys where the Deodar pine is abundant, and forms so excellent and so lasting a building material.



162. Monoliths at Dimâpur.
(From a Drawing by Major Godwin Austen.)

An exploration of these valleys, would, no doubt, bring to light many curious monuments, which would not only be interesting in themselves, but might throw considerable light on many now obscure points of our enquiries. One monument, for instance, was discovered by Major Godwin Austen near the foot of the Nâga hills in Âsâm, which is unlike any other known to exist anywhere else.[1] The temple—if temple it may be called—consists of a long corridor, about 250 ft. in length and 21 ft. wide, the roof of which was supported by pillars richly carved, spaced 15 ft. to 21 ft. apart;

[1] The following particulars are taken from a paper by Major Austen in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xliii. pt. i., 1874, pp. 1-6.

but its most remarkable features are two rows—one of sixteen, the other of seventeen monoliths—standing in front of this. The tallest is 15 ft., the smallest 8 ft. 5 in., the general range being from 12 to 13 ft. in height, and 18 to 19 ft. in circumference. No two are exactly alike, though all have a general similarity of design to those represented in the preceding woodcut (No. 162), which may be considered as typical of the style. Another similar monolith was found a small distance off, measuring 16 ft. 8 in. in height, and 23 ft. in circumference.

The natives were quite unable to give any account of these curious monuments, nor is it easy to guess why they were placed where they are. So far as I know, no similar monument exists anywhere, for the pillars seem perfectly useless, though attached to two rows of stones that may have borne a roof; otherwise they look like those rows of rude stone monuments which we are familiar with in this country and in Brittany, but which a more artistic people may have adorned with rude carvings, instead of leaving them quite plain, as our forefathers did. As for their carving, the only things the least like them, so far as I know, in India, are the pillars in the temple at Mûdabidri (Woodcut No. 305), and in other places in Kanara, but there the pillars are actual supports of roofs; these are round-headed, and evidently never were intended for any utilitarian purpose.

Judging from the gateway and other remains of the town of Dimâpur, in which these pillars are found, they cannot be of any great age. The gateway is of the Gaur type, with a pointed arch, probably of the 16th or 17th century; and, if Major Austen's observation is correct, that the sandstone of which they are composed is of a friable and perishable nature, they cannot be of any remote antiquity.

It would be very interesting if a few more similar monuments could be found, and Âsâm is one of the most promising fields in India for such discoveries. When Hiuen Tsiang visited it, in the 7th century, it was known as the kingdom of Kâmrup, one of the three principal states of Northern India, and continued populous and important till the Pathân sovereigns of Delhi attempted its conquest in the 15th century. Owing to the physical difficulties of the country, they never were able to succeed in this attempt; but they blockaded the country for many years, and, cut off from the rest of the world, the savage hill tribes on either hand, aided by famine, so depopulated the country that the jungle overpowered the feeble remnant that survived, and one of the richest valleys in the world became one of the most sparsely inhabited. When the jungle has again been cleared, and rendered fit for human population, there can be little doubt but that the remains of

many ancient cities will be found. Captain Dalton has given an account of the ruins of Gauhati, which was almost certainly the ancient capital of the province. "Its former importance," he says, "is well attested by the immense extent of its fortifications, and the profusion of carved stones which every excavation of the modern town brings to light. The remains of stone gateways and old stone bridges are found both within and without the old city walls."[1] Captain Hannay gives a view of one of these bridges. Like all the rest, it is constructed without arches, on the horizontal principle,[2] but it may be as old as the time of the Chinese Pilgrims. Besides these, other ruins have been found and described, in more or less detail, in the pages of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.' When more fully known they will certainly be of considerable historic and ethnographic value, though they hardly can compare with the vast monuments of such provinces as Orissa or Gujarât, and other parts of India Proper.

Tibet.

It would be extremely interesting if, before leaving this part of the world, it were possible to compile anything like a satisfactory account of the Buddhist style in Tibet, for it is there that Buddhism exists at the present moment, in inexplicable combination with *S*aivism and demon worship as the only religion, and there only is it entirely and essentially a part of the system of the people. We would gladly, therefore, compare the existing state of things in Tibet with our accounts of India in the days of the supremacy of the same religion. The jealousy of the Chinese, however, who are supreme over that nation of priests, long prevented free access to the country, and it was only by the expedition of 1903-1904, that Lhâsa was reached and its mysteries made known to the public with abundance of photographic illustrations.[3] But the reported architectural results are unimportant and present little that is novel. Relic worship, as an essential element in Buddhism, is evidenced by the "chortens" or stûpas[4] everywhere met with, especially near the monasteries, and the splendid tombs of the Grand Lâmas at Tashi-lhunpo,

[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxiv. pp. 1 *et seqq.*

[2] Ibid. vol. xx. pp. 291 *et seqq.*

[3] Capt. Turner, it is true, who was sent to Tashi-lhunpo by Warren Hastings, published with his interesting narrative a number of very faithful views of what he saw, but they are not selected from that class of monuments which is the subject of our present enquiry.

[4] Chorten, in Tibetan *m*Chho*d*-rten—"relic receptacle," is equivalent to dâgaba, chaitya or stûpa; they are of the usual characters of shrines enclosing relics, cenotaphs, and symbols of the religion, and receive formal worship from the priests and people.

Gândan, and in the Potala palace are special objects of worship. But as no country in the world possesses a larger body of priests in proportion to its population, and as these are vowed to celibacy and live together, their monasteries are more extensive than any we know of elsewhere—some containing 2000 or 3000 lâmas, and, if we may trust the information supplied to Mr. Rockhill, Debung Lamasery contains 9000, Se-ra 7000, and Gândan 4000.[1]

The Tibetan monasteries are not built with any regularity, nor grouped into combinations of any architectural pretension, but consist of long streets of cells, mostly surrounding small court-yards, three or four on each side. They are generally placed on sites chosen with taste—either on the tops of hills with a wide view round them, or in fertile valleys sheltered from the colder winds. They occupy large areas in order to accommodate the numerous population, and have the appearance of towns, consisting, as they do, of a large aggregation of separate dwellings for the monks, and surrounded by a high wall having four gates towards the cardinal points. Outside are the houses and shops of the tradesmen and shopkeepers. The houses are in the usual style of the country—the walls often with more or less batter—having the kitchen and storerooms on the ground floor and the living rooms on the upper storey, which has a flat roof forming a terrace. In the centre of the monastery is a large square for assemblies, in the middle of which stand the temple, library, meeting-hall of the authorities and mansion of the superior or abbot, distinguished by a painted band or frieze of reddish brown running round it under the eaves. The temples are rectangular stone buildings, commonly constructed on a general model, the walls often rough-cast in white with a broad band of red or yellow colour under the eaves. The roofs are formed of beaten clay or with tiles, on the middle of which is raised a sort of pavilion with a Chinese roof decorated with little gilt pyramids at the angles and apex. These temples have no windows, the only daylight being admitted by the doors. Inside they are divided longitudinally by two ranges of pillars into a nave and side aisles, as in the chaitya caves in India. The pillars and joists are painted yellow or bright red, and painted silks are hung from the roof. At the inner end of the nave is the altar or shrine with its three large images under the chhattra, and lighted by lamps. The aisles are supplied with cushions for the inferior lâmas or monks, and their walls are covered either with frescoed pictures or large paintings on silk of Buddhas, Jâtaka

[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1891, p. 278. Debung and Sera are both in the vicinity of Lhâsa, and *d*Gâ*h**l*dan—pronounced Gândan—is about 35 miles east from Lhâsa.

scenes, divinities, etc. Attached to the temple and scattered among the residences are numerous little chapels to the inferior gods, goddesses, and demons.

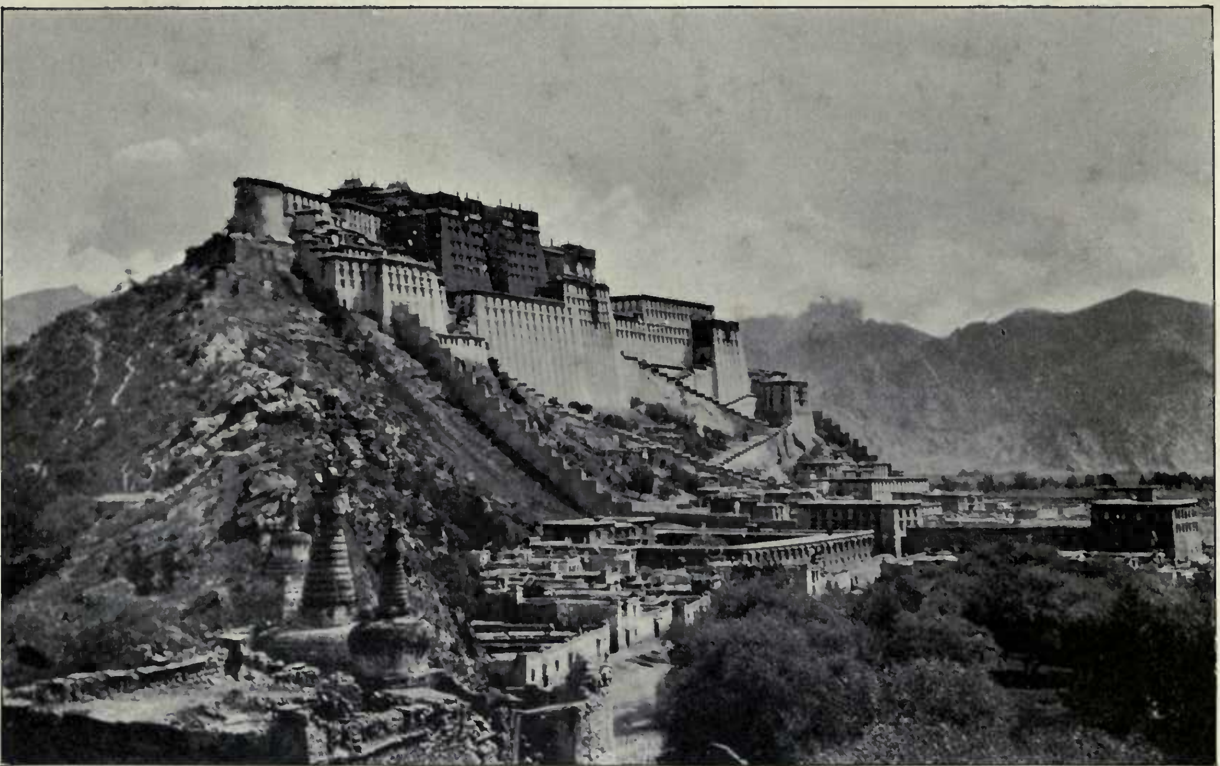
The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet is ascribed to King Sron-btsang-gam-po (629-650 A.D.), who married a Chinese and a Nepalese princess—both of them Buddhists. He is said to have built the monastery of Labrang in the centre of Lhâsa (A.D. 644), with perhaps the largest temple, as it is the most ancient in the country. His Chinese queen had brought with her a famous sandal-wood image of *S*âkyamuni and another of Ananda, and for these was erected, about 650, the Ramoche temple, a little to the north-east of Labrang.

The monastery of Potala[1] (Plate VI.) outside the city of Lhâsa, where the Dalai Lâma resides, seems to be of more magnificence than all the rest—the centre being occupied by a great block, dominating the others, which contains the temples, audience halls and chaityas of the Dalai Lâmas. It is known as the Red Palace, and on its roof are the gilded pavilions of Chinese style that render it so conspicuous in the landscape. It was built by the first Dalai Lâma, between 1642 and 1650, on the ruins of the ancient fortress of Sron-btsang-gam-po, on a hill in the west of Lhâsa rising about 300 feet above the plain. It is a great edifice of heavy though imposing aspect with its gilded roofs and bells surmounting the chortens or chaityas that enshrine the relics of the Dalai Lâmas since the middle of the 17th century. Inside it is richly decorated, and, besides the reception and state rooms and sanctuaries, it is said to contain about 10,000 chambers for its myriad occupants. Around this central palace are grouped a number of smaller ones, where the inferior members of this great ecclesiastical order reside; but of all this it is difficult to form a distinct idea without some better drawings than are at present available.

The Dalai Lâma, who resides in this palace, is believed by the Tibetans to be the living incarnation of the Bodhisattwa Avalokite*s*vara, and, in consequence, is the principal object of worship in Lhâsa. There are, however, four or five subordinate incarnations in different parts of Tibet and Mongolia, who,

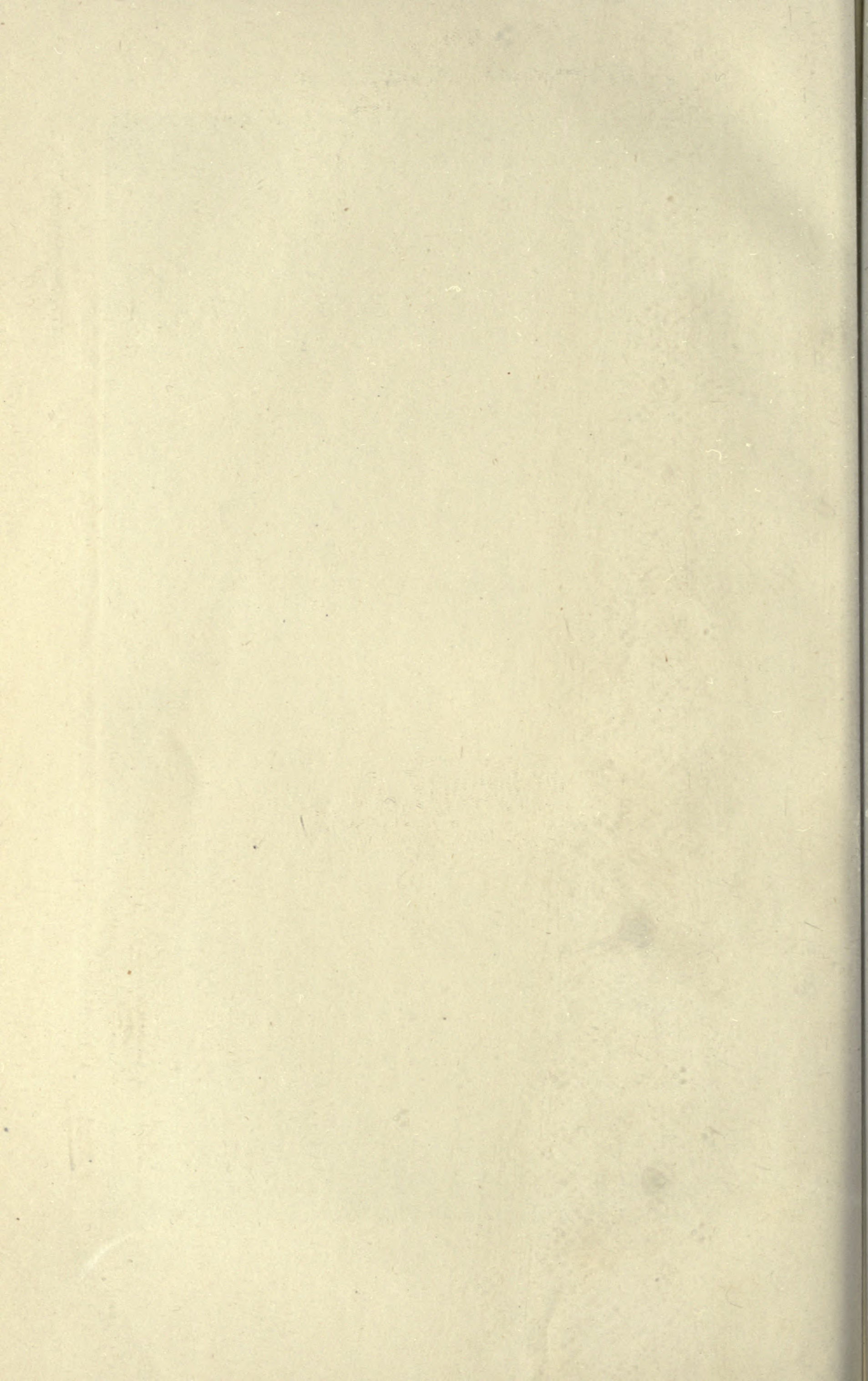
[1] Huc, from a mistaken etymology, has "Buddha-la." The later Buddhists speak of three Potalas, as former residences of Avalokite*s*vara—one at Tatta in the Indus delta, but Hiuen Tsiang places it in the extreme south of India, if not in Ceylon (Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii, p. 233), and it is probably the same as Sumanakûta or Adam's Peak ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' N.S., vol. xv. p. 339); the second is P'u-t'o-shan among the Chusan islands; and the third, that at Lhâsa, the capital of the Dalai Lâmas since 1643. But there was another Chinese Potala, or an imitation one, at Je-ho or Cheng-tu Fu, about 110 miles north-east from Pekin. —'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xxiii. (1904), p. 614; and vol. xxix. (1907), pp. 180 and 185.

PLATE VI.



THE POTALA AT LHASA FROM THE W.S.W. (From a Photograph by Lieut. F. M. Bailey.)

[*To face page* 292, Vol. I.



though inferior to this one, are still objects of worship in the places where they reside, and by particular sects of Buddhists.[1]

It is this worship of a living, rather than of a dead deity, that marks the difference of the forms of Buddhism in India and Tibet. In the countries we have hitherto been describing no actual incarnation of a Buddha is believed to have taken place since the death of *S*âkyamuni though there have been many saints and holy men; in India, therefore, they have been content to worship images of the departed, or relics which recall his presence. In Tibet, where their divinity is still present among them, continually transmigrating, but never dying, of course such a form of worship is absurd; no relic of a still living god can logically exist, though this has probably never been thought of, and the chaityas of the Great Lâmas are honoured, and worshipped in the palace or monastery occupied by their successors.

The earliest monastery founded in Tibet is that of Sâm-yas, about 35 miles south-east from Lhâsa, near the Sang-po river. It was established by a famous teacher, Padma Sambhava, who went from Bihâr with other Buddhist teachers, about the middle of the 8th century. He is said to have modelled it after the great temple monastery of Otantapurî, near Nâlanda, and it became the metropolis of the Red-cap order.[2] The monastery, with its large temple and four separate colleges, is enclosed by a circular wall about a mile and a half in circuit, and contains a notable library and the State treasury. Another Indian Pandit, named Atîsha, came from the Vikrama*s*îlâ monastery about 1038 and restored the Lamaism of his time, establishing what afterwards became the Yellow-cap or Gelugpa order of Lâmas, which became the State church when its chiefs, the Dalai Lâmas, usurped the temporal power.

The monastery of Sâkya, about 50 miles west-south-west from Shigatse, was founded in 1071. Its Grand Lâma was acknowledged by Khubilai Khân in 1270 as head of the church, and made tributary prince of Tibet. This position his successors maintained for a century, and the sect played an important rôle in the history of Tibet till the Gelugpas superseded it early in the 15th century. The establishment is said to contain the largest single building in Tibet: it is seven

[1] The heads of the Pan-chhen Rin-po-chês of Tashi-lhunpo are regarded as perpetual incarnations of Amitâbha. The Târânâtha Dalai Lâmas have their seat at Urga in Mongolia, whither the late Lâma Pope fled.

[2] Otantapurî and Vikrama*s*îlâ monasteries were most probably among those destroyed by Muhammad Bakhtiyâr Khaljî about 1194.—'Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal,' vol. lvi. pt. i. p. 19, and vol. iii. (1907), p. 221; Grünwedel, 'Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet,' etc., p. 55; L. de Milloué, 'Bod-Youl ou Tibet,' pp. 281ff.; Elliot, 'History of India,' vol. ii. pp. 305f.

storeys high, and has a spacious assembly hall. Its library is famous for its collection of Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts—probably all Buddhist.[1]

About the beginning of the 15th century Tsong-Khapa, a Lâma of Kumbum, re-organised the sect founded by Atîsha and re-named it the Gelugpa. His first monastery was that of Gândan, founded in 1409, about 30 miles east from Lhâsa, of which he was abbot till his death in 1417. The chief object of veneration here is the lofty mausoleum of the founder, built of marble and ornamented with malachite and with a gilded roof. It encloses a chorten or stûpa said to be all of gold, in which is deposited the embalmed remains of the sage. One of Tsong-khapa's disciples founded Sera monastery about 2 miles north of Lhâsa in 1417, in which are about 5500 monks. Depung, 3 or 4 miles west from Lhâsa, is also a monastery of the Gelugpas, and contains fully 7000 inmates, mostly devoted to exorcism and magic. It was founded in 1414, and is said to be named or modelled after the early Indian monastery of Dhânyakataka or Amarâvatî.[2] Within the enclosure is a large temple surrounded by four chapels, and a palace of the Lhâsa Lâma. Out of scores of other such establishments, we may mention Tashi-lhunpo, visited by Boyle and Turner in the end of the 18th century. It is in western Tibet, near Shigatse, about 140 miles west of Lhâsa, was founded by Tsong-khapa in 1445, and contains about 3500 monks. It is the seat of the Pan-chhen Grand Lâma, who is next to the Lhâsa pontiff in dignity and influence. Here is the tomb erected by the Chinese emperor Kiu-long for the Lâma Erdeni who died on a visit to Pekin in 1779. It is figured by Turner as is also the Go-ku-pea—some nine storeys high for the display of religious pictures.[3]

Lastly, at Gyan-tsê[4] on the route followed by our troops in 1904, is a large fortified monastery, itself forming a little town on the southern slope of a hill to the north of the fort. Its buildings, standing on the edge of the plain, rise in tiers, like a large amphitheatre round the great temple at their base. This temple, shown in Plate VII., is of interest from its form.[5] It is locally known as Gândho-la—a name usually applied to the great temple at Bodh-Gayâ, of which local tradition names this as being a model. It is about 100 ft. high,

[1] Waddell's 'Lamaism,' p. 274.

[2] As Amarâvatî and its monastic establishment had been deserted and disappeared a thousand years before this, the connection between the two is imaginary, as in the cases of Sam-yas and Gyan-tsê.

[3] Turner, 'Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama' (1800), plates 11 and 12; 'Mission of Geo. Bogle to Tibet,' etc., pp. 96ffg.

[4] Gyan-tsê lies about 106 miles west-south-west from Lhâsa, in latitude 28° 53′ N., and longitude 89° 34′ E.

[5] This form reminds us of the Jaina samosaranas at Girnâr and Satrunjaya.

PLATE VII.



GOLDEN TEMPLE AT GYAN-TSÊ. (From a Photograph by Lieut. F. M. Bailey.)

[*To face page* 294, Vol. I.

with a circumference of 600 ft. at the base, and is built in five stepped terraces with recessed angles, on the plan of the vimânas of Indian temples. Above these is a circular drum of one storey, and over it a smaller square one surmounted by a spire of thirteen great rings of gilt copper crowned by a chhattra canopy of the same material. In the different storeys are numerous shrines to the different Buddhas, which are reached by inside stairs, and the terrace roofs of the successive storeys form a series of *chaityânganas*[1] for the circumambulation of the different groups of cells.

From Sikhim, which is overrun by Lâmas, and has borrowed its architecture from Tibet, we may gain further acquaintance with the characteristic features of the style. The view (Woodcut No. 163) of the doorway of the temple at Tashiding is



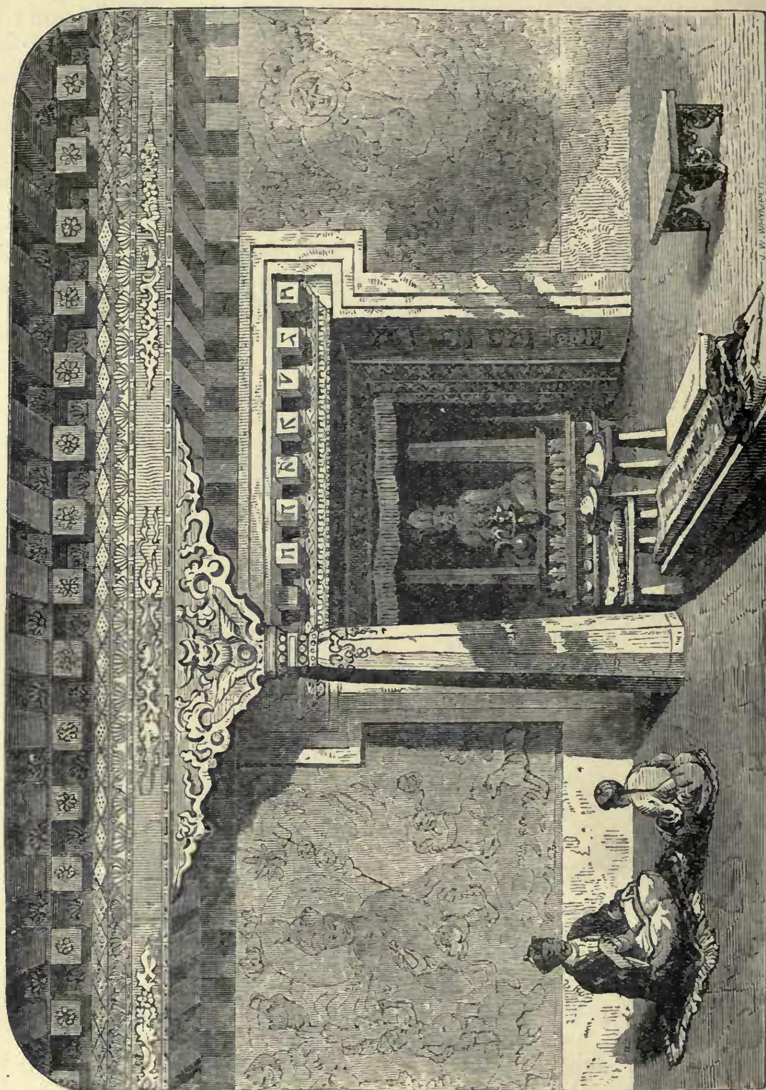
163. Doorway in the Temple at Tashiding. (From Dr. Hooker's 'Himalayan Journals,' vol. i. p. 319.)

curious as showing a perseverance in the employment of sloping jambs, which we do not meet with in the plains of India, but is usual in Tibet.[2] It will be recollected that this feature is nearly universal in the Bihâr and early western caves (Woodcuts Nos. 55, 58, and 64), but there we lose it. It may have con-

[1] This term is used among Buddhists for the pradakshina path or terrace. Waddell's 'Lhasa and its Mysteries,' pp. 217, 229-232.

[2] E. Schlagintweit's 'Buddhism in Tibet,' pp. 188ffg., and Milloué, 'Bod-Youl ou Tibet,' pp. 279ffg.

tinued to be employed during the Middle Ages, though the



164. Interior of Temple at Pemiongchi. (From Hooker, 'Himalayan Journals,' vol. i. p. 329.)

examples have perished; but it is curious to find it cropping up here again after a lapse of 2000 years.[1]

[1] It is found currently employed in the decorative sculpture of the Gandhâra monasteries, but rarely as a constructive feature. See Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 107-108.

Another view in the porch of the temple at Pemiongchi is also interesting, as showing the form of roof which we are familiar with in the rock examples, and also as illustrating the extent to which the bracket capital of India may be carried under the influence of wooden architecture (Woodcut No. 164). It hardly seems doubtful that the idea was originally derived from wooden construction, but was equally appropriate to masonic forms, and is used in masonry so judiciously by Indian architects that we lose sight of its origin in most instances altogether.

Interesting as these minor styles undoubtedly are from their variety, and valuable though they may be for the hints they afford us in understanding the history of the other styles, they never can be so important as the greater architectural groups that are found on the plains of India itself. A monograph of the styles of Kashmîr or Nepâl, or of the intermediate valleys, would be an invaluable addition to our knowledge; but hardly more is required in a general history than that their places should be indicated, and their general characteristics so defined as to render them recognisable. Even these minor styles, however, will become more intelligible when studied in connection with the Dravidian and northern styles, which are those it is next proposed to define and describe.

TEMPLES AT KÂNGRÂ.

Though a little out of their place in the series, there are two small temples in one of the Himâlayan valleys which it may be expedient to describe here before leaving this part of the subject, as their peculiarities will assist us in understanding much that has just been said, or that will be presently advanced. Besides this, they do not exactly fit into any other series, but they can hardly be passed over, as they possess what is so rare in Indian temples—an ascertained date.

The temples are situated in the village of Kîragrâma or Baijnâth, about 25 miles east of Kângrâ, and two inscriptions in the larger of the two principal shrines record that it was built by two brothers, Manyuka and Âhuka, wealthy merchants, under Lakshmanachandra lord of Kîragrâma, and apparently brother-in-law of Jayachchandra, king of Jâlandhara or Trigarta. The date is partly obliterated, but in all probability it was equivalent to A.D. 1204. This temple was dedicated to *S*iva-Vaidyanâtha, and consists of a mandap or hall, 20 ft. square inside, with four round pillars supporting the roof, and a shrine (*purî*) for the Linga, 8 ft. square—separated from the hall by

a small antechamber.[1] Over all this temple measures 51 ft. by 31, and stands in a walled enclosure about 120 ft. long and 60 ft. wide at the east end, and 75 at the west. This contains some rooms for the priests with small temples along the north side. But in 1786 it underwent a thorough repair at the hands of Râja Sansârachandra II., which has obliterated many of its features; and to this repair it probably owes the porch with its four pillars in front; but with the exception of the balcony windows on each side, the walls were not, perhaps, materially meddled with. The roof and spire, however, were either rebuilt or so overlaid with plaster as to hide the original work. The woodcut (No. 165) shows only the pillars of the portico of the temple, with the Nandi kiosk in front and a small temple of Jamadagni beyond. This latter, though ruinous, is more interesting, because it has escaped the hand of the spoiler. As will be seen from the woodcut, it has all the features of a very old temple — great simplicity of outline, no repetitions of itself, and the whole surface of the upper part covered with that peculiar horse-shoe diaper which was so fashionable in those early days. It looks here as if it must be copied from some brick or terra-cotta construction; otherwise its repetition over a whole surface seems unaccountable. The amalaka stringcourses are subdued and in good taste, and the crowning ornament well proportioned.

There is little doubt that the *s*ikhara of the larger temple was similarly adorned, but all its details are so completely obliterated by the coating of plaster it has received that it has lost its interest. The pillars, however, of its porch retain their forms up to their capitals, at least. The architraves, as may be seen from the woodcut, belong to the repair in 1786. The shafts of the pillars are plain cylinders, of very classical proportions, and the bases also show that they are only slightly removed from classical design. The square plinth, the two toruses, the cavetto or hollow moulding between, are all classical, but partially hidden by Hindû ornamentation, of great elegance, but unlike anything found afterwards. The capitals are, however, the most interesting parts, though their details are considerably obliterated by whitewash. They belong to what may be styled the Hindû-Corinthian order, though the principles on which they are designed is diametrically opposed to those of the classical order of the same name. The object of both—as is well known—is to convert a circular shaft into a square

[1] The inscriptions are in the mandap, high up in the side walls, right and left from the entrance,—a most unusual position for such records. They are translated in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. i. pp. 97-118; vol. ii. p. 482; vol. v. App. p. 78, and 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xx. p. 154.



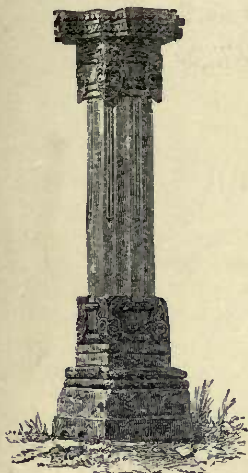
165. Temples at Kîragrâma, Kângrâ District. (From a Photograph.)

architrave-bearing capital in a graceful and pleasing manner. We all know the manner in which the Ionic and Corinthian capitals effect this; pleasingly, it is true, but not without effort and some little clumsiness, which it required all the skill and taste of classical architects to conquer. To effect this object, the Hindûs placed a vase on the top of their column, the bowl of which was about the same diameter as that of the pillar on which it was placed, or rather larger; but such an arrangement was weak, because the neck and base of the vase were necessarily smaller than the shaft of the pillar, and both were still circular. To remedy these defects, they designed a very beautiful class of foliaged ornament, which appears to grow out of the vase, on each of its four faces, and, falling downwards, strengthens the hollows of the neck and foot of the vase, so as to give them all the strength they require, and at the same time to convert the circular form of the shaft into the required square for the abacus of the capital. The Hindûs, of course, never had sufficient ability or constructive skill to enable them to produce so perfect a form as the Corinthian or Ionic capitals of the Greeks or Romans; but it is probable that if this form were taken up at the present day, a capital as beautiful as either of these might even now be produced. It is, indeed, almost the only suggestion that Indian architecture seems to offer for European use.

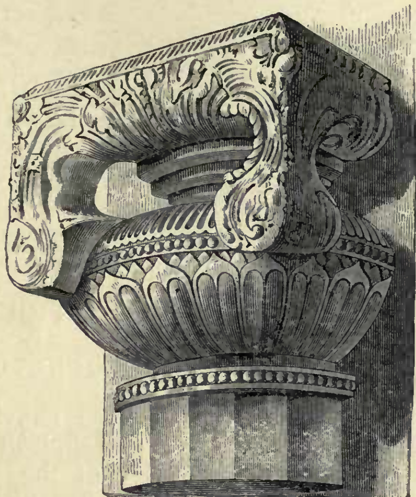
It is by no means clear when this form of capital was first introduced. It first appears, but timidly it must be confessed, in such Buddhist caves as were excavated after the end of the 2nd century:—as, for instance, in the *S*rî Yajna cave at Nâsik (Woodcut No. 105); in the courtyard of the Vi*s*wakarma, at Elûrâ (Woodcut No. 83); and in some of the later caves at Ajantâ—the twenty-fourth for instance. It is found at Eran (Woodcut No. 166), among some fragments that I believe to be of the age of the Guptas, about A.D. 400, and it is currently employed in the middle group of Hindû caves at Elûrâ, such as the Râvana-ka Khai, and other caves of that age, say about A.D. 600. It afterwards became frequent, almost universal, with the Jains, down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest. The following representation of one (Woodcut No. 167), from a half column of a temple in Orissa, shows it in a skeleton form, and therefore more suited to explain its construction than a fuller capital would do. On its introduction, the bell-shaped or Persepolitan capital seems to have gone out of fashion, and does not again appear in Indian art.

To return from this digression: there can be no doubt that the temple of Vaidyanâtha is dedicated to *S*iva, not only from the presence of the bull in front of it, in a pavilion of the same

architecture as the porch, but also because Ganesa appears among its integral sculptures. In the niche in the back



166. Pillar in porch of a Temple at Eran, of the Gupta age.



167. Capital of Half Column from a Temple in Orissa. (From a Lithograph.)

however, is the base of what has been a marble image of Mahâvîra, with an inscription in two lines telling that it was consecrated in A.D. 1240. This base must have been transferred to the *S*iva temple after the destruction of the original Jaina shrine, and probably owes its preservation and that of a figure placed over it, to the ignorance of the priests of Vaidyanâtha.[1]

The temple second in interest is that of Siddhanâth at the west end of the town. It consists of a four-pillared hall and a shrine, measuring 33 ft. by 20 ft. over all, and with a *s*ikhara about 35 ft. in height. It faced to the east, and had doorways on each side of the shrine leading into a pradakshina or circumambulatory passage.[2] In a niche in the south wall there had been an inscription, long since illegible; but in the back or west wall was a figure of Sûrya; and the temple was most probably dedicated to the sun.

[1] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. i. pp. 98 and 118-119, and compare p. 120. On it was placed a sandstone figure of Sûrya—perhaps from the Siddhanâth temple. A similar transference has occurred at Kot Kângrâ, where an image of Pârswanâth was found in the porch of a small Hindu temple—*Ibid.* p. 120.

[2] The drawings of this temple in Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. v. plate 44 are not correct.

BOOK III.

DRAVIDIAN STYLE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE limits within which the Dravidian style of architecture prevailed in India are not difficult to define or understand. Practically they are those of the Madras Presidency, or, to speak more correctly, they are identical with the spread of the people speaking Tamil, or the cognate tongues. Dr. Caldwell, in his 'Grammar,' estimated these, in 1874, at forty-five or forty-six millions,[1] but he includes among them a number of tribes, such as the Tudas and Gonds, who, it is true, speak dialects closely allied to the Tamil tongues, but unless we know their history, language is only a poor test of race, and in this instance architecture does not come to our aid. And, so far as we at present know, these tribes are in too rude a state to have any architecture of their own in a sufficiently advanced state for our purposes. Putting them aside, therefore, for the present, we still have, according to the census of 1901, over fifty-two millions of people speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayâlam,[2] whom we have no reason for doubting are practically of the same race, and who, in so far as they are Hindûs—not Jains, but followers of *S*iva and Vishnu—practise one style of architecture, and that known as the Dravidian. On the east coast the boundaries of the

[1] 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,' London, 2nd edition, 1875, p. 42.

[2] This total includes the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travankor, part of the Bombay Presidency and Haidarâbâd. In the last named there are 5,148,000 Telugu people and 1,562,000 Kanarese. The totals in each language are:—

Language	Total
Tamil	16,299,000
Malayâlam	5,278,000
Telugu	20,409,000
Kanarese	10,234,000
	52,220,000

style extend as far north as the mouth of the Krishnâ, and it penetrates sporadically and irregularly into the Nizâm's territories, but chiefly through the Telugu speaking districts.

On the west coast its natural boundary northwards is the Krishnâ to the Dhârwar district, and thence south-east, past Vijayanagar and to the east of Sravana-Belgola and north of Mysore city westwards to the coast. Much of the Kanarese country lies to the north and west of this, and a large part of the Telugu area is to the north of it; but, of course, examples of the style are to be found beyond this line, and of other styles within it. At Elûrâ in latitude 20° N. we have it, but this is most probably due to the Râshtrakûta kings having employed architects from their capital of Mâlkhed, 200 miles to the south. It took no permanent root there, however, while the reflex wave brought the northern styles into Mysore or other southern countries, where their presence was as little to be expected as that of the Dravidian so far north.

Although considerable progress has lately been made in the right direction, no satisfactory solution has yet been arrived at of the problem of the origin of the Dravidians. So far as history is concerned, in such glimmerings of tradition as we possess, at the earliest time at which we find any mention of them the most civilised and important of their communities occupied the extreme southern point of the peninsula.[1] North of them all was forest, but between the Christian Era and the Muhammadan invasion we find the jungle gradually disappearing, and the southern races pushing northwards, till, in the 14th century, they were checked and driven back by the Moslim.

Till we know more about the origin of these Dravidian races, however, it seems expedient for the present to assume that the Tamil-speaking races are practically aboriginal. As far back as their traditions reach, we find the Drâvida De*s*a, or southern part of India, divided into kingdoms or states, of which three are frequently mentioned—the Pândyas, the Cholas, and the Cheras,[2] forming a little triarchy of powers, not often interfered with by the other nations of the peninsula, nor interfering with those beyond their limits. During the greater part of their existence their relations of war and

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[1] See H. H. Wilson's historical sketch in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iii. (1836), p. 199 *et seqq.*

[2] In A*s*oka's second edict reference is made to Chola, Pândya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra and Ceylon; and, as Kerala is well known as the name of the Chera country, we have here mention of all three states together with 'Satiyaputra,' which may possibly be that of the *S*âtakarnis of Banavâsi. The A*s*oka inscriptions discovered in 1892 in Mysore are indicative of the wide influence of that emperor.

peace have been chiefly among themselves, and they have grown up a separate people, as unlike the rest of the world as can well be conceived.

Of the three the most southern was the Pândya kingdom, which occupied the extreme south of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Vellâr river[1] in the Pudukottai state on the east coast, and to Achchankovil Pass[2] on the west, including the southern part of Travankor. It seems to have been of sufficient importance about the time of the Christian Era to have attracted the special attention of Greek and Roman geographers and merchants. How much earlier it became a state, or had a regular succession of rulers, we know not,[3] but it seems to have attained to some consistency as early as five or six centuries before the Christian Era, for we find its princes referred to in the earliest Singhalese traditions of the 'Mahâwansa.'[4] Their early capital was probably Korkai or Kolkai, at the mouth of the Tâmraparnî close to Kâyal, and known to the early geographers as the seat of the pearl fishery; but the Pândya princes, at an early date, either removed to Madurâ, or possibly they had another capital there. This continued to be the seat of government of the later rulers of the country from some time in the 12th century till its absorption in the middle of the 18th.

During the long period of their rule, the Pândyas had several epochs of great brilliancy and power, followed by long intervening periods of depression owing to frequent invasions from their neighbours the Chola kings of Trichinopoly. The 1st century, and afterwards the 5th or 6th, seem to have been those in which they especially distinguished themselves. The large number of gold, silver and copper coins, chiefly of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Nero, that have been found at different places in the region, indicate a considerable commerce with the West at that age. We have lists of kings, but how far mythical we know not, the times at which any of them lived being quite unknown before the 9th or 10th century, and such as have been approximately ascertained between the 9th and 13th century are those mentioned in Chola inscriptions. If buildings of the first ten or twelve centuries exist, which is by

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[1] It falls into Palks Strait in 10° 8′ N. latitude.

[2] In N. latitude 9° 6′.

[3] See Bishop Caldwell's 'Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly' (Madras, 1881); and 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxii. (1893), pp. 57ffg.

[4] Vijaya sends to the Pândya king for his daughter.—'Mahâwansa,' ch. vii. And the second and fourth Sinhalese princes are named Pându-vâsa and Pândukâbhaya, as being of Pândya descent.

no means improbable, they are still unknown to us, and must remain so till the full results of the Archæological Surveys are adequately published. In the early ages of their history the Pândya kings are believed to have been Buddhists, but one of them, perhaps in the 12th century, became a *S*aiva, and persecuted the heterodox sect mercilessly.

The Muhammadans, led by Malik Kâfûr, conquered Madurâ in 1311, and for about half a century they held the country, till dispossessed by a new line of Pândya princes, who were probably more or less under the supremacy of Vijayanagar. About 1525, however, the Nâyyaks—officers of Vijayanagar—usurped supreme power at Madurâ, and ruled there till 1736. By far the most distinguished prince of the Nâyyak dynasty was Tirumalai Nâyyak, who ruled from 1623 till 1659. This prince adorned the capital city of Madurâ with many splendid edifices, some of which have been drawn by Daniell and others. What more ancient remains there are will not be known till they have been carefully and scientifically surveyed, and the results published.

The Chola kingdom extended northward from the border of the Pândya country and the valley of the Kâverî and Kolerûn rivers, whose banks seem always to have been its principal seat, to the Pâlâr river or nearly to Madras, all along the eastern coast, called after them Cholamandalam or Coromandel. Westwards their kingdom extended into Mysore, but the boundaries varied at different periods, and, after the fall of the Pallavas of Kânchî, they advanced northwards to the limits of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. The date of the origin of their kingdom is not known, but the mention of Chola as a state in the A*s*oka edicts is proof of its antiquity. Their early capital was Uraiyûr, now a suburb of Trichinopoly. The earliest princes of the dynasty, whose position we can assign, belong to the 9th century, but it is only with Râjarâja I., who became king in 983, that any connected chronology commences. Their epoch of greatest glory was between the 10th and 12th centuries, when they seem to have conquered not only their neighbours the Pallavas, Pândyas and Cheras, but even to have surpassed the bounds of the triarchy, and carried their arms into Ceylon, and to have maintained an equal struggle with the Chalukyas in the north. Their capital during this period was at Kânchî, now Conjivaram, which they had wrested from the Pallavas. By the middle of the 13th century, however, their power had waned, and they sank step by step, first under the Muhammadans, from whom it passed to the Nâyyaks of Madurâ, and then to the Marâthas.

The Cheras occupied the country northward of the Pândya

kingdom, and westward of the Chola, stretching along the west or Malabar coast to Honâwar: whether they ever occupied any considerable portion of Mysore or of Koimbatur is not so certain. The capital was Karûr or Vanji, probably adjacent to Cranganor in the Cochin state.[1] Tradition assigns to the state a series of kings styled Perumâl, who seem to have been elective, and are mentioned as Pândyas and Cholas, but the list ended with Cherumân Perumâl, in the 9th century, who is said to have become a Moslim. No Chera inscriptions have as yet come to light to help us to unravel their history, and the territory was probably divided into principalities, whose main defence was the mountain range, separating their country from their eastern neighbours.

But however this may be, the old Chera region is best defined by its architecture, for the style of Hindû temple, Jaina basti, and Moslim mosque, is distinctly one throughout the country from the north of Kanara to the south of Travankor. Jainism probably penetrated into the country at an early date, and till late in the 16th century the Tuluva râjas were Jains, whilst the colossal statues at Kârkala and Venûr in South Kanara and at *S*ravan-Belgola in Mysore, with the bastis at Mûdabidri, Bhatkal and elsewhere testify to their zeal. On the other hand, the Malayâlis are snake worshippers to the present day; in their gardens the Hindûs usually provide a "Nâga-kotta" or snake shrine.[2]

A fourth dynasty, already mentioned, appears at an early date in the history of the Dekhan; the Pallavas[3] possibly rose to power on the decay of the Andhra power in the third century, and they seem to have secured much of the Chola country, probably before the 5th. About A.D. 400 Samudragupta, among other princes, claimed to have overthrown Vishnugopa of Kânchî, who was doubtless a Pallava king, and recent epigraphical research has now brought to light details respecting this dynasty which ruled the country called Drâvida from their capital at Kânchî, now Conjivaram. In the 7th century they were at war with the Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, and Narasimhavarman I. claimed to have destroyed Bâdâmi during the reign of the Chalukya king Pulike*s*in II. (A.D. 609-642), whilst his father Mahendravarman had, at an earlier date, defeated the same king near Kânchî when

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[1] Ptolemy ('Geographia,' vii. 86) mentions Karoura as the capital of Kêrobothras, probably intended for Kêrapûtran, 'King of Chera.'—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxxi., pp. 343-344; Logan's 'Malabar,' vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

[2] *Ante*, p. 43, note 3.

[3] The 'Mahâbhârata,' 'Vishnu Purâna,' and 'Varâha Mihira' (in the 6th century), frequently mention the Pahlavas among the tribes in the north-west, and some scholars have tried to identify them with the Pallavas, who were in the south-east of India as early as the 2nd century, but the similarity of names alone will hardly justify the assumption of identity.

he invaded Drâvida.[1] Probably about this period the Pallavas extended their rule over the Bellâri district and parts of Mysore; but in the following century we learn that Vikramâditya II., the Chalukya king, about 740, defeated Nandivarman Pallava and entered Kânchî, bestowing gifts on the shrine of Râjasimhe*s*vara—now the Kailâsanâtha temple—built by Narasimhavarman II. A century later they were attacked by the Râshtrakûtas, and their power seems to have been broken, and they gradually succumbed to the Cholas, who re-asserted their power in the 10th century.

Parântaka or Vîranârâyana (*cir.* A.D. 907-946) advanced the Chola power and boasts of taking Madurâ from the Pândya king and the invasion of Ceylon,[2] as also of gilding the "Golden Hall" at Chidambaram, the then famed temple of his race. His son Râjâditya was killed in battle by the Râshtrakûta king Krishna III., and a period of civil war followed till 985, when Râjarâja secured the throne and carried his conquests as far as Kalinga on the north, to Kollam or Quilon on the west, and to Ceylon in the south.[3] Though a *S*aiva, we have a long copperplate grant of the 21st year of his reign granting a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapattam built by a king of Katâha—apparently in the eastern peninsula[4]; but his great architectural monument was the Tanjor temple. For a century after Râjarâja I. the Cholas maintained the commanding position he had gained for his dynasty, but from the time of Vikrama Chola (1118-1135), their power gradually waned, and after this the rise of the Ballâlas in Mysore, and the revival of the Pândyas in the south, seem to have checked them to such an extent that they never regained their previous position.

Although, politically, these states always remained distinct, and generally antagonistic, the people belonged to the same race. Their architecture is different from any other found in India, but united in itself, and has gone through a process of gradual change from the earliest times at which we become acquainted with it, until we lose sight of it altogether in the last century. This change is invariably for the worse, the earlier specimens being in all instances the most perfect, and the degree of degradation forming, as mentioned above, a tolerably exact chronometric scale, by which we may measure the age of the buildings.

Buddhism does not seem to have ever gained such a footing

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[1] Hultzsch, 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. iii. pp. 340ffg.; and Fleet, 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 316ffg.

[2] The 'Mahâwansa' seems to place this invasion in the time of Udaya III., A.D. 964-972; but the flight of the Pându king from Madurâ to Ceylon is mentioned under Kâsyapa IV., A.D. 929-939, 'Mahâwansa,' chh. lii., liii.

[3] 'Mahâwansa,' ch. lv.

[4] *Ante*, p. 206.

among the Dravidian races generally as it did in northern and western India; yet, in the 7th century, when Hiuen Tsiang visited Kânchîpuram, most probably when Narasimhavarman I. was the Pallava sovereign, he reckoned "some hundred of sanghârâmas with ten thousand priests" in the Drâvida country, all belonging to the Sthavira school of the Mahâyâna, with eighty Hindû temples and many Jaina heretics.[1] In Malakûta or the Pândya country he reports from hearsay that the monasteries were mostly ruinous, whilst Jains were numerous; and for the Chola province, which he probably passed through, he makes a like statement. Like their temples at Negapattam, Buddhist monasteries would mostly be of brick, and when the sect disappeared, whether from persecution—as tradition asserts—or through absorption into Vaishnava or other sects, their buildings would be pulled down or altered for other purposes.

The Jaina religion long continued to flourish at Conjivaram and in Mysore; but, though influential from their intelligence, the Jains never formed more than a small numerical fraction of the people among whom they were located.

The Hindû religion, which was probably always supreme in the Dravidian districts, now commonly designated the Brahmanical, is divided into the worshippers of *S*iva and Vishnu, which are quite distinct and almost antagonistic; but both are so overloaded with absurd fables and monstrous superstitions that it is very difficult to ascertain what they really are or ever were. Nor are we yet in a position to speak confidently of their origin.

Both these religions have borrowed an immense amount of nomenclature from the more abstract religions of the Aryan races, and both profess to venerate the Vedas and other scriptures in the Sanskrit language. Indeed it is all but impossible that the intellectual superiority of that race should not make itself felt on the inferior tribes, but it is most important always to bear in mind that the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan was a stranger in India. It cannot indeed be too often repeated that all that is intellectually great in that country—all, indeed, which is written—belongs to them; but all that is built—all, indeed, which is artistic—belongs to other races, who were either aboriginal or immigrated into India at earlier or subsequent periods, and from other sources than those which supplied the Aryan stock.

There does not seem to be any essential difference either in plan or form between the *S*aiva and Vaishnava temples in the

[1] Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. p. 229.

south of India. It is only by observing the images or emblems worshipped, or by reading the stories represented in the numerous sculptures with which a temple is adorned, that we find out the god to whom it is dedicated. Whoever he may be, the temples consist almost invariably of the four following parts, arranged in various manners, as afterwards to be explained, but differing in themselves only according to the age in which they were executed:—

1. The principal part, the actual temple itself, is called the *Vimâna*.[1] It is always square in plan, and surmounted by a pyramidal roof of one or more storeys; and it contains the cell in which the image of the god or his emblem is placed.

2. The porches or *Mantapams*,[2] which always cover and precede the door leading to the cell.

3. Gate-pyramids, *Gopurams*,[3] which are the principal features in the quadrangular enclosures that surround the more notable temples.

4. Pillared halls or *Chaultris* — properly *Châwadîs*[4] — used for various purposes, and which are the invariable accompaniments of these temples.

Besides these, a temple always contains tanks or wells for water—to be used either for sacred purposes or the convenience of the priests—dwellings for all the various grades of the priesthood are attached to it, and numerous other buildings for state or convenience.

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[1] *Vimâna* is generally used to designate "a chariot" or vehicle of the gods, a moving palace; hence it includes the shrine and spire.

[2] In Sanskrit—*Mandapa*, a pavilion or open porch, thence a hall, and a temple.

[3] *Gopura* means a town gate, hence an entrance, applied to the lofty towers over the entries to southern temples. The later style of gopurams dates from the 16th century, and do not properly belong to the original Dravidian temples. They were probably intended for purposes of defence against invasion and plunder.

[4] *Châwatî* or *Châwadî* is a public lodging place, a shelter for travellers.

CHAPTER II.

HINDÛ CONSTRUCTION.

CONTENTS.

Arches.

Before proceeding to describe the arrangements of Hindû or Jaina temples, it may add to the clearness of what follows on the various styles if we first explain the peculiar modes of constructing arches and domes which they invariably employed.

As remarked above, although we cannot assert that the Buddhists never employed a true arch, this at least is certain—that, except in the roofs of one or two small chaityas recently discovered, no structural example has been found in India, and that all the arched or circular forms found in the caves are without exception copies of wooden forms, and nowhere even simulate stone construction. With the Hindûs and Jains the case is different: they use stone arches and stone domes which are not copied from wooden forms at all; but these are invariably horizontal arches, never formed or intended to be formed with radiating voussoirs.

It has been explained, in speaking of Pelasgic art,[1] how prevalent these forms were in ancient Greece and Asia Minor, and how long they continued to be employed even after the principles of the true arch were perfectly understood. In India, however, the adherence to this form of construction is even more remarkable. As the Hindûs quaintly express it, "an arch never sleeps"; and it is true that a radiating arch does contain in itself a *vis viva* which is always tending to thrust its haunches outwards, and goes far to insure the ultimate destruction of every building where it is employed: while the horizontal forms employed by the Hindûs are in stable equilibrium, and, unless disturbed by violence, might remain so for ever.

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[1] Fergusson's 'Ancient and Mediæval Architecture' (3rd ed.), vol. i. pp. 243 *et seqq.*

There can be no doubt that the Hindûs carried their horror of an arch to an excess which frequently led them to worse faults on the other side. In city walls for instance, where there is a superabundant abutment on either hand to counteract any thrust, the horizontal principle is entirely misplaced. If we take, for instance, one of the city gates at Vijayanagar (Woodcut No. 168), we cannot help perceiving that with much smaller stones



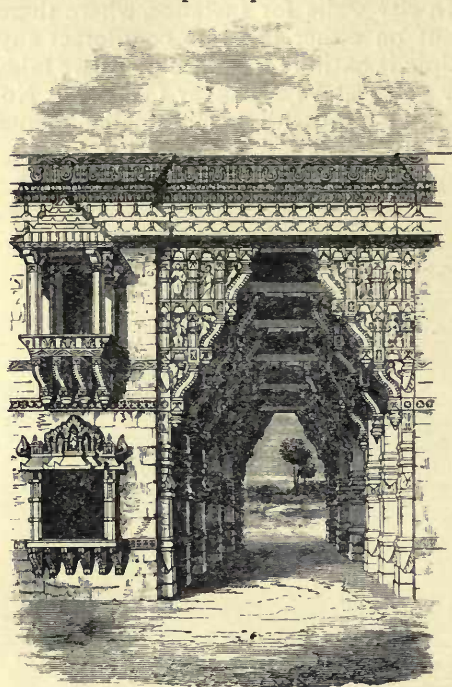
168. View of City Gateway, Vijayanagar. (From a Photograph.)

and less trouble a far more stable construction could have been obtained, so long as the wall on either hand remained entire. What the Hindû feared was that if the wall were shattered, as we now find it, the arch would have fallen, though the horizontal layers still remain in their places.

Instead of a continuous bracket like that shown in the last example, a more usual form, in modern times at least, is that of several detached brackets placed a little distance apart the one from the other. When used in moderation this is the more pleasing form of the two, and in southern India it is generally used with great success. In the north they are liable to exaggerate it, as in the gateway from Jhinjhuwâdâ in Gujarât (Woodcut No. 169, p. 312), when it becomes unpleasing, though singularly characteristic of the style.[1]

[1] Other examples of the same style may be seen in the gateways of Dabhoi.—Burgess and Cousens, 'The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarât,' plates 10, 13, and 16.

It is this horizontal or bracket mode of construction that is the formative principle of the Dravidian or Southern style of Hindû architecture, every form and every ornament depending almost wholly upon it. In the north, however, another development of the same principle is found in the horizontal dome, which is scarcely known in the south, but which has given a new character to the style, and, as one of its most beautiful features, demands a somewhat detailed explanation.



169. Gateway, Jhinjhuwâdâ.
(From Kinloch Forbes' Râs Mâlâ.)

Domes.

It is to be regretted that, while so much has been written on the history of the pointed arch, so little should have been said regarding the history of domes: the one being a mere constructive peculiarity that might very well have been dispensed with; the other being the noblest feature in the styles in which it prevails, and perhaps the most important acquisition with which science has enriched the art of architecture.

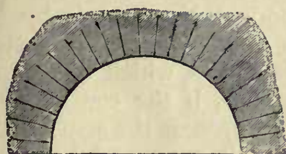
The so-called Treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenos, as well as the chambers in Etruscan tombs, prove that as early as ten or twelve centuries before Christ the Pelasgic races had learned the art of roofing circular chambers with stone vaults, not constructed, as we construct them, with radiating vaults, on the principle of the common arch, but by successive layers of stones converging to a point, and closed by one large stone at the apex.

Whoever invented the true or radiating arch, the Romans were the first who applied it as a regular and essential architectural feature, and who at the same time introduced its complement, the radiating dome, into architectural construction;

at what period it is not now known. The earliest example, the Pantheon, is also the finest and largest; but we have lost entirely the innumerable steps by which the architects must have slowly progressed to so daring an experiment.

There is, however, a vast difference between these two classes of domes, which it is necessary to bear in mind in order to understand what follows.

The Roman arch and Roman dome are always constructed (Woodcut No. 170) on the principle of voussoirs, or truncated wedges, radiating from a centre. This enabled the Romans to cover much larger spaces with their domes than perhaps was possible on the horizontal principle; but it involved the inconvenience of great lateral thrusts, continually tending to split the dome and tear the building in pieces, and requiring immense and massive abutments to counteract their destructive energy.



170. Radiating Arch.



171. Horizontal Arch.

The Indian or horizontal dome never can be made circular in section, except when used on the smallest scale, but almost always takes a form more or less pointed (Woodcut No. 171). From the time of the building of the Treasury of Mycenæ[1] to the birth of Christ, we have a tolerably complete series of arches and vaults constructed on this principle, but few domes properly so called. After the Christian Era the first example is found in a singular tomb at Mylassa,[2] near Halicarnassus in Caria,[3] where the dome exhibits all the peculiarities of construction found in the Jaina temples of India. After this we almost lose the thread of its history till the form reappears in porches like those of the 11th century on Mount Âbû, where it is a perfectly established architectural feature, that must have been practised long before it could be used as we find it in that building. Whether we shall ever be able to recover the lost links in this chain is more than doubtful, but it would be deeply interesting to the history of art if it could be done. In the meantime, there is no difficulty in explaining the constructive steps by which the object is now attained in India. These may also throw some

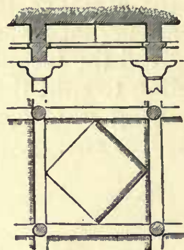
[1] 'History of Ancient and Mediæval Architecture,' vol. i. p. 243.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 371; and *ante*, p. 209.

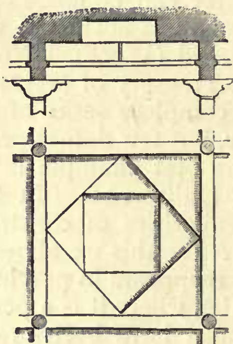
[3] Fully illustrated in vol. ii. of the Dilettanti Society's 'Antiquities of Ionia.'

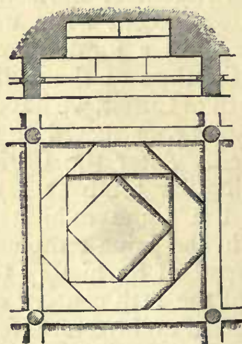
light on the history of the invention, though this is not, of course, capable of direct proof.

The simplest mode of roofing a small square space supported by four pillars is merely to run an architrave or stone beam from each pillar, and cover the intermediate opening by a plain stone slab. Unless, however, slabs of great dimensions are available, this mode of construction has a limit very soon arrived at. The next step therefore is to reduce the extent of the central space to be covered by cutting off its corners; this is done by triangular stones placed in each angle of the square, as in Woodcut No. 172, thus employing five stones instead of one. By this means, the size of the central stone remaining the same, the side of the square space so roofed is increased in the ratio of ten to seven, the actual area being doubled. The next step in the process (Woodcut No. 173) is by employing three tiers and nine stones, instead of two tiers and five stones, which quadruples the area roofed. Thus, if the central stone is 4 ft., by the second process the space roofed will be about 5 ft. 8 in.; by the third 8 ft. square; by a fourth process (Woodcut No. 174)—with four tiers and thirteen stones



172.
Diagram of Roofing.

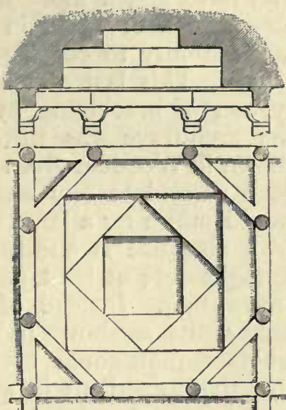




173. Diagrams of Roofing. 174.

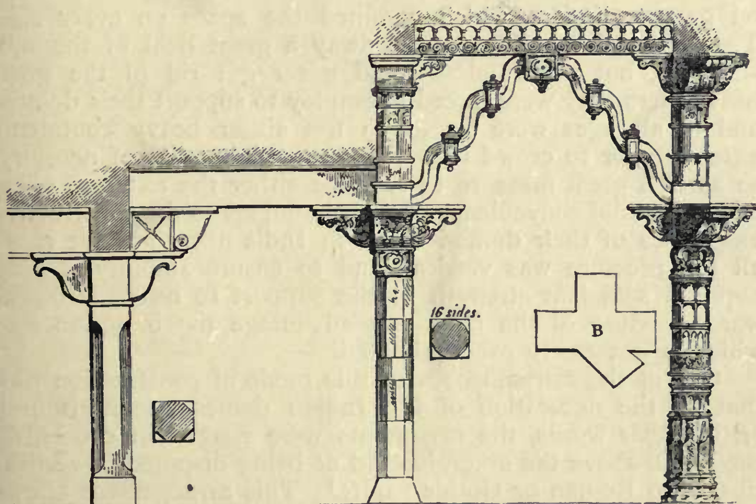
—the extent roofed may be 9 ft. or 10 ft., always assuming the central stone to remain 4 ft. square. All these forms are still currently used in India, but with four pillars the process is seldom carried further than this; with another tier, however, and eight pillars (as shown in Woodcut No. 175), it may be carried a step further—exactly the extent to which it is carried in the tomb at Mylassa above referred to. In this, however, as

in all instances of octagonal domes in this style, instead of the octagonal form being left as such, there are always four external pillars at the angles, so that the square shape is retained, with twelve pillars, of which the eight internal pillars may be taken as mere insertions to support the long architrave between the four angular pillars.



175. Diagram of Roofing.

It is evident that here again we come to a limit beyond which we cannot progress without using large and long stones. This was sometimes met by cutting off the angles of the octagon, and making the lower course of sixteen sides. When this has been done an awkwardness arises in getting back to the square form. This was escaped from, in all the instances I am acquainted with, by adopting circular courses for all above that with sixteen sides. In many instances the lower course with sixteen sides is altogether omitted, and the circles placed immediately



176. Diagram of Indian Construction.
B. Form of bracket capital in the angle of an octagonal dome.

on the octagon, as in the temple of Vimala at Âbû (Woodcut No. 284, vol. ii. p. 39). It is difficult to say how far this system

might be carried constructively without danger of weakness. The Indian domes seldom exceed 30 ft. in diameter, but this may have arisen more from the difficulty of getting architraves above 12 ft. or 13 ft. in length to support the sides, than from any inability to construct domes of larger diameter in themselves. This last difficulty was to some extent got over by a system of bracketing, by which more than half the bearing of the architrave was thrown on the capital of the column, as shown in Woodcut No. 176. Of course this method might have been carried to any extent, so that a very short architrave would suffice for a large dome; but whether this could be done with elegance is another matter. The Indians seem to have thought not; at least, as far so I know, they never carried it to any extent. Instead of bracketing, however, they sometimes used struts, as shown in Woodcut No. 176, but it is questionable whether that could ever be made a really serviceable constructive expedient in stone architecture.

The great advantage to be derived from the mode ot constructing domes just described was the power it gave of placing them on pillars without having anything to fear from the lateral thrust of the vault. The Romans never even attempted this, but always, so to speak, brought their vaults down to the ground, or at least could only erect them on great cylinders, which confined the space on every side. The Byzantine architects cut away a great deal of the substructure, but nevertheless could never get rid of the great heavy piers they were forced to employ to support their domes; and in all ages were forced to use either heavy abutments externally, or to crowd their interiors with masses of masonry, so as in a great measure to sacrifice either the external effect or the internal convenience of their buildings to the constructive exigencies of their domes. This in India never was the case; all the pressure was vertical, and to ensure stability it only required sufficient strength in the support to bear the downward pressure of the mass—an advantage the importance of which is not easily over-estimated.

One of the consequences of this mode of construction was, that all the decoration of the Indian domes was horizontal, or, in other words, the ornaments were ranged in concentric rings, one above the other, instead of being disposed in vertical ribs, as in Roman or Gothic vaults.[1] This arrangement allows of far more variety without any offence to good taste, and practically has rendered some of the Indian domes the most

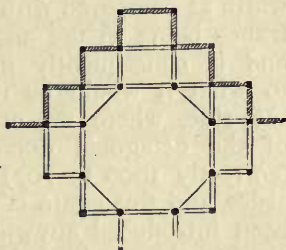
[1] The tendency of the Indian construction, however, was to make the section of the dome nearly conical as each course or ring of stone, after the first two or three, had about the same amount of projection inwards.

exquisite specimens of elaborate roofing that can anywhere be seen. Another consequence of this mode of construction was the employment of pendants from the centres of the domes, which are used to an extent that would have surprised even the Tudor architects of our own country. With them, however, the pendant was an architectural *tour de force*, requiring great constructive ingenuity and large masses to counterbalance it, and is always tending to destroy the building it ornaments; while the Indian pendant, on the contrary, only adds its own weight to that of the dome, and has no other prejudicial tendency. Its forms, too, generally have a lightness and elegance never even imagined in Gothic art; it hangs from the centre of a dome more like a lustre of crystal drops than a solid mass of marble or of stone.

As before remarked, the eight pillars that support the dome are almost never left by themselves, the base being made square by the addition of four others at the angles. There are many small buildings so constructed with only twelve pillars, as shown in the annexed diagram (No. 177), but two more are oftener added on each face, making twenty altogether, as shown on the upper side of the annexed diagram (No 178); or four on each face, making twenty-eight; or again, two in front of these four, or six on each face, so as to make thirty-six; and the same system of aggregation is carried on till the number of pillars reaches fifty-six (Woodcut No. 179), which is the largest number I ever saw surrounding one dome; but any number of these domes may surround one temple, or central dome, and the number consequently be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. When so great a number of pillars is introduced as in the last instance, it is usual to make the outmost compartment on each face square, and surmount it with a smaller dome. This is occasionally though rarely done even with the smallest number.



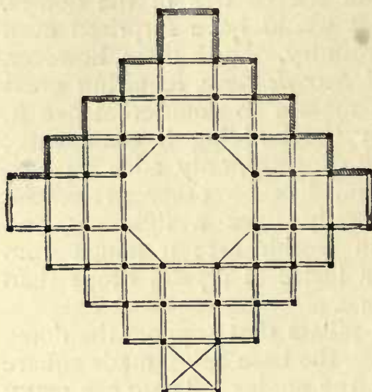
177.
Diagram of the arrangement of the pillars of a Jaina Dome.



178.
Diagram Plan of Jaina Porch.

The first result of this arrangement is, that the Hindûs obtained singularly varied outline in plan, producing the happiest effects of light and shade with every change in the sun's position. Another result was, that by the accentuation of the salient and re-entering angles, they produced those strongly-

marked vertical lines which give such an appearance of height to Gothic designs. To accomplish this, however, the Western architects were obliged to employ buttresses, pinnacles, and other constructive expedients. The Hindûs obtained it by a new disposition of the plan without anywhere interrupting the composition. This form of outline also expresses the internal arrangements of the porch better than could be done by the simpler outline of either a square or circle, such as is usually employed in Europe. Its greatest merit, however, is, that the length of the greater aisles is exactly proportioned to their relative width as compared with that of the subordinate aisles. The entrance being in the angle, the great aisle forms the diagonal, and is consequently in the ratio of 10 to 7, as compared to what it would be if the entrance were in the centre of the side, where we usually place it. From the introduction of the octagonal dome in the centre the same proportion (correctly 1000 to 707) prevails between the central and side aisles, and this again is perhaps the most pleasing that has yet been introduced anywhere. In Gothic churches the principal aisles are generally twice as wide as the side ones, but they are also twice as high, which restores the proportion. Here, where the height of all is the same, or, nearly so, this gradation just suffices to give variety, and to mark the relative importance of the parts, without the one overpowering the other: and neither has the appearance of being too broad nor too narrow.



179. Diagram of Jaina Porch.

It is, of course, difficult for those who have never seen a building of the class just described to judge of the effect of these arrangements; and they have seldom been practised in Europe. There is, however, one building in which they have accidentally been employed to a considerable extent, and which owes its whole beauty to the manner in which it follows the arrangement above described. That building is Sir Christopher Wren's church of St. Stephens, Walbrook. Internally its principal feature is a dome supported on eight pillars, with four more in the angles, and two principal aisles crossing the building at right angles, with smaller square compartments on each side. This church is the great architect's masterpiece, but it would have

been greatly improved had its resemblance to a Hindû porch been more complete. The necessity of confining the dome and aisles within four walls greatly injures the effect as compared with the Indian examples. Even the Indian plan of roofing, explained above, might be used in such a building with much less expense and less constructive danger than a Gothic vault of the same extent.

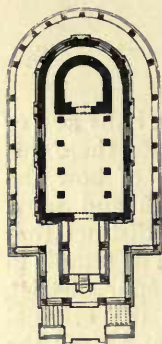
PLANS.

Till the discovery of the small Buddhist chaitya halls at Têr and Chezarla and elsewhere, already described (p. 126), there was only one temple in India which gave us any hint of how the plans of such halls were related to those of Hindû and Jaina temples. Fortunately, however, its evidence is so distinct that there could be very little doubt about the matter. The temple in question is situated in the village of Aihole, in Bijâpûr district, in western India, not far from the place where the original capital of the Chalukyan sovereigns was situated, and near the caves of Bâdâmi on the one hand and the temples of Pattadakal on the other. Its date is uncertain to some extent, since an inscription on its outer gateway recording a grant to the temple, during the reign of Vikramâditya-Satyâsraya, is undated;[1] and there were two Chalukya kings of this name—one ruling between A.D. 655 and 680, and the other between 733 and 746. But the grant was to a temple already established, and even if made in the 8th century the fane might well be of fifty or eighty years earlier date, as its architecture would indicate. It is thus not only one of the oldest structural temples known to exist in western India, but in fact one of the only three yet discovered that can with any certainty be said to have been erected before the beginning of the 8th century.

This temple, as the sculptures testify, was dedicated to Vishnu—the special divinity of the Chalukyas; but the words carved in Kanarese on the basement—"the holy Jaina temple"—seems to indicate that at one time it had been claimed or appropriated by the Jains, and this, with some misconception as to the character of the sculptures, has led to the mistake of its being supposed that it was originally Jaina. Its original dedication is fortunately, however, of very little importance for our present purposes. The age when this temple was erected was the age of toleration in India. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang has left us a most vivid description of a great

[1] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. viii. pp. 285-286; and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. i. pp. 40 *et seqq.*

quinquennial festival, at which he was present at Allahâbâd in A.D. 643, at which the great King *S*ilâditya presided, and distributed alms and honours, on alternate days, to Buddhists, Brahmans, and heretics of all classes, who were assembled there in tens of thousands, and seem to have felt no jealousy of each other, or rivalry that led, at least, to any disturbance.[1] It was on the eve of a disruption that led to the most violent contests, but up to that time we have no reason to believe that they did not all use similar edifices for their religious purposes, with only such slight modifications as their different formulæ may have required (Woodcut No. 180).



180. Old Temple at Aihole. (From a Plan by J. Burgess.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

Be this as it may, any one who will compare the plan of the chaitya at Sânchî (Woodcut No. 47), which is certainly Buddhist, with that of this temple at Aihole, which is Vaishnava, can hardly fail to perceive how nearly identical they must have been when complete. In both instances, it will be observed, the apse is solid, and it appears that this always was the case in structural free-standing chaityas. At least, in all the rock-cut examples, so far as is known, the pillars round the apse are different from those that separate the nave from the aisles; they never have capitals or bases, and are mere plain makeshifts. From the nature of their situation in the rock, light could not be admitted to the aisle behind the apse from the outside, but must be borrowed from the front, and a solid apse was consequently inadmissible; but in free-standing examples, as at Aihole, it was easy to introduce windows there or anywhere. Another change was necessary when, from an apse sheltering a relic-shrine, it became a cell containing an image of a god; a door was then indispensable, and also a thickening of the wall when it was necessary it should bear a tower or *s*ikhara to mark the position of the cella on the outside. Omitting the verandah, the other changes introduced between the erection of these two examples are only such as were required to adapt the points of support in the temple to carry a heavy stone roof, instead of the light wooden superstructure of the primitive Buddhist chaitya (Woodcut No. 181).

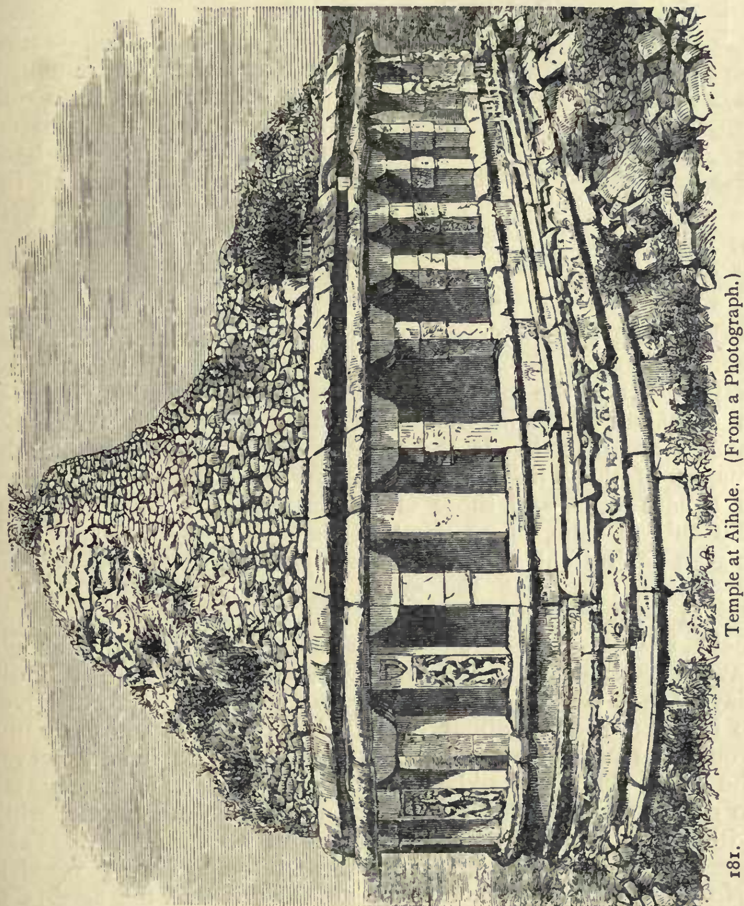
It may be a question, and one not easy to settle in the present state of our knowledge, whether the Buddhist chaityas had or had not verandahs, like the Aihole example. The rock-

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[1] Hiouen Thsang, 'Mémoires sur les Contrées Orientales,' tome i. pp. 253 *et seqq.*; or Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. pp. 214 *et seqq.*

cut examples naturally give us no information on this subject, but the presumption certainly is, looking at their extreme appropriateness in that climate, that they had this appendage, sometimes at least, though not perhaps usually.

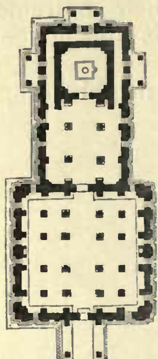
If from this temple at Aihole we pass to the neighbouring



181. Temple at Aihole. (From a Photograph.)

*S*aiva one of Pâpanâtha at Pattadakal, built probably not very much later, we find that we have passed the boundary line that separates the ancient from the mediæval architecture of India, in so far at least as plans are concerned (Woodcut No. 182). The circular forms of the Buddhists have entirely disappeared, and the cell has become the base of a square tower, as it

remained ever afterwards. The nave of the chaitya has become a well defined mandapa or porch in front of, but distinct from, the cell, and these two features in an infinite variety of forms, and with various subordinate adjuncts, are the essential elements of the plans of the Jaina and Hindû temples of all the subsequent ages.



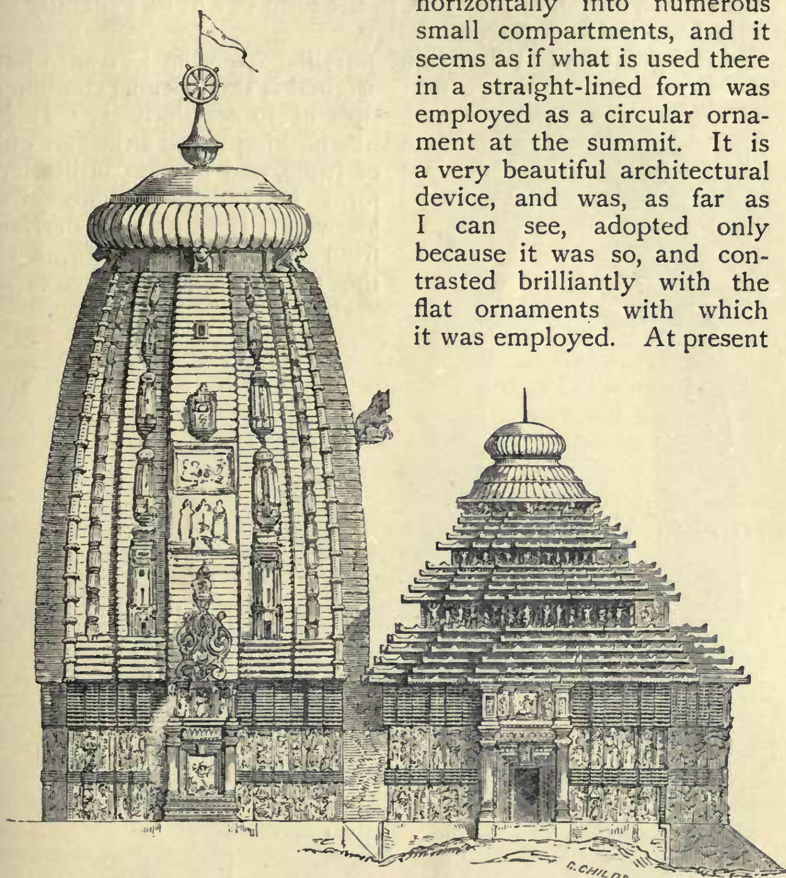
182. Plan of Pâpanâtha Temple at Pattadakal. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The procession-path round the cell—called pradakshina—as that round the apse, remained for some centuries as a common but not a universal feature. The verandah disappeared. Round a windowless cell it was useless, and the pillared porches contained in themselves all the elements of shelter or of shadow that were required.

*S*IKHARAS.

There is one other peculiarity common to both Hindû and Jaina architecture in the north of India that requires notice, before proceeding to describe particular examples. It is the form of the towers or spires called *S*ikharas or Vimânas, which invariably surmount the cells in which the images are placed. It is probably correct to assert that the images of the Tîrthankaras are invariably placed in oblong or square cells, and those of Hindû deities in square—generally cubical cells, of no great dimension, and that these cells receive their light from the doorway only. It seems also an invariable rule that the presence and position of the cell should be indicated externally by a tower or spire, and that these towers, though square or nearly so in plan, should have a curvilinear outline in elevation. If the tower at Bodh-Gayâ (*ante*, p. 78) retains unaltered the original form given to it when erected about the 5th or 6th century, this dictum would not apply to Buddhist architecture. As it is, however, the only Buddhist *s*ikhara yet discovered it is hardly fair to draw any decided inference from one single example, while with Jaina or Hindû towers I know of no exception. Take, for instance, the tower represented in the following woodcut (No. 183), which purports to be an elevation of the celebrated Black Pagoda at Kanârak in Orissa, and may be looked upon as a typical example of the style, and of which it may be considered of a fair medium example. The upper part of the tower, to some extent, overhangs its base. It bends inward towards the summit, and is surmounted by what is called an Amalaka — a massive circular coping stone which supports a vase called *amritakalasa* or *amritakaraka*, *i.e.* "dew

vessel."[1] Its peculiar corrugated form occurs frequently in old examples as a sort of blocking course dividing the *s*ikharas horizontally into numerous small compartments, and it seems as if what is used there in a straight-lined form was employed as a circular ornament at the summit. It is a very beautiful architectural device, and was, as far as I can see, adopted only because it was so, and contrasted brilliantly with the flat ornaments with which it was employed. At present



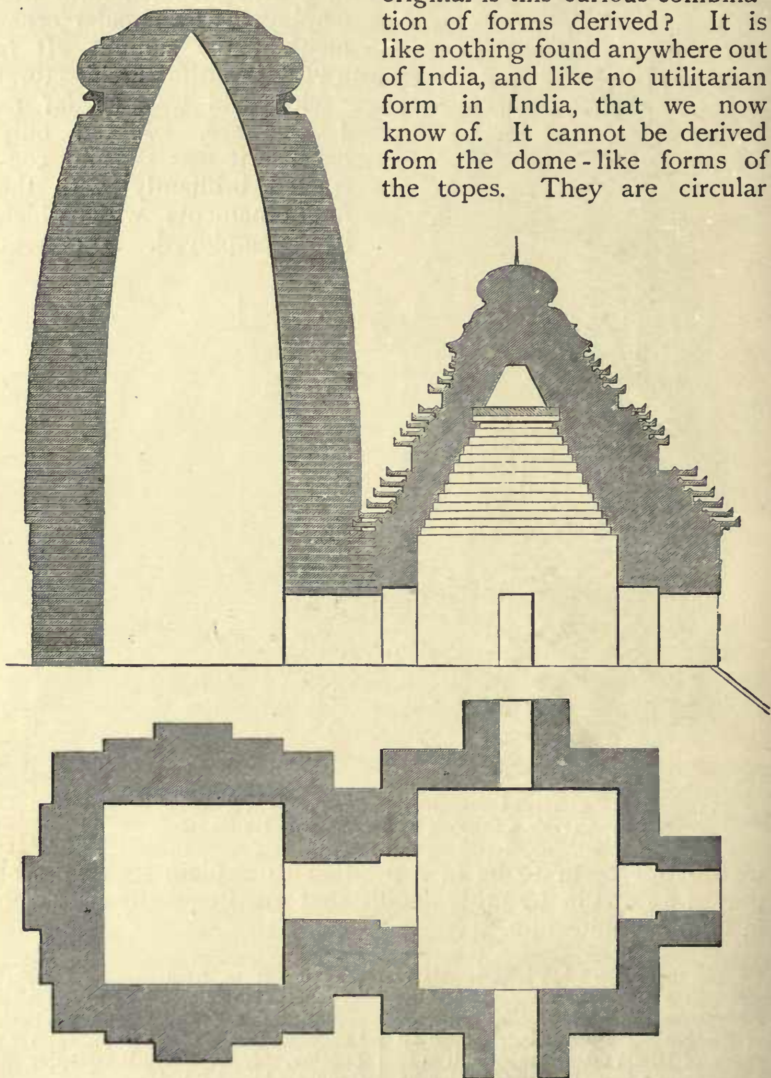
183. Restored Elevation of the Sun-temple at Kanârak. (From a Drawing by the Author.) No Scale.

we do not seem to be in a position to explain its origin, or that of a great many other details that are frequently met with in Hindû architecture.

[1] The "amalaka" has been popularly supposed to be derived from *âmalaka*—the *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Emblica officinalis* or *Emblica myrobalan*; but, though an article of Hindû materia medica, it is so insignificant a berry that it could hardly be thought of as an architectural model. May it not be from *amala*—"pure," "spotless"? Amala*s*ilâ—"pure stone," is applied to this crowning member.—Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 136-137; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. p. 96*n*.

Whatever its origin, this amalaka is generally surmounted by a flat dome of reverse curvature, in the centre of which stands the *kalasa*, *karka*, or pinnacle, in the form of a vase, generally of very beautiful and graceful design.

The great and at first sight puzzling question is, from what original is this curious combination of forms derived? It is like nothing found anywhere out of India, and like no utilitarian form in India, that we now know of. It cannot be derived from the dome-like forms of the topes. They are circular



184. Diagram Plan and Section of the Temple at Kanârak, designed to explain the construction of Hindû Temples.

both in plan and elevation. The Sikharas are straight-lined in plan, and their section is never a segment of a circle; it is not derived from any many-storeyed buildings, as the sikharas or vimânas of the Dravidian architecture of the south of India, which seem certainly to have been copied from the many storeyed vihâras of the Buddhists, and we cannot fancy any class of domestic building which could have formed a model out of which they could have been elaborated. One curious thing we do know, which is that all the ancient roofs in India, whether represented in the bas-reliefs or copied in the caves, were invariably curvilinear—generally circular or rather ogee—having a ridge added externally to throw off the rain from that weakest part; but nothing on any bas-relief or painting gives us a hint of any building like these sikharas.

Another curious and perplexing circumstance regarding the sikharas is that when we first meet them, at Bhuvaneswar, for instance, on the Bay of Bengal, or at Pattadakal in the 7th century, near the west coast of India, the style is complete and settled in all its parts. There was no hesitation then, nor has there been any since. During the twelve or thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the erection of these earliest known examples, they have gone on becoming more and more attenuated, till they are almost as pointed as Gothic spires, and their degree of attenuation is no bad test of their age; but they never changed in any essential feature of the design. All the parts found in the oldest examples are retained in the most recent, and are easily recognisable in the buildings of the present time.

The one hypothesis that occurs to me as sufficient to account for this peculiarity is to assume that it was a constructive necessity. If we take for instance an assumed section of the diagram (Woodcut No. 184, p. 324), it will be seen how easily a very tall pointed horizontal arch, like that of the Treasury at Mycenæ referred to above, p. 312, would fit its external form. In that case we might assume that the tower at Bodh-Gayâ took a straight-lined form like the doorway at Missolonghi and the 'Gate of Lions' at Mycenæ, while the Hindûs took the more graceful curvilinear shape, which certainly was more common in remote classical antiquity,[1] and as it is found in Persia may have reached India at a remote period.

This hypothesis does not account for the change from

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[1] See Woodcuts Nos. 102, 114, 124, 126, 129, 172, 177 and 178 of vol. i. of the author's 'History of Ancient and Mediæval Architecture,' 3rd edn.; and for the Missolonghi doorway and Mycenæ Gate of Lyons,—*Ibid.*, Nos. 130 and 131 on p. 247.

the square to the circular form in the upper part, nor for its peculiar ornamentation; but that may be owing to our having none of the earlier examples. When we first meet with the form, either in Dhârwâr or Orissa, it is complete in all its parts, and had evidently reached that state of perfection through long stages of tentative experience. The discovery of some earlier examples than we now know may one day tell us by what steps that degree of perfection was reached, but in the meanwhile I fear we must rest content with the theory just explained, which, on the whole, may be considered sufficient for present purposes at least.[1]

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[1] In his work on the 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. i., Bâbu Râjendralâl Mitra suggests at page 31 something of this sort, but if his diagram were all that is to be said in favour of the hypothesis, I would feel inclined to reject it.

CHAPTER III.

DRAVIDIAN ROCK-CUT TEMPLES.

CONTENTS.

Mâmallapuram—Kailâs, Elûrâ.

ALTHOUGH it may not be possible to point out the origin of the Dravidian style, and trace its early history with the same precision as we can that of Buddhist architecture, there is nothing so mysterious about it as there is regarding the styles of northern India, nor does it burst on us full blown at once as is the case with the architecture of the Chalukyas. Hitherto, the great difficulty in the case has been, that the temples of southern India have almost all been found to be of so modern a date. The great building age there was the 16th and 17th centuries of our era. Some structural buildings, it is true, could be traced back to the 11th or 12th with certainty, but beyond that all was to a great extent conjecture; and if it were not for rock-cut examples, we could hardly go back much further with anything like certainty. Recent investigations, however, combined with improved knowledge and greater familiarity with the subject, have now altered this state of affairs to a great extent. It seems hardly doubtful now that the Kailâs at Elûrâ, and the great temples at Pattadakal, are anterior to the 10th century.[1] In fact, it has been ascertained that they date from the 8th, and the "raths," as they are called, at Mâmallapuram or the "Seven Pagodas" on the Madras coast, are as early as the 7th century, and are in reality the oldest examples of their class known, and the prototypes of the style.

One circumstance which prevented the age of the Mâmallapuram raths being before detected is, that being all cut in granite and in single blocks, they show no sign of wearing or decay, which is so frequently a test of age in structural buildings, and being all in the same material produces a family likeness among them, which makes it at first sight difficult to discriminate between what is old and what new. More than this, they all

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[1] Burgess, 'Report on Belgam and Kaladgi,' 1875, plates 39, 40.

possess the curious peculiarity of being unfinished, whether standing free, as the raths, or cut in the rock, as caves, or on its face, as the great bas-relief; they are all left with one-third or one-fourth merely blocked out, and in some instances with the intention merely indicated. It looks as if the workmen had been suddenly called off while the whole was in progress, and native traditions, which always are framed to account for what is otherwise most unintelligible, have seized on this peculiarity, and make it the prominent feature in their myths. Add to this that it is only of late we have acquired that knowledge of the subject and familiarity with its details, which enable us to check the vagaries of Indian speculation. From all these causes it is not difficult to understand how easily mistakes may be made in treating of such mysterious objects.

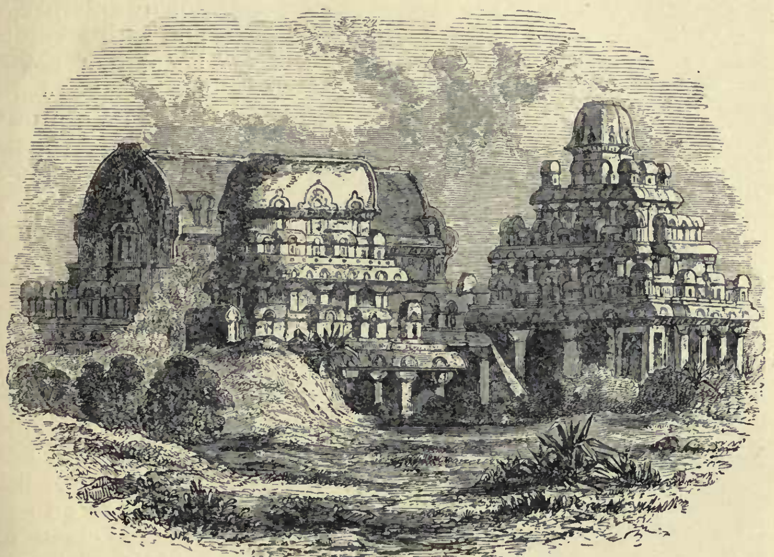
If we do not know all we would wish about the antiquities of Mâmallapuram,[1] it is not because attempts have not been made to supply the information. Situated on an open beach, within 32 miles of Madras, it has been more visited and oftener described than any other place in India. The first volume of the 'Asiatic Researches' (1788) contained an exhaustive paper on them by Wm. Chambers. This was followed in the fifth (1798) by another by Mr Goldingham. In the second volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society' (1830) there appeared what was then considered a most successful attempt to decipher the inscriptions there, by Dr. Guy Babington, accompanied by views of most of the sculptures. Before this, however, in 1816, Colonel Colin Mackenzie had employed his staff to make detailed drawings of all the sculptures and architectural details, and he left a collection of about forty drawings, which are now, in manuscript, in the India Office. Like all such collections, without descriptive text, they are nearly useless for scientific purposes. The 'Madras Journal,' in 1844, contained a guide to the place by Lieutenant J. Braddock, with notes by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, the Rev. W. Taylor, and Sir Walter Elliot;[2] and almost every journal of every traveller in these parts contains some hint regarding them, or some attempt to describe and explain their peculiarities or beauties. With the exception of the Mackenzie MS.—the

[1] The name of this place, among English writers, has been subject to various changes; a century ago it usually figured as Maha Balipuram, as in Southey's 'Curse of Kehama'; Dr. Babington stated that in the inscriptions it was called Mahâmallaipur; the Rev. W. Taylor made it Mâmallapuram, which is now accepted; other forms were Mavalivaram, Mahâvallipur, etc.

[2] 'A Guide to the Sculptures, Excavations and other remarkable subjects at Mâmallaipur, generally known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas" by the late Lieut. John Braddock, etc.' in 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science,' vol. xiii. (June, 1844) pp. 1-56.

most of these were collected in a volume in 1869 by a Lieutenant Carr, and published at the expense of the Madras Government,[1] but, unfortunately, as too often happens, the editor selected had no general knowledge of the subject, nor had he apparently much local familiarity with the place. His work in consequence added nothing to our previous stores.[2]

In 1883 the editor called attention to the temple of Kailâsanâthaswâmin at Conjivaram as a Pallava temple of probably about the 7th century, containing a number of early inscriptions.[3] On examination by Dr. Hultzsch, these were found partly to belong to the same period as those of the raths at Mâmallapuram. The temple, now seemingly a Vaishnava shrine, was erected by the Pallava king Râjasimha



185. Raths, Mâmallapuram. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

alias Narasimhavarman II., towards the end of the 7th century and dedicated to I*s*wara or *S*iva; and the names on the Dharmarâja rath agree with those on this temple, confirming the date arrived at in 1880 for these works.[4]

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[1] It included also a short account of the place written in Kanarese for Col. Mackenzie in 1803, with a translation. The publication was issued in two forms—in atlas folio, 96 pp., and also in octavo, 246 pp., with folding plates, and with the same errata.

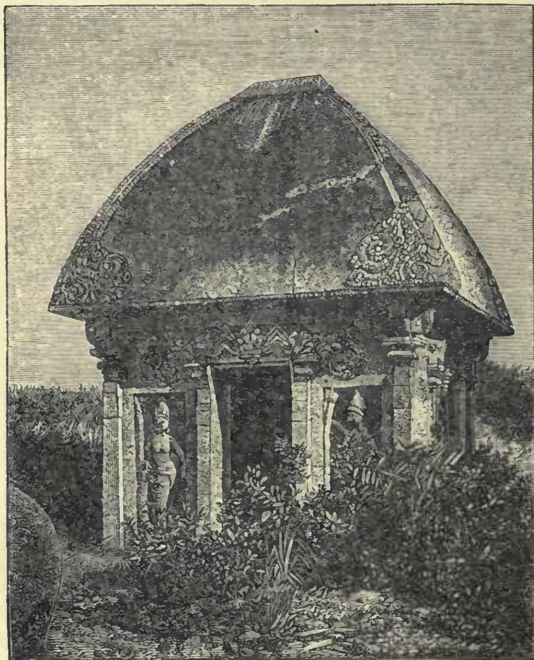
[2] A survey of the monuments at Mâmallapuram was made a considerable time ago, by the Archæological Survey of Madras.

[3] Hultzsch, 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. i. pp. 8ff.

[4] 'Cave Temples of India,' p. 110.

The oldest and most interesting group of these monuments are the so-called five "Raths"[1] or monolithic temples standing on the seashore to the south of the other rock excavations. One of these, having an apsidal termination, appears in the centre of the preceding woodcut (No. 185) a little detached from the rest. The other four stand in a line running from north-north-east to south-south-west, and look as if they had been carved out of a single stone or rock, which originally, if that were so, must have been between 35 ft. and 40 ft. high at its southern end, sinking to half that height at its northern extremity, and its width diminishing in like proportion.

The first on the north is the Draupadî Rath—a mere pansâlâ or cell 11 ft. square externally, and with a curvilinear roof rising to about 18 ft. high (Woodcut No. 186). Apparently it was once crowned by a finial of some sort, but its form cannot now be ascertained. This rath is the most completely finished of the five, and is now unique of its kind, but must have belonged to an extensive class of buildings when it was executed, and their form consequently becomes important in the history of the style. The cell inside measures 6 ft. 6 in. in depth by 4 ft. 6 in. across, on the back wall of which is a four-armed *S*aktî or female divinity, probably Lakshmî, with some attendants: the dwârpâlas also are females, as are the figures on the north, east, and south sides.

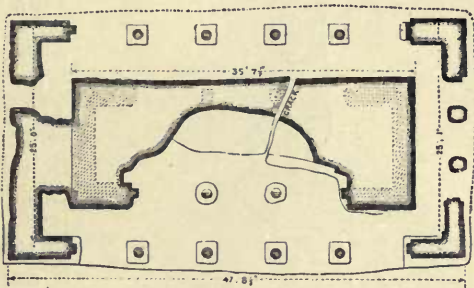


186. Draupadî's Rath. (From a Photograph.)

[1] *Ratha* has much the same meaning as *Vimâna*—a chariot or covered car.

The next is known as Arjuna's rath, and is a small copy of Dharmarâja's — the last to the southwards — the only difference being that Arjuna's is very much smaller than the other, measuring 11 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft. in plan, and 20 ft. in height. A cell has been excavated inside, only 4 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft., but it contains no image; the figures on the outside walls, however, seem to show that it was dedicated to *S*iva. It is cracked from top to bottom, and part of the finial has fallen off. The roofs of the lower and first stories are ornamented with those ranges of little simulated cells which became the distinguishing characteristics of Dravidian architecture, and it is surmounted by an octagonal dome which is an equally universal feature of the style.

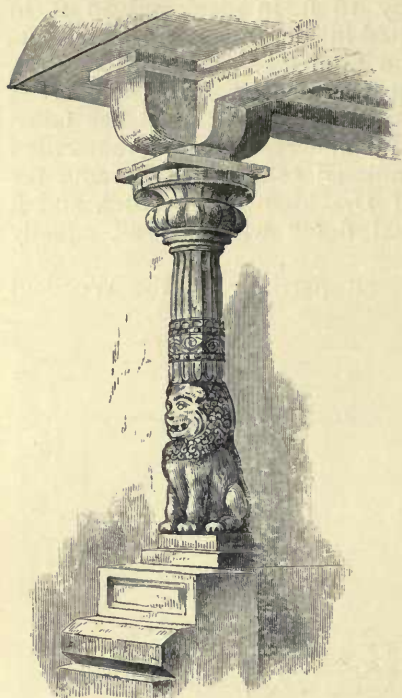
The third—Bhîma's rath—seen partially in the Woodcut No. 185, is very remarkable: it is an oblong building having a curvilinear shaped roof with a straight ridge. Its dimensions are nearly 48 ft. long, 25 ft. wide, and 25 ft. high. Externally, it seems to have been completely carved, but internally only partially excavated, the works being apparently stopped by some accident. It is cracked completely through, so that daylight can be seen through it, and several masses of the rock have fallen to the ground—this has been ascribed to an earthquake and other causes. My impression is, the explanation is not far to seek, but arose from unskilfulness on the part of workmen employed in a first attempt. Having completed the exterior, they set to work to excavate the interior so as to make it resemble a structural building of the same class, leaving only such pillars and supports as were sufficient to support a wooden roof of the ordinary construction (Woodcut No. 187). In this instance it was a mass of solid granite which, had the excavation been completed, would certainly have crushed the lower storey to powder. As it was, the builders seem to have taken the hint of the crack and stopped the further progress of the works.



187. Plan of Bhîma's Rath. (From a Plan by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.) Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.[1]

[1] The dotted hatching on this plan represents a suggested mode in which the rath might have been completed if finished as intended.

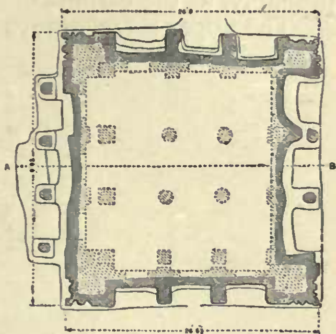
It is a little difficult to say how it was intended to have been completed. The centre was occupied by a hall about 9 or 10 ft. wide by 30 ft. open on one or probably both sides, and intended to be closed at both ends. This central hall was surrounded by a verandah measuring 5 ft. 3 in. in the clear on the sides, but only 3 ft. at the ends. There would then have been ten or twelve pillars in the centre and two at each end. One of these is represented in the annexed woodcut (No 188), and they are all of the same pattern, which, in fact, with very slight modifications, is universal at Mâmallapuram. They all have bases representing Vyâlîs or conventional lions, with spreading capitals, and of proportions perfectly suited to a building of the dimensions of this one, if executed in wood.



188. Pillar in Bhîma's Rath. (From a Drawing by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.)

The fourth and most southerly, however — Dharmarâja's rath—is the finest and most interesting of the group. A view of it has already been given (Woodcut No. 89) and it is shown on the right hand of Woodcut No. 185. As will be seen from the annexed plan (No. 189), its dimensions are 26 ft. 9 in., by 28 ft. 8 in., and its height is rather more than 35 ft. It is consequently much larger than Arjuna's rath, but even with these dimensions it can only be considered as a model. The three upper storeys are ornamented with those little simulated cells mentioned above, and which are so universal in the south of India ; the front of each of these cells with their connecting links, is adorned with a representation of one of those semi-circular dormer windows which are so usual in Buddhist architecture. Here each has a human head looking outwards. Behind these cells the walls are divided by slender pilasters into narrow compartments, and in each is placed the statue of a deity of the Hindû Pantheon, among which are found representations of

*S*iva, Brahma, and Vishnu in various characters as Arddhanâri Narasimha, Varâha, etc.—none of them with more than four arms.[1] Over these figures are seventeen short epigraphs containing epithets that were long misunderstood; but from a comparison of them with the very similar series round the inside of the enclosure of the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kânchîpuram, a clue is obtained that enables us to fix the date of these monuments. Stated briefly, it stands thus:—On the east side of the third storey of this rath is the epigraph—"The temple of the holy Atyantakâma-Pallave*s*vara: Ranajaya," and this Atyantakâma, in the other storeys is styled Narasimha *S*rînidhi, Srîbhara, etc. On the monolithic temple of Gane*s*a, to be noticed below, and in the Dharmarâja Mantapa cave are identical inscriptions of the same Atyantakâma-*S*rînidhi-*S*rîbhara; and at *S*âluvankuppam cave is an inscription of King Atiranachanda with the names of Atyantakâma, *S*rîbhara, Ranajaya, Kâlakâla, etc.—which are also epithets of Râjasimha in the Kânchî inscriptions. Now we learn from copperplate grants that the Pallava king, Râjasimha, bore the names of Kâlakâla, Narasimhavishnu and Narasimhavarman, and must have reigned about the last quarter of the 7th century. We can hardly escape the conclusion, then, that Râjasimha, Atyantakâma, Atiranachanda, etc., are all names (or *birudas*) of one king, the son and successor of Ugradanda-Lokâditya or Parame*s*varavarman.[2] His dedications are all *S*aiva, and their occurrence on so many of the Mâmallapuram shrines supports the testimony, previously founded on the style alone, that they belong to one time, and were all excavated within a short period about A.D. 670 to 700.



189. Plan of Dharmarâja Rath. (From a Drawing by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.) Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

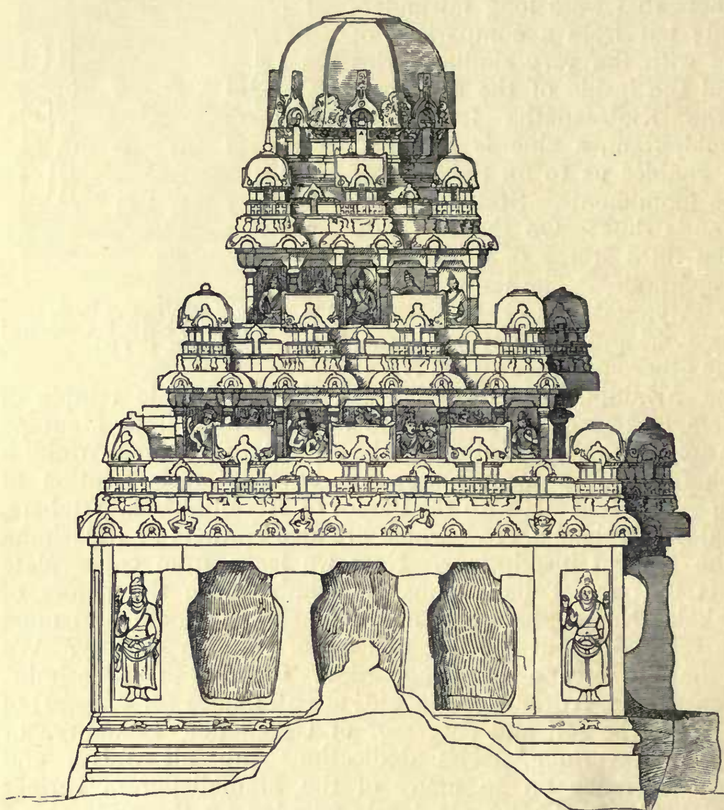
As stated above, we have on this rath many of the gods of the Hindû Pantheon, but in forms more subdued than are to be found elsewhere. The one extravagance is that they generally have four arms—never more—to distinguish them from mortals; but none of those combinations or extravagances we find in the caves at Elûrâ, Elephanta, and elsewhere. It is the

[1] 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. ii. plates 16, 17; or Carr's compilation.

[2] Hultzsch, 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. i. pp. 1-24; and Fleet, in 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol i. pt. i. pp. 322-326.

soberest and most reasonable version of the Pantheon yet discovered, and, consequently, one of the most interesting, as well probably, as the earliest.[1]

The upper three storeys are entirely finished externally with

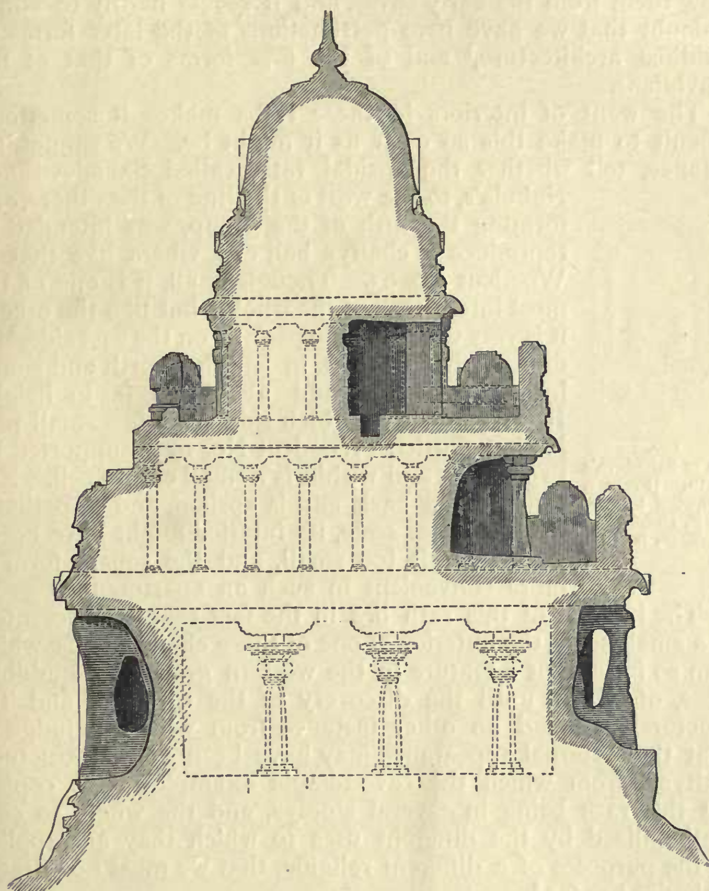


190. Elevation of Dharmarâja Rath. Scale 13 ft. to 1 in. (From a Drawing by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.)

their sculptures, the lower one merely blocked out; and it is difficult to say how far it was intended to excavate the interior. A cell was excavated to a depth of 5 ft. in the third storey, and it may have been intended to enlarge it. A similar attempt has been made in the second storey, but only to the depth of 4 ft. From there being six pilasters on the outside of the third storey, we may gather that in a structural building its roof

[1] These figures, properly drawn or photographed, would be almost indispensable for the illustration of Hindû mythology.

would have been supported by thirty-six wooden posts, and in like manner that the second storey would have had sixty-four supports, but, of course, with some of these omitted in the centre. From its extreme irregularity it is not easy to suggest what may

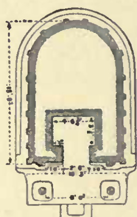


191. Section of Dharmarâja Rath (through A.B. fig. 189), with the suggested internal arrangements dotted in. Scale 10 ft. to 1 in.

have been the intended arrangement of the lowest storey; but, from the wider spacing of the pillars externally, it is evident that in a structural building stone, and not wood, would have been employed. From the arrangement of the exterior we gather that there would have been four free-standing pillars in the centre, as shown in dotted lines in the plan and section (Nos. 189 and 191). It is not clear, however, how many of the

eight piers that surrounded these four were free-standing or attached as pilasters to thick external walls. What stopped the completion of this and the other raths, we shall never learn. They are certainly very like Buddhist buildings, as we learn to know them from the early caves, and it seems hardly to admit of doubt that we have here petrifactions of the later forms of Buddhist architecture,[1] and of the first forms of that of the Dravidians.

The want of interiors in these raths makes it sometimes difficult to make this so clear as it might be. We cannot, for instance, tell whether the apsidal rath, called Sahadeva and Nakula's, to the west of the line of the others, and forming the fifth of the group, was intended to reproduce a chaitya hall or a vihâra like that in Woodcut No. 63. Though small, it is one of the most interesting of the whole; but like the others, it is very unfinished, especially on the east side. Its dimensions are 18 ft. in length—north and south, by 11 ft. across, and about 16 ft. in height. It faces north, on which side there is a small projecting portico (Woodcut No. 193), supported by two pillars, and within is a small empty cell. Externally the back end is apsidal, and so perhaps, if on a larger scale, its interior might have been; as it is, it is too small, and the square form is more convenient in such an apartment.



192. Plan of Sahadeva's Rath. (From a Drawing by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.) Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

The interest of this rath lies in the fact that it represented, on a small scale, the exterior of one of those chaitya halls, which form so important a feature in the western groups of Buddhist caves, of which, until the discovery of the Chezarla and Têr structures, we had no other instance from which to judge of what the external appearance may have been of the structural chaityas, from which the cave-temple examples were copied. But this rath being in several storeys, and the whole so conventionalised by the different uses to which they are applied for the purposes of a different religion, that we must not stretch analogies too far.[2]

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[1] Among the remains found at Bharaut is a bas-relief representing a building so exactly like the long rath here, that there can be no doubt that such buildings were used in the north of India two centuries at least before Christ, but to what purpose they were applied is not so clear. The one at Bharaut seems to have contained the thrones or altars of the four last Buddhas.

[2] Among the sculptures of the Gandhâra monasteries are several representing façades of buildings. They may be cells or chaitya halls, but, at all events, they are almost exact reproductions of the façade of this rath (see Woodcut No. 123, page 216). Being used as frameworks for sculpture, the northern examples are, of course, conventionalised; but it is impossible to mistake the identity of intention.

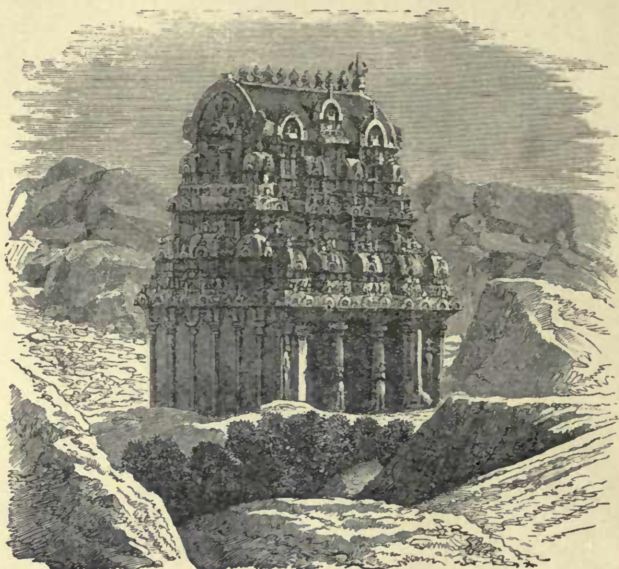
The sixth—the Ganesa rath—situated at a distance of three-



193. View of Sahadeva's Rath. (From a Photograph.)

quarters of a mile north of the others—is represented in the woodcut (No. 194), which, strange to say, is the most nearly finished of any, and gives a fair idea of the form these oblong temples took. Though small, it is a singularly elegant little temple. In plan, its dimensions are 19 ft. by 11 ft. 3 in., and 28 ft. in height. It is in three storeys with very elegant details, and of a form very common afterwards in Dravidian architecture

for gopurams or gateways. The roof has a straight ridge, adorned at the ends by *S*aiva tri*s*ulas, and similar emblems



194. Gane*s*a Rath, Mâmallapuram. (From a Photograph.)

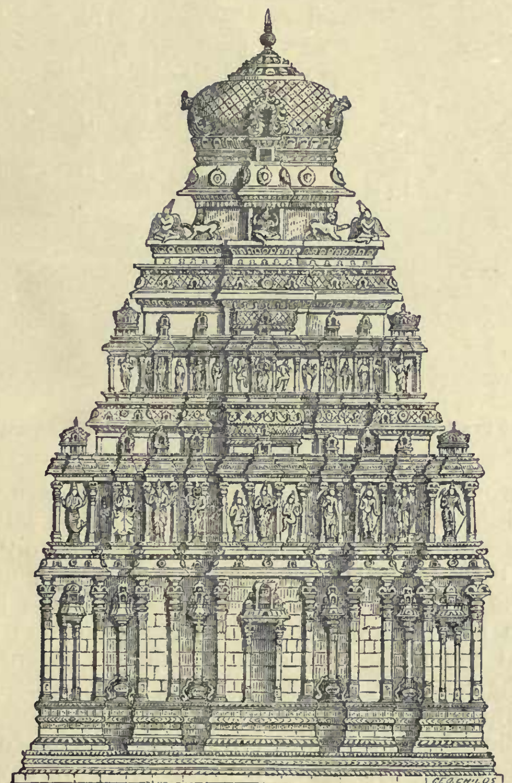
crowned the dormer windows. The ridge was ornamented by nine small pinnacles, which also continue to be employed. Though entering in the side, this temple was never intended to be pierced through.

On the back wall of the verandah is an inscription in old and very florid characters, dedicating the shrine to *S*iva by King Atyantakâma-Ranajaya,[1] now identified with Râjasimha Pallava of the end of the 7th century.

What interests us most here, however, is that the square raths are the originals from which all the vimânas in southern India were copied, and continued to be copied nearly unchanged to a very late period. Woodcut No. 195, for instance, represents one from Madurâ, erected in the 18th century. It is changed, it is true, and the cells and some of the earlier features are hardly recognisable; but the wonder rather is that eleven centuries should not have more completely obliterated all traces of the original. There is nothing, however, in it which cannot be easily recognised in intermediate examples, and

[1] Hultzsch's 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. i. pp. 4-8.

their gradual transformation detected by any one familiar with the subject. On the other hand, the oblong raths were halls or porticos with the Buddhists, and became the gateways or gopurams which are frequently — indeed generally — more important parts of later Dravidian temples than the vimânas themselves. They, too, like the vimânas, retain their original

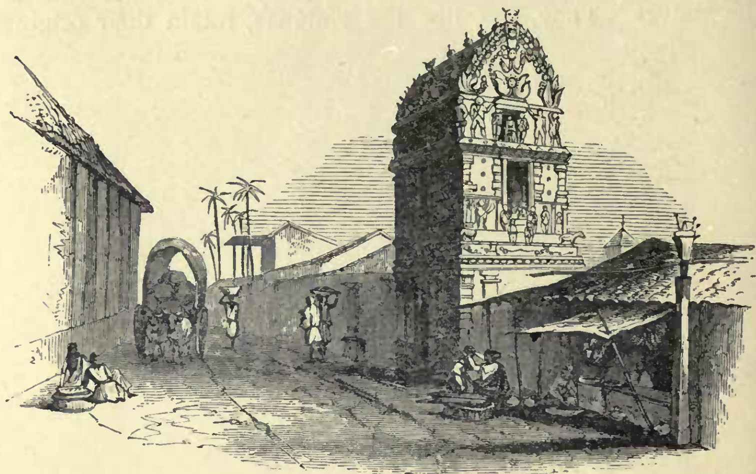


195. Perumâl Temple at Madurâ. (From a MS. Drawing in the possession of the late General Monteith, Madras Engineers.) No scale.

features very little changed to the present day, as may be seen from the annexed example from a modern Tamil temple on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Manâr (Woodcut No. 196). To all this, however, we shall have frequent opportunities of referring in the sequel, and it will become much plainer as we proceed.

The other antiquities at Mâmallapuram, though very

interesting in themselves, are not nearly so important for our history as the raths just described. The caves are generally small, and fail architecturally, from the feebleness and tenuity of their supports. The southern cave-diggers had evidently



196. Entrance to a Hindû Temple, Colombo. (From Sir J. E. Tennent's 'Ceylon.')

not been grounded in the art, like their northern compeers, by the Buddhists. The long experience of the latter in the art taught them that ponderous masses were not only necessary to support their roofs, but for architectural effect; and neither they nor the Hindûs who succeeded them in the north ever hesitated to use pillars of two or three diameters in height, or to crowd them together to any required extent. In the south, on the contrary, the cave-diggers tried to copy literally the structural pillars used to support wooden roofs. Hence, I believe, the accident to the long rath, and hence certainly the poor and modern look of these southern caves, which has long proved such a stumbling-block to all who have tried to guess their age. Their sculpture is better, and some of their best designs rank with those of Elûrâ and Elephanta, to which they were anterior. The Bâdâmi sculptures, executed in the 6th century (A.D. 579), are so similar in style with the best examples in the Mâmallapuram caves, that we had concluded they could not be far distant in date, and must be placed in the preceding century; and this has since been supported by the contents of the inscriptions in the Dharmarâja mantapam at the *S*âluvankuppam cave.

The great bas-relief on the rock, 90 ft. by 30 ft., is perhaps the most remarkable thing of its class in India. It is close to the Ganesa ratha, and is locally known as 'Arjuna's Penance,' but what it was meant to represent is still a puzzle. It is in two sections divided by a crack or split in the rock, in which are placed a great Nâga wearing a crown surrounded by a seven-fold hood (Woodcut No. 197); under him is a Nâginî with the usual triple hood; and below this a large cobra's head. The figures on both sides are directed towards this recess. On the left there is a small shrine below and a devotee worshipping at it, whilst behind are several wild beasts; above the shrine is a yogi standing on one foot before a deva, four armed, with a sort of sceptre and attendants, and behind and above him all the figures are in pairs—male and female—with only two arms each. On the



197. Head of the Nâga figure at Mâmallapuram.



198. Cave at *S*âluvankuppam. (From a Photograph.)

rock to the right, there are two large and some smaller elephants, and above them three tiers of figures, represented as floating through the air, all two-armed, mostly in pairs, some with birds' legs and wings (Gandharvas), and wild beasts behind. There seems nothing to enable us to fix its age with absolute certainty;

it can hardly, however, be doubted that it belongs to about the 8th century.

There is one other antiquity at a place called *S*âluvan-kuppam, half a mile north of Mâmallapuram village, which deserves notice as a descendant of the tiger cave at Udayagiri near Katak (Woodcut No. 272). Here, not one, but a dozen tiger or lion heads welcome the anchorite to his abode, or rather, the devotee to his shrine (Woodcut No. 198). Here, too, they are conventionalised as we always find them in Chalukyan art; and this example serves, like every other, to show how the Hindû imagination in art runs wild when once freed from the trammels of sober imitation of natural things, which we found to be its characteristic in the early stages of Buddhist art.

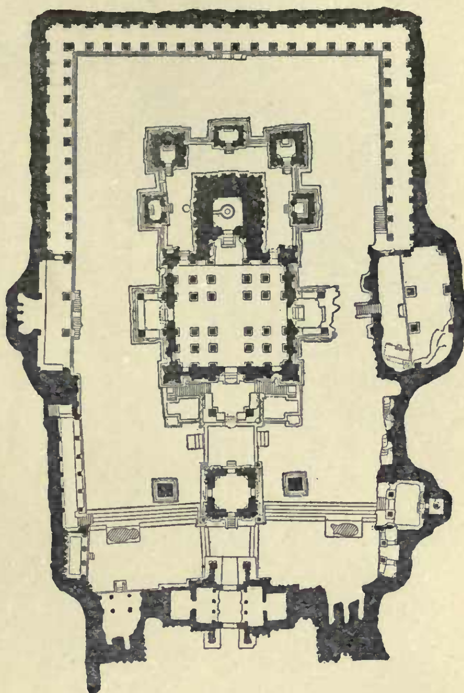
Here is an inscription in two different alphabets of King Atiranachanda, who has also the *birudas* or epithets of Atyanta-kâma, etc., from which he appears to be identical with the Râjasimha-Narasimha who executed the Dharmarâja rath and probably most of the excavated shrines at Mâmallapuram.

Kailâs, Elûrâ.

From the raths at Mâmallapuram to the Kailâs at Elûrâ the transition is easy, but the step considerable. At the first-named place we have manifest copies of structures intended originally for other purposes and used at Mâmallapuram in a fragmentary and disjointed manner. At Elûrâ, on the contrary, the whole is welded together, and we have a perfect Dravidian temple, as complete in all its parts as at any future period, and so far advanced that we might have some difficulty in tracing the parts back to their originals without the fortunate possession of the examples on the Madras shore.

Independently, however, of its historical or ethnographical value, the Kailâs is itself one of the most singular and interesting monuments of architectural art in India. Its beauty and singularity always excited the astonishment of travellers, and, in consequence, it is better known than almost any other structure in that country, from the numerous views and sketches of it that have been published. Unlike the Buddhist excavations we have hitherto been describing, it is not a mere interior chamber cut in the rock, but is a model of a complete temple, such as might have been erected on the plain. In other words, the rock has been cut away, externally as well as internally. The older caves are of a much more natural and rational design than this temple, because, in cutting away the rock around it to provide an exterior, the whole has necessarily been placed in a pit. In the cognate temples at Mâmallapuram (Woodcut No. 185) this diffi-

culty has been escaped by the fact that the boulders of granite out of which they are hewn were found lying free on the shore; but at Elûrâ, no insulated rock being available, a pit was dug around the temple in the sloping side of the hill, about 106 ft. deep at its inmost side, and half that height at the entrance or gopuram, the floor of the pit being 160 ft. wide and 280 ft. in length. In the centre of this rectangular court stands the temple, as shown in the accompanying plan (Woodcut No. 199), consisting of a vimâna, 96 ft. in height, preceded by a large square porch, supported by sixteen columns (owing probably to the immense weight to be borne); before this stands a detached porch for the Bull Nandi, reached by a bridge; and in front of all stands the gateway, which is in like manner connected with the last porch by a bridge, the whole being cut out of the native rock. Besides these there are two pillars, or dhwajastambhas (literally banner staves) left standing on each side of the detached porch, and two elephants about the size of life. Round the court there is a peristylar cloister with cells, and above are some halls (not shown in the plan), which give to the whole a complexity, and at the same time a completeness, which never fail to strike the beholder with astonishment and awe.

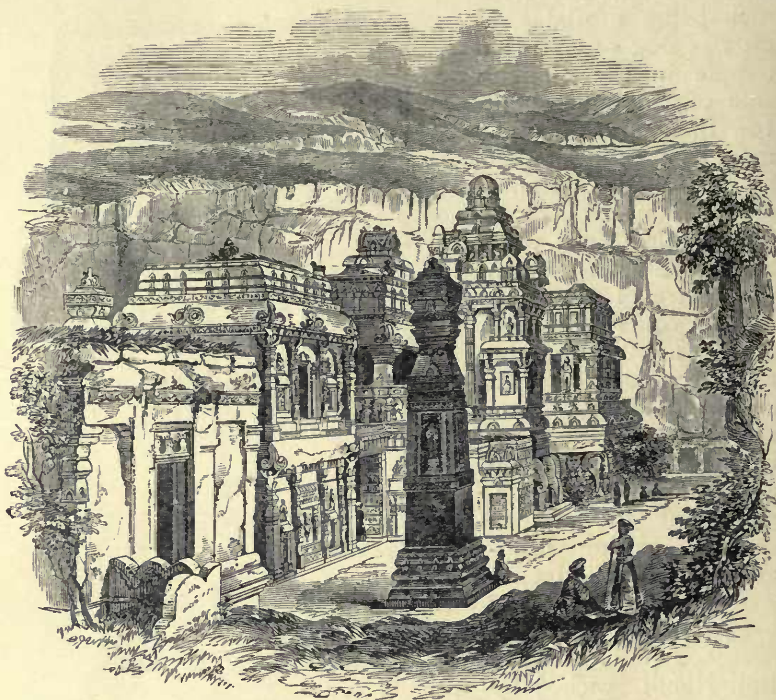


199. Kailâs at Elûrâ. (From 'Cave Temples of India.') Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.[1]

As will be seen from the view (Woodcut No. 200), the outline of the vimâna or sikhara is at first sight very similar to that

[1] This plan represents the temple and surrounding shrines at the level of their upper floors, but the surrounding court at the lower level of the entrance. At the upper level on the north side is the Lankesvara temple, the hall of which is about 75 ft. long by 50 ft. wide, exclusive of the shrine.

of the raths at Mâmallapuram, but on closer inspection we find everything so modified at Elûrâ as to make up a perfect and

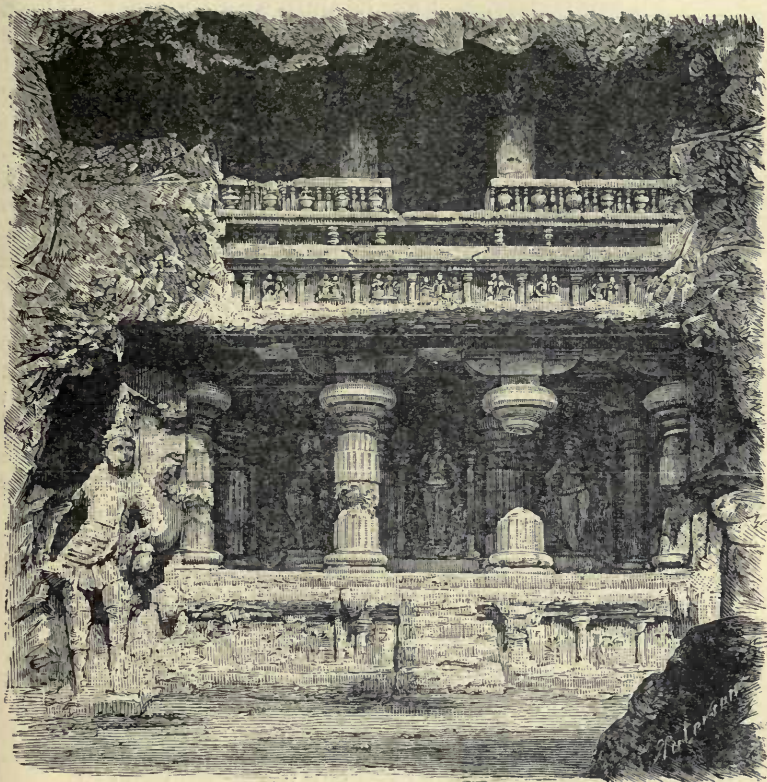


200. Kailâs Elûrâ. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

well-understood design. The vimâna with its five surrounding cells and the porch in front of it, with its side balconies, make a complete Hindû temple, such as are found in hundreds in India, and instead of the simulated cells that surround the upper storey in the Madras example, they become realities, but used for widely different purposes. Instead of being simulated residences, the five cells that surround the central temple, on the same platform, are each devoted to a separate divinity, and complete the whole as a *S*ivâlaya or "abode of *S*iva," whilst they group most pleasingly with the central vimâna.[1] Here, too, they are independent, and separated from the temple itself.

[1] These shrines are now empty, but their purposes are thus explained: North and south of the shrine are doorways leading out upon the platform, on which they stand, and which forms a pradakshina round the Linga shrine; and passing out by the south door the first shrine on the south was appropriated to the Mâtris or seven mothers, arranged along the back wall with Kârtikaswâmin or *S*iva at the left end, and Gane*s*a with Bhringi at the right; the next—at the

In the west corner of the north side of the court is a small chapel (Woodcut No. 201) that is probably of an early date. The guards or dwârpâls, at the door of the cella inside the

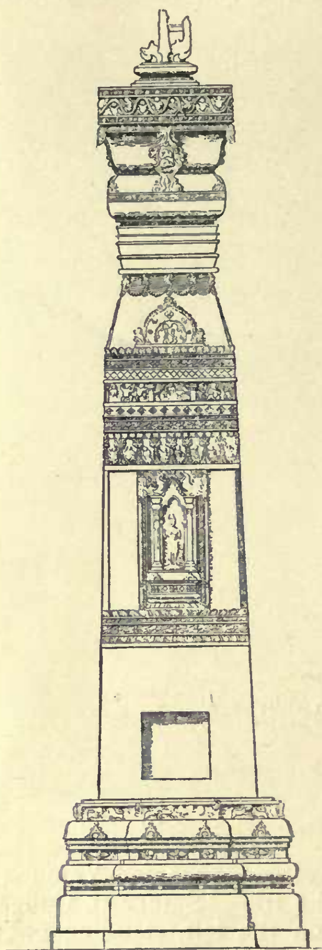


201. Shrine of the River Goddesses. (From a Photograph.)

principal temple, were the river goddesses Gangâ and Yamunâ; and this chapel was dedicated to the trio — Sarasvatî, Gangâ, and Yamî or Yamunâ — the first, on the left, standing on a

south-east corner—was dedicated to the disgusting Chanda, to whom the refuse of the offerings are thrown; on the east is the shrine of Pârvatî, whose place is just behind her lord's; that on the north-east belongs to Bhairava or Rudra, "the terrible"; and the fifth, on the north side, opposite to the *Somasûtra*, or outlet for the washings of the Linga—which it is unlawful to pass in performing the pradakshina ritual—is the shrine of Ganeśa. The Mâtris are often represented in Śaiva sculpture. They occur at Elûrâ again in cave temples 14, 21, and 22, as also under the bridge leading to the Nandi shrine here; and are found at Elephanta, Gulwâdâ, and elsewhere.—'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 428, 434, 453, and plate 72; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. pp. 39, 40, and plate 34.

lotus flower, with foliage and birds behind her; the central one on a *makara* or conventionalised alligator; and the third on a tortoise, with water plants represented behind them, and richly-carved torans above. All three are in almost entire relief. These figures are scarcely found in later sculptures, whilst they are frequent in cave temples of the 5th and later centuries. The apartment is about 23½ ft. long by 9 deep, and 11 ft. high, and has two free-standing pillars and two in antis, of a pattern differing entirely from those of the temple, but of a much earlier type than those in the Lankeswara. They have low bases and shafts of sixteen sides, with cushion capitals and bracket abaci. The frieze above has been divided into small compartments, with seven small groups of figures in them. The excavation above has only the front of its balcony completed.



202. Dhwajastambha at Elûrâ. (From a Drawing by H. Cousens.) Scale 10 ft. to 1 in.

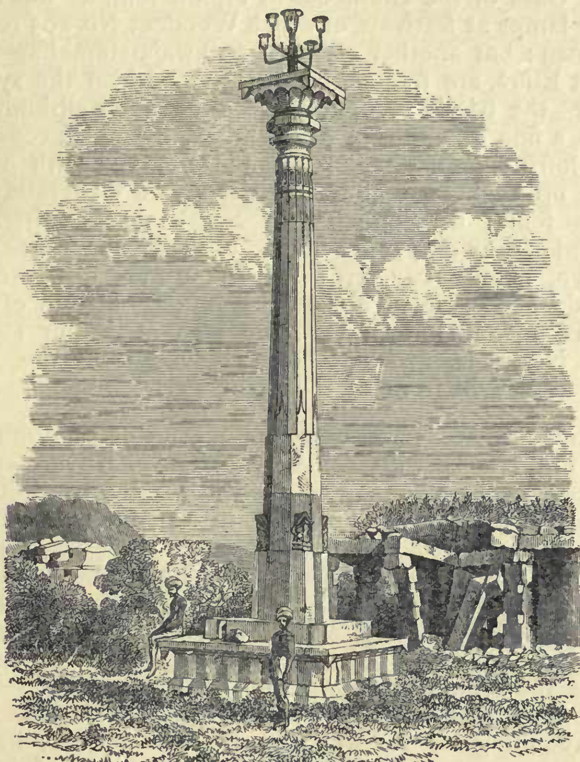
Though much damaged by Moslim violence, the lower part of the entrance to the court shows a considerable advance on anything found at Mâmallapuram, and an approach to what the gopurams afterwards became, in so far at least, as the perpendicular parts are concerned; instead, however, of the tall pyramids which were so universal in later times, the entrance to the Kailâs exhibits only what may be called the germ of such an arrangement. It is the upper member of a gopuram placed on the flat roof of the gateway, and so small as not to be visible except from above.[1]

On each side of the Nandi Mandap stands a square pillar or dhwajastambha, bearing the *trisula* or ensign of *S*iva, now much

[1] In Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery' (1816), pt. iv. plate 12, the gateway is shown, and in plate 15 the upper part of it. Being cut in the rock, no addition or alteration could afterwards have been intended.

defaced (Woodcut No. 202). They are 49 feet high, inclusive of the trident on the top and of very elegant proportions.[1] Their analogy to the lion pillars of the Buddhists (Woodcut No. 7) and the Chaumukh pillars of the Jains must be at once recognised, each bearing a symbol of the creed.

In the south of India, among the Jains, as mentioned in a later chapter, such pillars are very common, usually standing



203. Dîpdân in Dhârwâr. (From a Photograph.)

singly in front of the temples, and were apparently intended to carry quadruple figures of Tîrthankaras—known as Chaumukhs. They generally consist of a single block of granite, square at base, changing to an octagon, and again to a figure of sixteen

[1] There must have been an inscription just above the base of this one, but it has long since disappeared. For a fuller account of Kailâs and its accessories see 'The Cave Temples of India,' pp. 448-462, and plates 80-84; and 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. pp. 26-37, and plates 1, 4, 24-31.

sides, with a capital of very elegant shape. Some, however, are circular, and, indeed, their variety is great. They range from 30 ft. to 40 ft. and even 50 ft. in height, and, whatever their dimensions, are among the most elegant specimens of art in southern India. Typical Jaina examples of these exist at *S*ravana-Belgola and Venûr in Mysore and at Guruvâyankeri in South Kanara (Woodcut, vol. ii., No. 308).

One class of the Stambhas at Hindû temples was intended to carry lamps at festivals, of which Woodcut No. 203 represents a specimen; but another class—the dhwaja-stambhas—like the above at Elûrâ, are frequently in pairs, and bear the symbol of the sect—the tri*s*ula or Garuda. Besides the well-known pillar at Eran, a fine example of a Vaishnava Stambha, consisting of a very lofty square tapering monolith, carved with a creeper pattern up each face and standing on an elaborately carved base, is found at Sompalle in South Arkat district. At Balagâmi is one 35 ft. high, erected by Some*s*vara I. Chalukya, about 1047, crowned by a human figure having two birds' heads, called a Gandabherunda,—a form of Garuda. There is a well-known example also at Jâjpur (Woodcut, vol. ii., No. 321), and another, removed from the Kanârak temple, stands in front of the great Purî temple.

Fortunately we have now the means of determining the age of the Kailâs with some precision. Kîrtivarman II. of the Western Chalukyas was overthrown by Dantidurga the Râshtrakûta king of Mâlkhed before A.D. 754, and soon after the subjugation was completed by his successor Krishna I. who ruled from about 757 till 783. One of the achievements ascribed to this latter king is the construction of a wonderful *S*aiva temple in "the hill Êlâpura," which is to be identified with this Kailâs temple.[1]

After the temple itself was finished fresh additions appear to have been made from time to time in the rock walls of the surrounding court. The large cave temple, known as Lanke*s*vara, cut in the scarp on the north side of the court, differs so markedly from the style of the central temple, that it must be ascribed to fully one if not two centuries later.[2] Some excavations, too, are quite unfinished, and works may have gone on till the 12th century.

Considerable misconception exists on the subject of cutting

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[1] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xii. p. 229. Thirty years ago, on the remains of painting on the roof of the small porch, was a fragment of an inscription in which the name "Kannara," *i.e.* Krishna, was still legible in old characters.

[2] For a view of the interior of Lanke*s*vara, see Fergusson's 'Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India,' 17th plate.

temples in the rock. Almost every one who sees these temples is struck with the apparently prodigious amount of labour bestowed on their excavation, and there is no doubt that their monolithic character is the principal source of the awe and wonder with which they have been regarded, and that, had the Kailâs been an edifice of masonry situated on the plain, it would scarcely have attracted the attention of European travellers. In reality, however, it is considerably easier and less expensive to excavate a temple than to build one. Take, for instance, the Kailâs, the most wonderful of all this class. To excavate the area on which it stands would require the removal of about 100,000 cubic yards of rock, but, as the base of the temple is solid and the superstructure massive, it occupies in round numbers about one-half of the excavated area, so that the question is simply this—whether it is easier to chip away 50,000 yards of rock, and shoot it to spoil (to borrow a railway term) down a hillside, or to quarry 50,000 cubic yards of stone, remove it, probably a mile at least to the place where the temple is to be built, and then to raise and set it. The excavating process would probably cost about one-tenth of the other. The sculpture and ornament would be the same in both instances, more especially in India, where buildings are always set up in block, and the carving executed *in situ*. Nevertheless, the impression produced on all spectators by these monolithic masses, their unalterable character, and appearance of eternal durability, point to the process as one meriting more attention than it has hitherto received in modern times; and if any rock were found as uniform and as easily worked as the Indian amygdaloidal traps, we might hand down to posterity some more durable monument than many we are now erecting at far greater cost.

CHAPTER IV.

DRAVIDIAN TEMPLES.

CONTENTS.

When we turn from these few scattered rock-cut examples to the great structural temples of the style, we find their number is so great, their extent so vast, and their variety so perplexing, that it is extremely difficult to formulate any distinct ideas regarding them, and still more so, as a matter of course, to convey to others any clear idea on the subject. To any one at all familiar with the present status of the population of the province, the greatest wonder is how such a people could ever have conceived, much less carried out, such vast undertakings as these, and that so recently that some of the greatest and boldest were only interrupted by our wars with the French scarcely a hundred and fifty years ago. The cause of this, however, is not far to seek. Ever since we took possession of the country, our countrymen have been actuated by the most beneficent intentions of protecting the poor against the oppression of the rich. By every means we have sought to secure the ryot in his holding, and that he should not be called on to pay more than his fair share of the produce of his land; while to the landowner we have offered a secure title to what belonged to him, and a fixed income in money in lieu of his portion of the produce. To a people, however, in the state of civilisation to which India has reached, a secure title and a fixed income only means the power of borrowing on the occasion of a marriage, a funeral, or some great family festival, ten times more than the borrower can ever pay, and our courts as inevitably give the lender the power of foreclosing his mortgage and selling the property. During the century in which this process has been going on, the landed aristocracy have gradually disappeared, and the wealth of the country has passed into the

hands of the money-lenders of the cities. The aim of the government may have been beneficent, and may produce the greatest happiness to the greatest number; but in such a community neither science, nor literature, nor art, have any place, and religion itself becomes degraded by the status of its votaries.

Before we interfered, the practical proprietorship of the land was in the hands of a few princes or feudal lords, who derived from it immense revenues they had no means of spending, except in works of ostentation, which in certain stages of civilisation are as necessary for the employment of the masses as for their own glorification. In such a country as India the employment of one-half of the population in agriculture is sufficient to produce food for the whole, while the other half are free for any employment that may be available. A similar state of affairs prevailed apparently in Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, but with very different results. The Egyptians had great and lofty ideas, and a hankering after immortality, that impressed itself on all their works. The southern Indians had no such aspirations; they had no history to which they could look back with pride, and their religion was an impure and degrading fetishism. It is impossible that anything very grand or imposing should come out of such a state of things. What they had to offer to their gods was a tribute of labour, and that was bestowed without stint. To cut a chain of fifty links out of a block of granite and suspend it between two pillars, was with them a triumph of art. To hollow deep cornices out of the hardest basalt, and to leave all the framings, as if of the most delicate woodwork, standing free, was with them a worthy object of ambition, and their sculptures are still inexplicable mysteries, from our ignorance of how it was possible to execute them. All that millions of hands working through centuries could do, has been done, but with hardly any higher motive than to employ labour and to conquer difficulties, so as to astonish by the amount of the first and the cleverness with which the second was overcome—and astonished we are; but without some higher motive true architecture cannot exist. The Dravidians had not even the constructive difficulties to overcome which enabled the mediæval architects to produce such noble fabrics as our cathedrals.

The aim of architects in the Middle Ages was to design halls which should at the same time be vast, but stable, and suited for the accommodation of great multitudes to witness a lofty ritual. In their struggle to accomplish this they developed intellectual powers which impress us still through

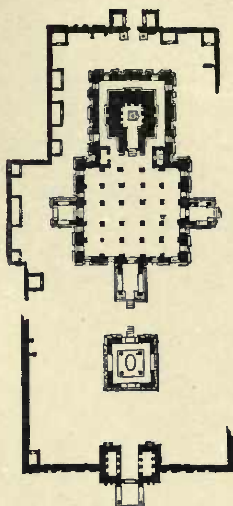
their works. No such lofty aims exercised the intellectual faculties of the Hindû. His altar and the statue of his god were placed in a dark cubical cell wholly without ornament, and the porch that preceded that was not necessarily either lofty or spacious. What the Hindû architect craved for, was a place to display his powers of ornamentation, and he thought he had accomplished all his art demanded when he covered every part of his building with the most elaborate and most difficult designs he could invent. Much of this ornamentation, it is true, is very elegant, and evidences of power and labour do impress the human imagination, often even in defiance of our better judgment, and nowhere is this more apparent than in these Dravidian temples. It is in vain, however, we look among them for any manifestation of those lofty aims and noble results which constitute the merit and the greatness of true architectural art, and which generally characterise the best works in the true styles of the western world.

Turning from these generalities to the temples themselves, the first great difficulty hitherto experienced in attempting either to classify or describe them was that so very few plans of them had been published. There are probably upwards of thirty great Dravidian temples, or groups of temples, any one of which must have cost as much to build as an English cathedral, some a great deal more; but of all these there were few of which, till lately, trustworthy plans were available. This is, of course, irrespective of some early examples of village temples, and, it may be, of some groups which have been overlooked. If these temples had been built like those of the Greeks, or even as the Christian churches in the Middle Ages, on one uniform plan, changing only with the progress of time, one or two plans might have sufficed; but the fact is that, in nine cases out of ten, the larger Dravidian temples are a fortuitous aggregation of parts, arranged without plan, as accident dictated at the time of their erection; and, without plans, no adequate idea could be conveyed to those who have not seen them.

In the south of the Bombay Presidency are some of the earlier examples of this style. Among these the great temple at Pattadakal, now known as Virûpâksha, we learn from inscriptions upon it, was built by Lokamahâdevî, one of the queens of the Chalukya king Vikramâditya II., who ruled from 733 to 747. It belongs, therefore, to the date formerly assigned to it on archæological grounds, as having been erected during the 8th century.[1] In plan it is almost exactly a duplicate

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. i. (1874) pp. 31 *et seqq.*, and plates 38-40; 'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 450, 451; 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. x. pp. 162-169.

of the Kailâs, as may be gathered from the annexed woodcut (No. 204).[1] Antecedently to the discovery of their relative dates we could readily believe the southern temple to be the older of the two, but certainly not distant in date, and this has been fully confirmed by the results of more recent research.



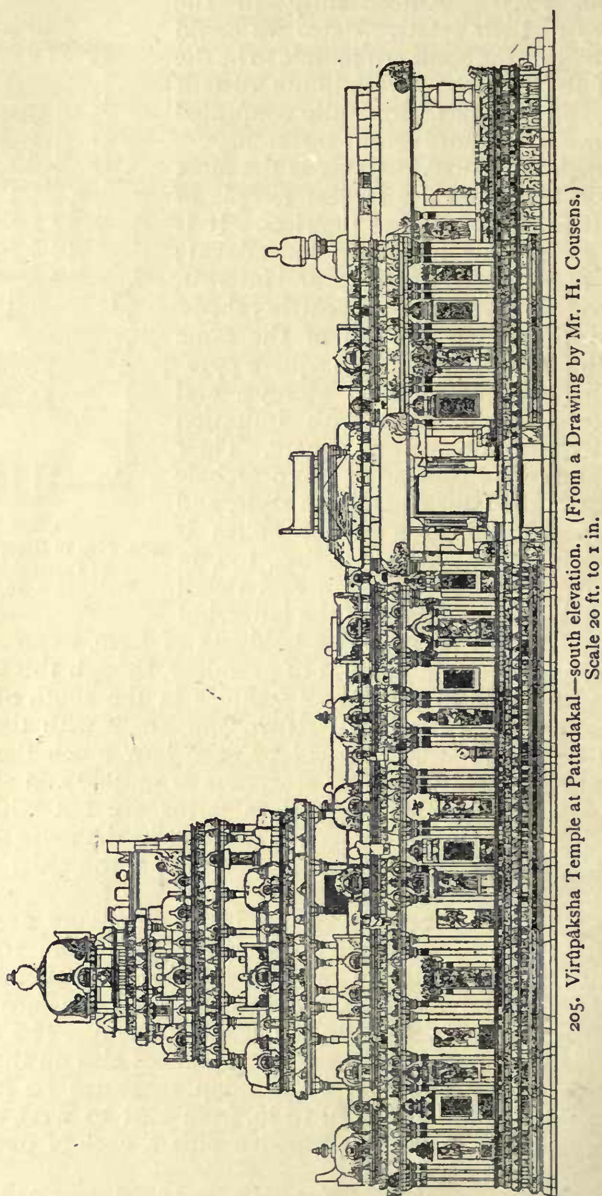
204. Plan of Great Temple at Pattadakal. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

Though not the oldest, this is the most important as well as the largest temple of this style in the Kanarese districts. It is the only one now in use in Pattadakal; the others, mostly of great age and interest, are used as dwellings or cattle-sheds. Four of the larger are all of the same style—the *sikharas* being all square pyramids, divided into distinct storeys, and each storey ornamented with imitation cells, alternately oblong and square. Their ornamentation is coarser or more archaic than that of the later Chalukyan style, and the domical termination of the spires is less graceful. They are wanting, too, in that general elegance of form and detail which are so characteristic of the latter, but are not without a purpose-like boldness of form, expression of stability, and a certain amount of grandeur, though this is more readily observable in the larger temples in the south of India than in those of Pattadakal. If we compare it with the more modern temples, however, it will be seen how much the latter lost by the gradually growing steepness of outline and attenuation of details. The more modern forms are not without a certain degree of elegance which is wanting in the more ancient, but in all the higher characteristics of design, the older are by far the finest examples.

The Virûpâksha temple stands in an enclosure 224 ft. in length from east to west, and varying in width from 105 ft. in front with a large gateway on the east and a smaller one on the west (Woodcut No. 204). This court has been surrounded by small shrines or cells, some of which remain. The temple itself faces the east and has entrance porches also on the north and south sides. The hall or mandap measures 50 ft. 8 in. from north to south by 45 ft. 10 in. from east to west, and its roof is supported by sixteen massive pillars, each of one block

[1] There are four photographs of this temple in the 'Architectural Antiquities of Dharwar and Mysore,' plates 54-57; and one in 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. i. plate 38.

2 ft. 5 in. square and 7 ft. 5 in. high, crowned by deep bracket



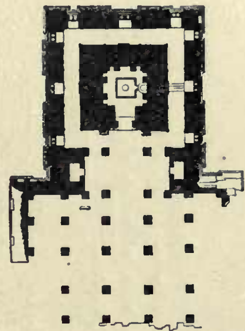
205. Virûpâksha Temple at Pattadakal—south elevation. (From a Drawing by Mr. H. Cousens.)
Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

capitals. These piers are arranged in fours, as in Kailâs temple,

with pilasters against the walls. The lintels over them and the slabs of the roof, as well as the faces of the pillars, are covered with archaic sculptures, and the central square of the roof is filled by a great coiled Nâgarâja with five hoods, protected by a chhattra, and two Nâginîs with triple hoods are intertwined with his tail. This mandapa is lighted by twelve perforated stone windows — four in each wall,—an arrangement not found in modern temples. On the inner side of the hall stand two more square piers before the shrine, the doorway of which projects forward, forming a passage 10 ft. in length, into the cella which is 12 ft. square and contains the *S*aiva altar. A circum-ambulatory passage goes round this, lighted by two perforated windows in each outside wall.

Like all the early Dravidian shrines, it is built of very large blocks of stone closely jointed and without any cement. The representation of the south elevation in Woodcut No. 205, will convey a better idea than any description of the style and appearance of the structure which, though dilapidated, is still a striking and imposing example of the class. The base is elaborately carved; in large panels in the walls are numerous representations of *S*iva in various forms, and of other gods; and the horseshoe arch is as abundantly represented as in a Buddhist temple.

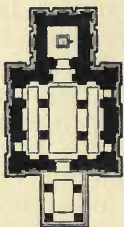
A little to the north-west of this is the temple of Sangame*s*var —now much dilapidated, but quite similar in plan and detail, if somewhat smaller and not so carefully finished, the mandapa is much ruined, as shown in Woodcut No. 206. Its interest lies in the fact that it is older by perhaps thirty or forty years than the preceding, having been erected in the reign of Vijayâditya (697-733). A third large Dravidian temple stands somewhat to the east of north from this last, and is still plainer—probably unfinished in its sculptured ornamentation; and to the north-west of it is one of several deserted temples here built in the northern Hindû style. These last two are represented on Woodcut No. 309 (vol. ii.), which places the two forms in vivid contrast. The building there shown on the left is this Sangame*s*var temple—a storeyed pyramid of Dravidian architecture—and that on the right a tower in the northern style. In both the base is generally of a cubical form, but in the northern with a slight projection on each face.



206. Sangame*s*var Temple at Pattadakal. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

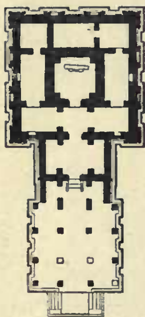
In a field outside the same village is an ancient Jaina temple

also in this style, and probably belonging also to the 8th century. On the east it has an open portico, 19 ft. wide by 20 ft. 3 in., the roof of which is supported on eight pillars standing on a low screen wall with four on the floor. The mandap or hall is 32 ft. 3 in. wide and 30 ft. 8 in. from east to west, having four square pillars on the floor and half pillars against the walls, with two round columns at the entrance to the lobby or ante-chamber of the shrine — all about equally spaced apart. The shrine is 8 ft. 11 in. wide by 9 ft. 9 in. deep, and is surrounded by a pradakshina passage. A peculiar feature is a stone ladder in the north aisle of the mandap leading to the roof, in the tower on which is an upper shrine, a common feature in most of the Jaina temples.[1]



207. Mâlegitti Temple at Bâdâmi. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

Though the temple of Mâlegitti *S*ivâlaya, outside the town of Bâdâmi is but small, it is a characteristic example of the early Dravidian style, and is probably one of the earliest, if not the only one, now existing in so complete preservation. On this account it seems deserving of representation (Plate VIII.). The storeyed character of the *s*ikhara is well defined, its whole style is that of the Mâmallapuram raths, with a few sculptures in the panels, whilst the mandap is lighted by perforated windows on each side; and, as will be seen from the plan, Woodcut No. 207, it has a porch in front, facing east, supported on four very massive square pillars. The type of these latter indicates very distinctly that in age it is not far removed from the period when the caves were executed, whilst the similarity of pattern to those of the Virûpâksha temple at Pattadakal indicates a date about the 7th century—perhaps a century earlier than that of the great temple there.



208. Meguti Temple at Aihole. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

At Aihole, the old Jaina temple known as the Meguti temple, has lost its *s*ikhara, but is one of the oldest shrines in the Dravidian style for which we have a date, since it was completed in the reign of Pulike*s*in II. by Ravikîrti, a Jain, in A.D. 634-635.[2] The arrangement shown in the plan, woodcut No. 208, is somewhat peculiar, the shrine being surrounded by eight small rooms, 8 ft. wide, in place of a pradakshina passage.[3]

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[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India' vol. i. p. 35, and plate 45.

[2] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. viii. p. 237.

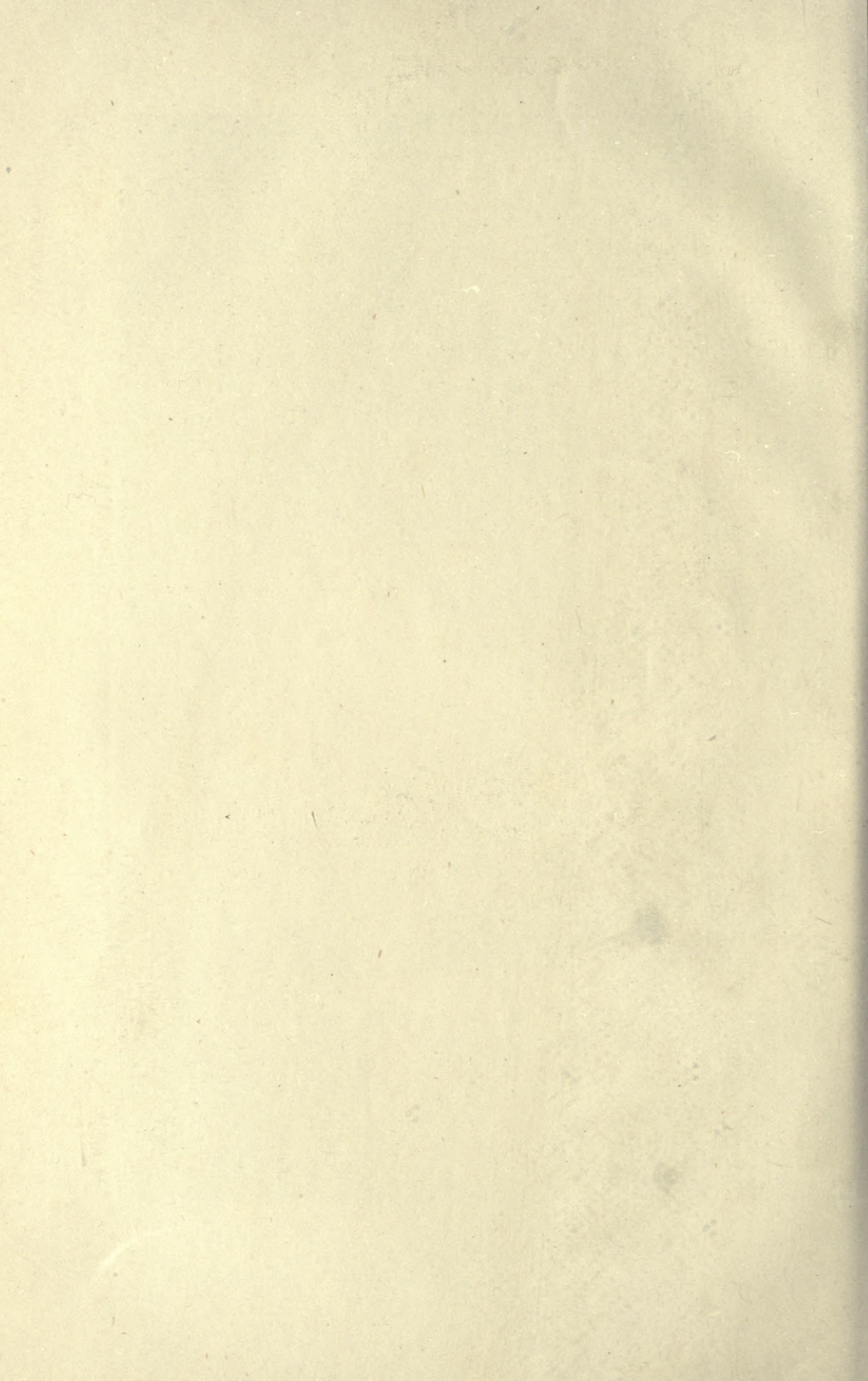
[3] Perhaps the three divisions in front of the shrine might be regarded as one apartment.

PLATE VIII.



MÂLEGITTI SAIVA TEMPLE AT BÂDÂMI, FROM S.E.

[*To face page* 356, Vol. I.



There is an antarâla or vestibule, between the shrine and the Mahâ-mandapa; and the roof of the latter was supported by sixteen square piers. It faces north, and has had an upper shrine, as many Jaina temples have. These three examples illustrate the different styles of early southern temples.

CONJIVARAM.

Conjivaram, or Kânchîpuram, is a city where tradition would lead us to expect more of antiquity than in almost any other city of the south. About the middle of the 4th century, or soon after, Samudragupta claims to have overcome Vishnugopa, the Pallava king of Kânchî; and about A.D. 640 Hiuen Tsiang visited Kânchîpura, the capital of Dravida, which he describes as a large city with ruins near it ascribed to A*s*oka. In the kingdom he speaks of "some hundred sanghârâmas and 10,000 priests of the Sthavira school" of the Mahâyâna, and there were some eighty Hindû temples and many Jaina heretics.[1] Epigraphical research, as stated above (page 306), has brought to light the names of the Pallava sovereigns ruling here about the 7th century, and their contests with the Chalukyas of Bâdâmi and other powers. Pulike*s*in II. of Bâdâmi had invaded the Pallava kingdom about A.D. 630; Vikramâditya II., fully a century later, took Kânchî, and has left an inscription in the Kailâsanâtha temple; and again, about 870, it was taken by Krishna III., the Râshtrakûta sovereign.[2] When the rule finally passed out of the hands of the Pallavas into those of the Cholas, probably about the end of the 12th century, Kânchîpuram became the capital of the latter dynasty. Be this as it may, the two towns, Great and Little Conjivaram, possess groups of temples as picturesque and nearly as vast as any to be found elsewhere.

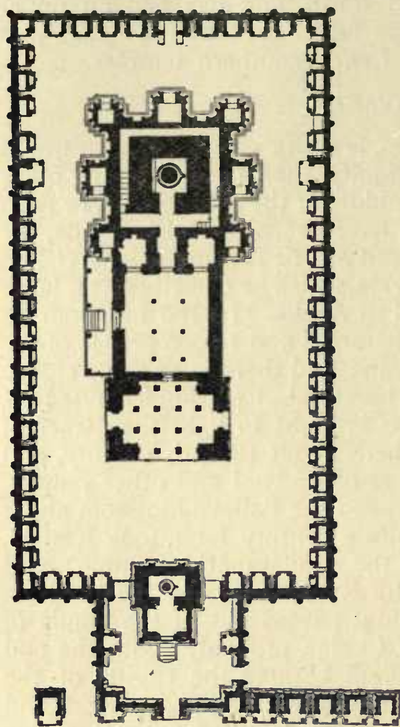
But by far the most interesting of the Conjivaram temples is a very early one known as Kailâsanâtha standing in the fields to the west of the town.[3] From its style when first seen by the editor in 1883, he at once placed it as about coeval with the "Seven Pagodas." Fortunately it contains several original inscriptions, the translation of which has established the fact that it was erected by the Pallava king Rajasimha or Narasimhavishnu, the son of Ugradanda - Lokâditya, who was a contemporary of Vikramâditya I. of Bâdâmi (A.D. 655-680), so that Râjasimha must have ruled at Kânchî in the second

[1] Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 228-230, and 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' pp. 138-139.

[2] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. iii. pp. 360ff, and vol. iv. pp. 280-281.

[3] Mr Sewell did not notice this temple in his 'Lists of Antiquities' (p. 178). Indeed the notice there given of the Conjivaram antiquities is unusually meagre. From Sir Walter Elliot's MS. copies of inscriptions, four are noted (*Ibid.* p. 180) but without mention of the many earlier ones.

half of the 7th century. The temple is a *S*aiva shrine originally styled Râjasimhe*s*vara, consisting of a vimâna and separate mantapam in a court surrounded by small cells, as shown in the plan, Woodcut No 209. At a late date the mantapam has been joined to the vimâna by an ardhamantapam, roofed on six pillars with the entrance on the south side, and the east face of the old mantapam is shut off by a wall with only a window through it. Further, an additional shrine has been inserted in the east wall of the court with a small porch and surrounding court; but this is evidently a very early addition, as are also, probably, the eight small shrines in front of the enclosure. The vimâna contains the usual Linga cell surrounded by a *pradakshina* passage; and round it are seven small attached shrines—with large Nandis between them — the three on the back facing west, and the others facing east. There are also two somewhat larger in front, by the sides of the entrance to the main cell. All these are occupied inside and sculptured outside by forms of *S*iva, Pârvatî, and other devatas of the same cult, and form the temple into a complete Sivâlaya—differing mainly in details of arrangement from what we have met with in the Kailâs temple at Elûrâ.[1] At the latter, too, the east end of the court is surrounded by a gallery or corridor containing fully forty *S*aiva sculptures, which are here represented by a series of small shrines quite round the court—all, except those on the east side, facing to the east and covered inside and out with *S*aiva imagery—mostly of *S*iva and Pârvatî. The little shrines had all *s*ikharas over them appearing over the walls

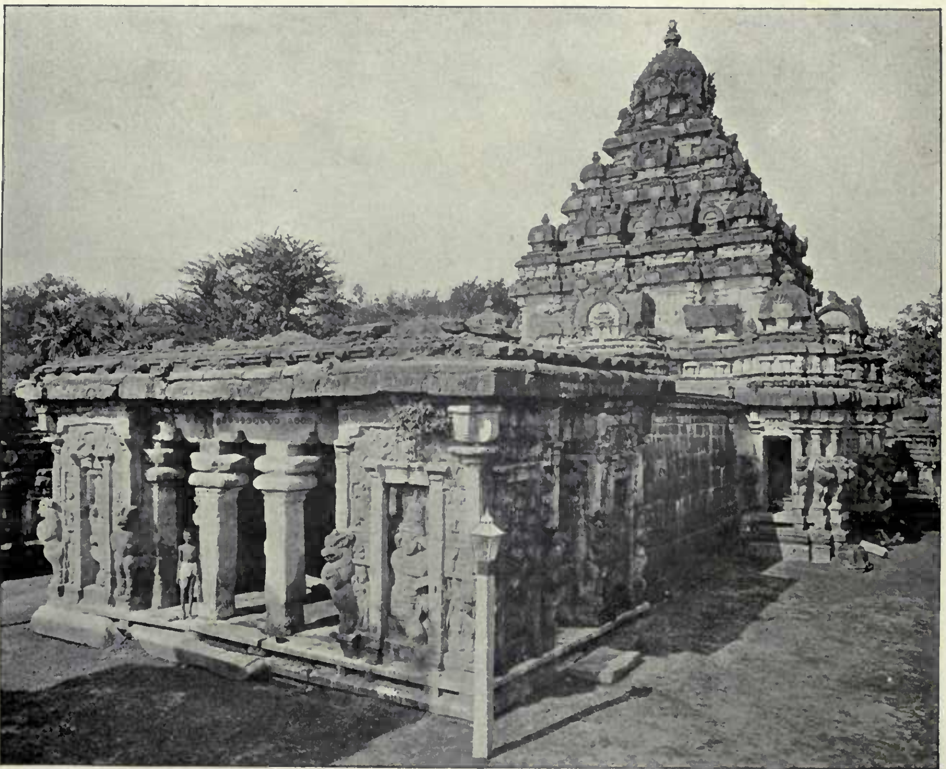


209. Plan of Kailâsanâtha Temple, Conjivaram. (From Mr A. Rea's survey.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

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[1] *Ante*, pp. 342ff.

PLATE IX.

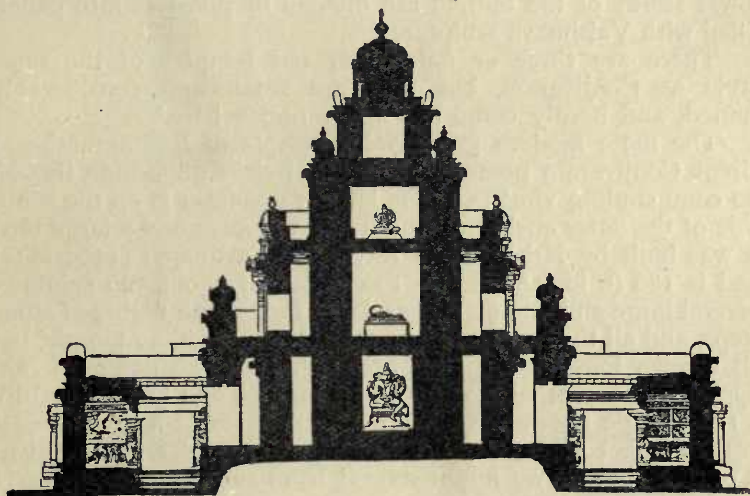


VIEW OF MAIN SHRINE, KAILÂSANÂTHA TEMPLE, KÂNCHÎPURAM.

[*To face page* 359, Vol. I.

of the court, and with a bull or Nandi and an elephant placed alternately between the spires. On the fronts next the court these cells have each two pillars supported by rampant Vyâlîs or horned lions in varied attitudes. The attached pillars at the corners of the cells round the main shrine are similarly supported; and the outer walls are ornamented by scores of pilasters, supported by the same conventionalised animals with riders on them. On the west side is a gopuram or gateway with a tower over it, but the entrance is blocked up—that on the east being alone used now. The roof of the old mantapam has been destroyed, but the style of the temple may be understood from the Plate No. IX., which, as was to be expected, is the same as that of the Mâmallapuram Raths, already described, and gives us a typical example of the Dravidian style about A.D. 680.

A second example of this early Dravidian style is presented in the Vaishnava temple to the east of Conjivaram,



210. Section of Vaikuntha Perumâl Temple, Conjivaram. (From a Drawing by Mr. A. Rea.) Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.

known as the Vaikuntha Perumâl temple.[1] It stands in a court 79 ft. 2 in. wide and 108 ft. from east to west, but at 29 ft. from the east end it is contracted to 63 ft. 3 in. wide. To this is attached an entrance hall or portico 44 ft. 4 in. by 50 ft.—more modern than the rest, and roofed on twenty-four pillars. A pillared verandah runs quite round the inside

[1] Vaikuntha is the heaven of Vishnu, who is usually styled Perumâl (the great one) in the Tamil country.

of the court, the walls of which are covered with sculpture. The outsides of the court walls are divided by pilasters on rampant Vyâlîs into bays in which are niches with sculptured pediments. The vimâna in the centre of the west portion of the court measures 47 ft. square over the walls, with a mandapam in front, having two rows of four pillars each across the floor. The shrine is of unusual arrangement, being of three storeys (Woodcut No. 210); round the lower are two passages, in the inner of which is a stair leading to the upper floor, and the outer has a door and two windows on each of the three exterior sides. On the first floor is a somewhat larger shrine with one covered passage or *pradakshina*, round it, and an open balcony on the roof over the outer passage of the ground floor. In the third storey is also a shrine with an open balcony round it over the roof of the first passage below. In the fourth storey there is again a chamber under the large octagonal dome that crowns the *s*ikhara. The walls of the lower storey of the temple are divided by pilasters into panels filled with Vaishnava sculptures.

There are three or four other old temples of the same style at Conjivaram, but they are small and considerably ruined, and hardly come under our notice here.[1]

The more modern great *S*aiva temple of Ekâmranâtha at Great Conjivaram possesses some first-class gopurams, though no commanding vimâna. The largest gopuram is on the south side of the outer enclosure, and has ten storeys and a large top; it was built by Krishnadeva Râya of Vijayanagar (1509-1530) and is 188 ft. high.[2] It has, too, a hall of about 540 columns, several large and fine mantapas, large tanks with flights of stone steps, and all the requisites of a first-class Dravidian temple, but all thrown together as if by accident. No two gopurams are opposite one another, no two walls parallel, and there is hardly a right angle about the place. All this creates a picturesqueness of effect seldom surpassed in these temples, but deprives it of that dignity we might expect from such parts if properly arranged.

In Little Conjivaram is the Vaishnava temple of Varadarâja-swâmî or Arulâla-Perumâl, which—though smaller than the *S*aiva shrine—is the wealthier, being the principal seat of the Vi*s*ishtâdwaitya school of Râmânuja. The principal gopuram

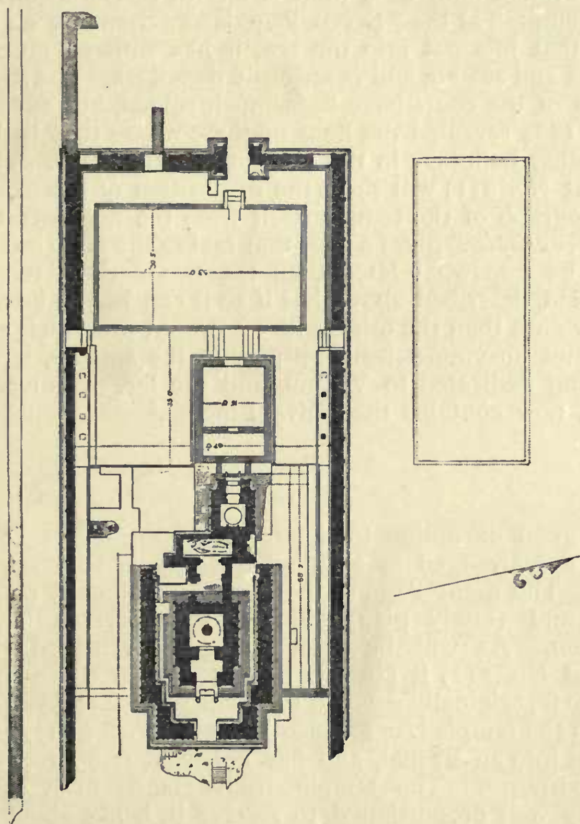
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[1] The editor is indebted to Mr. A. Rea of the Archæological Survey, who, with the consent of the Government, has favoured him with a proof of his volume on Pallava Architecture now in the press, on which the above remarks are based.

[2] "The like model of these lofty towers elsewhere introduced, procured for them the designation of Rayer gobaram, or a tower after the Rayer's fashion—that is, a large and lofty tower."—W. Taylor's 'Oriental Historical Manuscripts,' vol. ii. p. 125; Campbell's 'Teluga Grammar,' introd. p. xii.

of seven storeys and about 100 ft. high is plain in style and not plastered over like so many others. Within, to the left, is a hall of pillars, carved in the style of the Vellor and other temples, with figures riding on horses or hippogriffs. North of this is the usual Teppa-kulam or sacred tank and other buildings. Inscriptions of the beginning of the 13th century show that the temple was then in existence, and it is probably of still earlier date.

The Kâmâkshî[1] temple, by its architectural style, suggests



211. The Shore Temple at Mâmallapuram. (From a Plan by Mr. A. Rea.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

that it is of considerable age, and an inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagar mentions the gift of a copper door for the

[1] Kâmâkshî is a name of Durgâ or Pârvatî, in the character of Manmatha or Muruga: in some parts of southern India the worship is connected with the Holi festival.

shrine in 1393, but till a survey with sufficient illustrations is published we cannot speculate on its age. Two miles south, in the hamlet of Tiruppadikunram, is a Jaina temple, dedicated to Vardhamâna, of which the shrine has an apsidal back—which is covered with sculptures of a somewhat superior character. It probably dates from the 11th century, and contains inscriptions of Chola and early Vijayanagar kings—one commemorates a grant to it by the general of Bukka II. in 1387.

Another structure of some interest in connection with these early Dravidian temples is what is known to Europeans as the "Shore temple" at the "Seven Pagodas." Standing on a point of land that juts out into the sea, it has suffered much from high tides and sea air, and is seriously damaged. The surrounding walls of the court have been much ruined, but excavations made in 1884 revealed the lines of these where they had fallen, and of other buildings in the west half of the court. The plan (Woodcut No. 211) will show the disposition of the whole, and the photograph of the temple itself from the north-west (Plate No. X., *Frontispiece*) gives a view that makes the style intelligible. It may be somewhat later than the two earliest temples at Conjivaram, described above, but if so it can hardly be ascribed to a later date than the 9th century A.D. At present, it contains two shrines unsymmetrically disposed—the smaller, facing the west, being dedicated to Vishnu, and the larger, entered from the east, now contains the *S*aiva Lingam.[1]

Tanjor.

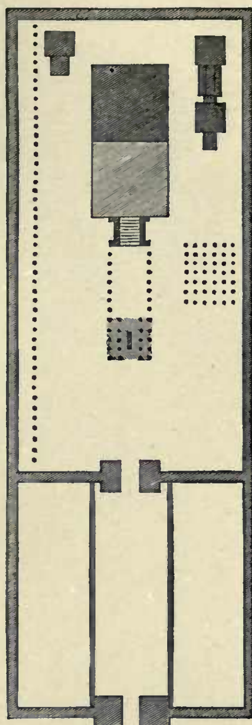
One great exception to the rule that the larger Dravidian temples are arranged as accident dictated is to be found at Tanjor. The great Pagoda there was commenced on a well-defined and stately plan, which was persevered in till its completion. As will be seen from the annexed diagram (Woodcut No. 212) it consists of two courts,[2] one a square of about 250 ft., originally devoted to minor shrines and residences; but when the temple was fortified by the French in 1777[3] it was converted into an arsenal, and has not been re-appropriated to sacred purposes. The temple itself stands in a courtyard extremely well proportioned to receive it, being about 500 ft. long by half that in width, the distance between the gateway

[1] The temple is sometimes called Sthala*s*ayanaswâmî, perhaps because in a chamber about 12 ft. long, behind the larger shrine, but accessible from it, is a gigantic figure of Vishnu lying on the floor.

[2] As the plan is only an eye-sketch, and the dimensions obtained by pacing, it must not be too much relied on. It is sufficient to explain the text, and that is all that is at present required.

[3] Inscription on gateway.

and the temple being broken by the shrine of the Bull Nandi,[1] which is sufficiently important for its purpose, but not so much so as to interfere with the effect of the great vimâna, which stands near the inner end of the court. The perpendicular part of its base measures 82 ft. square, and is two storeys in height, of simple outline, but sufficiently relieved by niches and pilasters. Above this the pyramid rises in thirteen storeys to the summit, which is crowned by a dome said to consist of a single stone, and reaching a height of 190 ft. The porch in front is kept low, and as will be seen from the woodcut (No. 213) the tower dominates over the gopurams and surrounding objects in a manner that imparts great dignity to the whole composition.

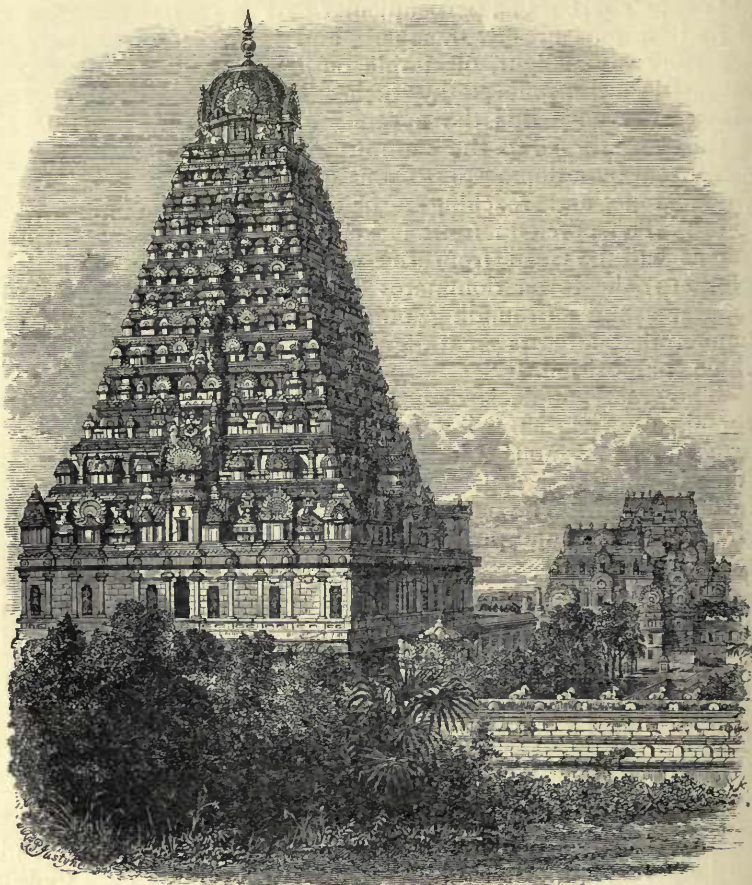


212. Diagram Plan of Tanjor Temple. (From a Sketch by the Author.) Scale 200 ft. to 1 in.

The great temple is dedicated to the worship of *S*iva, as Brihatî*s*vara, in the form of an enormous Linga, and everything in the inner courtyard belongs to the *S*aiva cult. The outer gopuram is of much later date, and probably belongs to the early part of the 16th century, when Vaishnava ideas were more prevalent, and the mythological representations had become mixed; the smaller shrines in the court also belong to later dates. But, as one of the oldest and best preserved examples of Dravidian art, its date is of much archæological interest. Strange to say, however, this date was long obscured by assertions that had no scientific basis. Thanks to Dr. Hultzsch's careful translations of the long inscriptions, in old Tamil, that cover the base of the central shrine, this is no longer doubtful. The inscriptions enumerate the many gifts of gold images, vessels, and ornaments made to the temple by Râjarâja or Ko-Râjake*s*arivarman, his eldest sister Kundavaiyâr and others, in the 25th, 26th, and

[1] The dimensions of this image are 16 ft. from muzzle to rump, by above 7 ft. across, 12 ft. 2 in. to top of head, 10 ft. 4 in. to top of hump, and 7 ft. 5 in. to top of back. It is composed of a single block of stone, I believe granite, but it has been so frequently and so thoroughly coated with oil, which is daily applied to it, that it looks like bronze. I tried to remove a portion of this epidermis in order to ascertain what was beneath, but was not successful. No other kind of stone, however, is used in any other part of the temple.

29th years of his reign; and these gifts were presented to "the stone temple of Râjarâjesvara" which, we are told, he "caused to be built at Tanjor."[1] Now Râjarâjadeva Chola, the son of



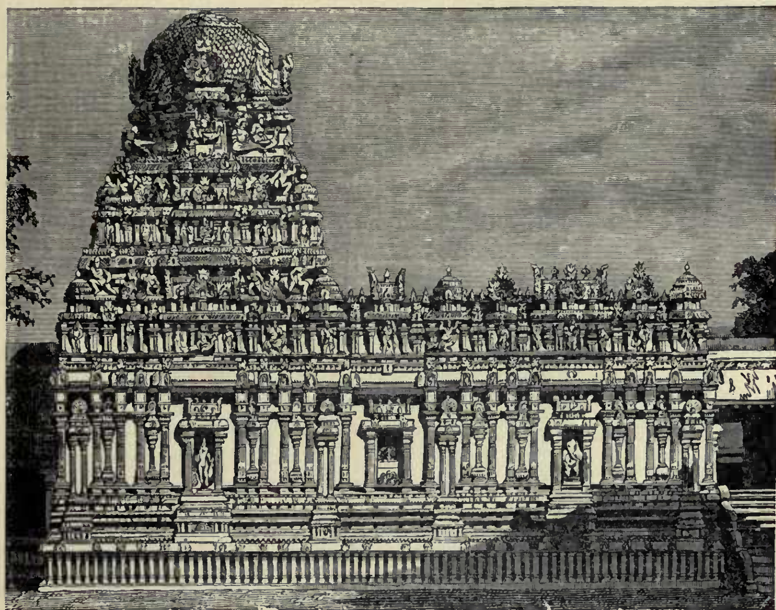
213. View of the Great Temple at Tanjor. (From a Photograph by Middleton Rayne, Esq., C.E.)

Parântaka II., became king in A.D. 985, and must have completed the temple some time before 1012; as it would take some years to build, we may safely assume that it was begun about the end of the 10th century, and completed about 1012.[2]

[1] Hultzsch's 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. ii. pp. 8 and 68. Conf. 'Archæology in India,' p. 25.

[2] It is only within the last few years that we have been able to obtain anything like a correct list of the Chola

Besides the great temple and the Nandi porch there are several other smaller shrines in the enclosure, one of which, dedicated to Subrahmanya or Kârttikeyâ, a son of *S*iva's, is as exquisite a piece of decorative architecture as is to be found in the south of India, and though small, almost divides our admiration with the temple itself (Woodcut No. 214). It is built behind an older shrine, which may be coeval with the great temple as originally designed. But this is evidently of more



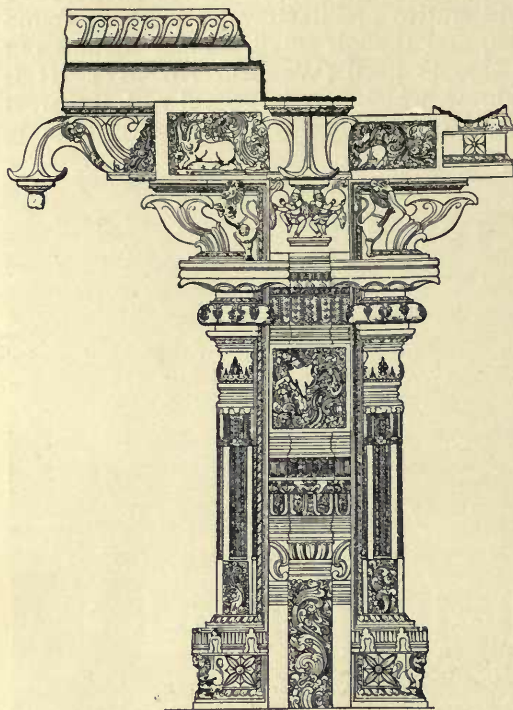
214. Temple of Subrahmanya, Tanjor. (From a Photograph.)

recent date, — probably two centuries more modern than the principal temple. The woodcut No. 215 of one of the piers in the verandah in front of the temple, when compared with that given below (p. 387), from Tirumal Nâyyak's chaultri, shows at a glance that they belong to about the same period,

kings; the researches of the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., of Göttingen, based on the epigraphical labours of Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., supply the following list of the principal rulers:—

A.D. 907 Parântaka I.
Râjâditya Mûvadi Chola.
Parântaka II.
985 Râjarâja I.
1012 Râjendra Chola I.
1018 Râjâdhirâja I.
1052 Râjendradêva.
1063 Vîrarâjendra.
1070 Kulottunga Chola I.
1118 Vikrama Chola.
Kulottunga Chola II.
1146 Râjarâja II.
1178 Kulottunga Chola III.
1216 Râjarâja III.
1246-1267 Râjendra Chola III.

and this may be assigned with confidence to the 17th century. The central pillar is alternately square and octagon, with shafts attached on the two side faces, and the whole very richly ornamented.



215. Pier in Subrahmanya Temple, Tanjor.[2]

The Tanjor temple in 1758 was besieged in vain by Lally from where now the district Court stands, and in 1771 the English besieged and took it. Many of the sculptures show traces of these sieges, and after the last the temple was turned into a camp for thirty years. In 1801 - 1802 Râja *S*arfoji had it purified and re-consecrated.[1]

There is another temple at the village of Gangaikondapuram, 38 miles to the north - east of Tanjor, and 20 miles south-west from Chidambaram, that, so far as is yet known, must be at least as old as that at Tanjor, if not older, and of which it would be very desirable to have a complete survey, as it is said to retain even more of its original purity of design than the latter.[3]

Tiruvâlûr.

The temple at Tiruvâlûr in Tanjor district,[4] about 15 miles west of Negapattam, contrasts curiously with that at Tanjor in the principles on which it was designed, and serves to exemplify the mode in which, unfortunately, most Dravidian temples were aggregated.

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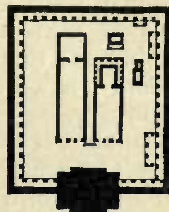
[1] Dr. A. Burnell in an article, 12th November 1877.

[2] From 'Technical Art Series,' 1894.

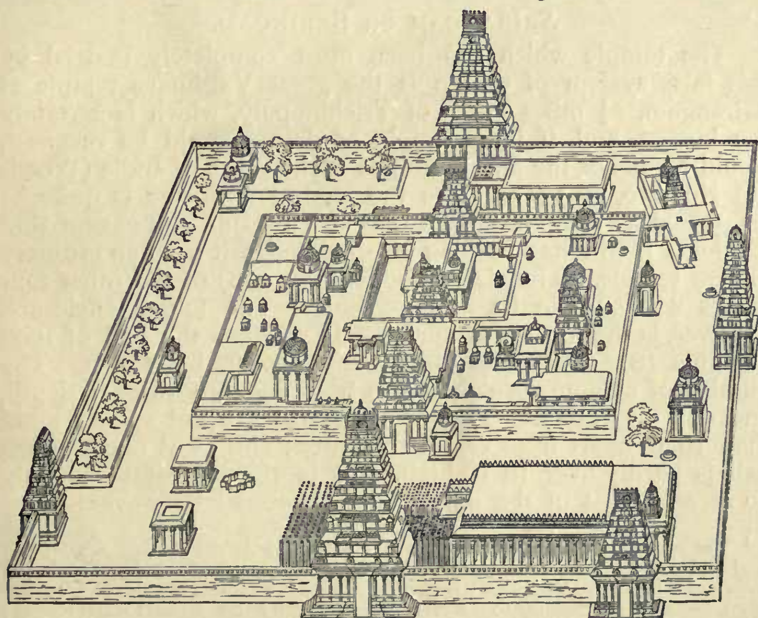
[3] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xlix. (1880) pp. 1-4.

[4] At Tiruvallûr, in Chingalpat district, is a Vaishnava temple dedicated to Vîrarâghava.

The nucleus here was a small village temple (Woodcut No. 216), drawn to the same scale as the plan of Tanjor in Woodcut No. 212. It is a double shrine, dedicated to Valmikesvara or *S*iva and his consort, standing in a cloistered court which measures 191 ft. by 156 ft. over all, and has one gopuram in front. On the south is a shrine of Tyâgarâja-swâmi. The central shrine is said to belong to the early years of the 15th century; but there are some defaced inscriptions of Râjarâja I. and Râjendra Chola (A.D. 985-1018) on the small shrine of Achale*s*vara, which may be the oldest portion now existing; otherwise there is nothing to distinguish it from the ordinary temples found in every village. It, however, at some subsequent period became sacred or rich, and a second court was added, measuring about 470 ft. each way, with two gopurams, higher than the original one, and containing within its walls numberless little shrines and porches. Additions



216. Inner Temple at Tiruvâlûr. Scale 200 ft. to 1 in.



217. Temple at Tiruvâlûr. (From a Drawing in Ram Raz's 'Hindu Architecture.')

were again made at some subsequent date, the whole being enclosed in a court 957 ft. by 726 ft.—this time with five gopurams, of which those on the west and east or front are respectively 101 and 118 feet high, and containing several

subordinate shrines. When the last addition was made, it was intended to endow the temple with one of those great halls which were considered indispensable in temples of the first class. Generally they had—or were intended to have—1000 columns; this one has only 807, and almost one-half of these mere posts, not fitted to carry a roof of any sort. There can, however, be very little doubt that, had time and money been available, it would have been completed to the typical extent.

The general effect of such a design as this may be gathered from the bird's-eye view (Woodcut No. 217). As an artistic design, nothing can be worse. The gateways, irregularly spaced in a great blank wall, lose half their dignity from their positions; and the bathos of their decreasing in size and elaboration, as they approach the sanctuary, is a mistake which nothing can redeem. We may admire beauty of detail, and be astonished at the elaboration and evidence of labour, if they are found in such a temple as this, but as an architectural design it is altogether detestable.

*S*RÎRANGAM OR SERINGAM.

The temple which has been most completely marred by this false system of design is the great Vaishnava temple at *S*rîrangam, 2½ miles north of Trichinopoly, which is certainly the largest, and, if its principle of design could be reversed, would be one of the finest temples in the south of India (Woodcut No. 219, p. 371). Here the central enclosure is quite as small and as insignificant as that at Tiruvâlûr, and except that its dome is gilt has nothing to distinguish it from an ordinary village temple. The plan (Woodcut No. 218) of the inner four courts will explain its arrangements. The fourth enclosure, however, is the most magnificent. It encloses the hall of 1000 columns (S), which measures some 500 ft. by 138 ft. The number of columns is eighteen in front by sixty-three in depth, and 953 altogether.[1] They consequently are not spaced more than 10 ft. apart from centre to centre; and as at one end the hall is hardly over 10 ft. high, and in the loftiest place only 20 ft., and most of the pillars being spaced nearly evenly over

[1] The plan is from Capt. Cole's, reproduced in 'India: Photographs and Drawings of Historical Buildings' (Griggs, 1896), plate 53. References to the plan, Woodcut No. 218:—A, South, or Kurat Alwar Gopuram; B, East, or Vellai Gopuram; and C, North, or Nachiyârsanadi Gopuram, of the fourth court; D, Vaikuntha Gopuram of the second court. E, the shrine, which, curiously enough, is circular; F, Chandan mantapam; G, Yajna *S*âlâ; H, Garuda mantapam; I, *S*rî-pandârâ mantapam; J, Sûrya-pushkarâni; K, Râmasvâmi temple; L, Vaikunth temple; M, Chandra-pushkarâni; N, Dhanvantari temple; O, O, Vâsudeva Perumâl temples; P, Narasimha Perumâl temple; Q, Q, Granaries; R, Ranganâyaki temple; S, The Thousand Pillar mantapam; T, *S*eshagiri-râo mantapam; U, Ranga-vilâsam mantapam; V, Kurat-Alwar temple; W, W, Krishna temples; X, Elephant stables; Y, Kada-kili mantapam.

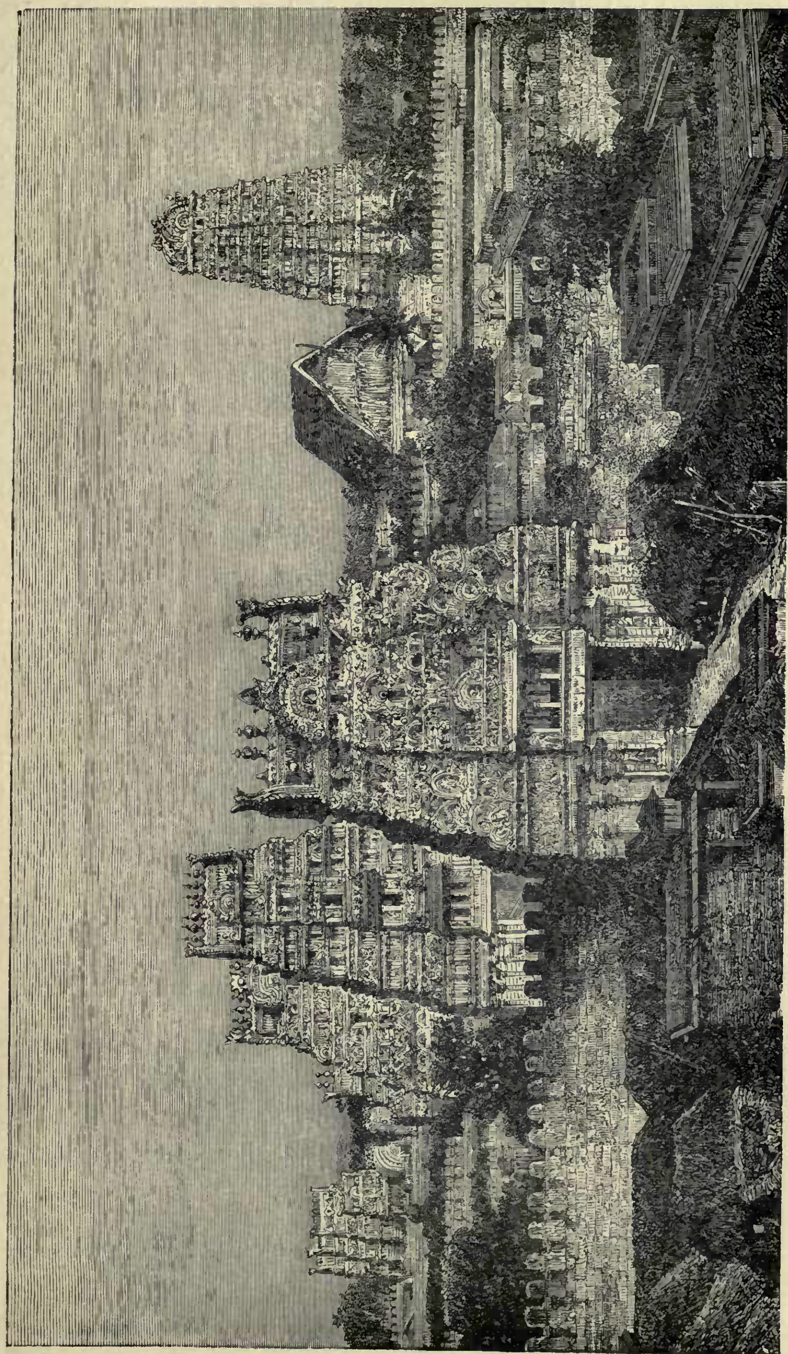
218. Plan of *S*rirangam Temple—the four inner courts. Scale 200 ft. to 1 in.

the floor, it will be easily understood how little effect such a building really produces.[1] They are, however, each of a single block of granite, and all carved more or less elaborately. A much finer portico stretches across the third court of the Jambukesvara temple from gopuram to gopuram; the pillars in it are much more widely spaced, and the central aisle is double that of those on the sides, and crosses the portico in the centre, making a transept; its height, too, is double that of the side aisles. It is a pleasing and graceful architectural design; the other is only an evidence of misapplied labour. The Seshagiri-râo Mantapam (T), to the south of the preceding, is the most elaborately carved hall in the temple. It is supported by pillars with rearing horses and other figures in front, similar to those in the Madurâ temple, and is probably of about the same age—or the middle of the 17th century. The Gopuram (B), on the east side of this court is 146½ feet in height, and is one of the finest in the temple.

The three outer enclosures have nothing very remarkable in them, being generally occupied by the Brâhmans and persons connected with the temple. Each, however, has, or was intended to have, four gopurams, one on each face, the superstructures are of brick, and some of these are ornamented in plaster of considerable magnificence. The outer enclosure is, practically, a bazaar, filled with shops, where pilgrims are lodged, and fed, and fleeced. The wall that encloses it measures 2,521 ft. by 2,865 ft.,[2] and, had its gopurams been finished, they would have surpassed all others in the south to the same extent as these dimensions exceed those of any other known temple. The unfinished southern gopuram, leading to the river and Trichinopoly, measures 130 ft. in width by 100 ft. in depth; the opening through it measures 21 ft. 6 in., and twice that in height. The four jambs or gateposts are each of a single slab of granite, more than 40 ft. in height, and the roofing-slabs throughout measure from 23 ft. to 24 ft. Had the ordinary brick pyramid of the usual proportion been added to this, the whole would have risen to a height of nearly 300 ft. Even as it is, it is one of the most imposing masses in southern India, and probably — perhaps because it never was

[1] A plan and section of the Thousand-pillared mantapam and six plates of pillars are given in the 'Journal of Indian Art and Industry,' vol. viii. (1899), plates 89-95, and the same with two others, in 'India: Photographs,' etc. *ut supra*, plates 54-62.

[2] The innermost court, enclosing the temple, measures 240 ft. from north to south by 181 ft. from east to west; the second 426 ft. by 295 ft.; the third 767 ft. by 503 ft.; the fourth 1,235 ft. by 849 ft.; the fifth which, with the remaining two, is occupied by houses, measures 1,653 ft. by 1,270; the sixth 2,108 ft. by 1,846 ft.; and the seventh is 2,521 ft. over all at the south end and about 2,485 at the north, by 2,865 ft. in length.—'Madras Manual of Administration,' vol. iii. p. 833; and Major Cole's plan.



219. View of the eastern half of the Great Temple at Srirangam. (From a Photograph.)

quite finished—it is in severe and good taste throughout.[1] Its date, fortunately, is perfectly well known, as its progress was stopped by its being occupied and fortified by the French during our ten years' struggle with them for the possession of Trichinopoly; and if we allow fifty years for its progress, even this would bring the whole within the limits of the 18th century. The other three gopurams of this enclosure are in the same style, and were commenced on the same scale, but not being so far advanced when the work was stopped, their gateposts project above their walls in a manner that gives them a very singular appearance, and has led to some strange theories as to their design.

Looked at from a distance, or in any direction where the whole can be grasped at once, these fourteen or fifteen great gate towers cannot fail to produce a certain effect, as may be gathered from the view in Woodcut No. 219; but even then it can only be by considering them as separate buildings. As parts of one whole, their arrangement is exactly that which enables them to produce the least possible effect that can be obtained either from their mass or ornament. Had the four great outer gopurams formed the sides of a central hall or court, and the others gone on diminishing, in three or four directions, to the exterior, the effect of the whole would have been increased in a surprising degree. To accomplish this, however, one other defect must have been remedied: a gateway even 150 ft. wide in a wall nearly 2000 ft. in extent is a solecism nothing can redeem; but had the walls been broken in plan or star-shaped, like the plans of Chalukyan temples, light and shade would have been obtained, and due proportions of parts, without any inconvenience. But if the Dravidians ever had it in them to think of such things, it was not during the 17th and 18th centuries, to which most things in this temple seem to belong. The shrines and inner prâkâras, however, must be of much earlier date, for we find Jatâvarman Sundara Pândya, about 1254, making large gifts and additions to the temple; and in 1371 Kampana Udaiyar of Vijayanagar was engaged repairing it.[2]

As mentioned above, the great Vaishnava temple of *S*rîrangam owes all its magnificence to buildings erected during the reign of the Nâyyak dynasty, whose second capital was Trichinopoly, and where they often resided. Within a mile to the east, however, of that much-lauded temple is another, dedicated to *S*iva, under

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[1] A drawing of it was published in my 'Picturesque Illustrations of Indian Architecture.' It has since been frequently photographed.

[2] See the inscriptions from the temple in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. iii. pp. 7ff.; vol. vi. pp. 324, 330; and vol. vii. pp. 176, 177.

the title of Jumbukêswara, which, though not so large as that dedicated to *S*rî Ranganâtha, far surpasses it in beauty as an architectural object. The east gateway of the outer enclosure is not large, but it leads direct to the centre of a hall containing some 250 pillars. On the right these open on a tank fed by a perpetual spring, which is one of the wonders of the place.[1] The corresponding space on the left is occupied by about 470 columns: these together form the Thousand-pillared mantapam. Between the gopurams of the second enclosure is a very beautiful portico of cruciform shape, leading to the door of the sanctuary, which, however, makes no show externally, and access to its interior is not vouchsafed to the profane. The age of the courts of this temple is somewhat earlier than that of its great rival, and being all of one design, they probably were begun and completed at once, and from the simplicity of its parts and details must be earlier than the great buildings of Tirumalai Nâyyak. In fact an inscription on the south wall of the second prâkâram is dated in the tenth year of Jatâvarman Sundara Pândya, who began to reign in 1251;[2] and, though the outer enclosures were subsequently added—probably as late as A.D. 1600—the nucleus of the buildings must be about as old as the 12th century, and possibly even two centuries earlier.[3]

One of the great charms of this temple, when I visited it, was its purity. Neither whitewash nor red nor yellow paint had then sullied it, and the time-stain on the warm-coloured granite was all that relieved its monotony; but it sufficed, and it was a relief to contemplate it thus after some of the vulgarities I had seen. Now all this is altered. Like the pagodas at Râmêsvaram, and more so those at Madurâ, barbarous vulgarity has done its worst, and the traveller is only too fully justified in the contempt with which he speaks of these works of a great people which have fallen into the hands of such unworthy successors.

CHIDAMBARAM.

The *S*aiva temple at Chidambaram in South Arkot district is one of the most venerated, and has also the reputation of being one of the most ancient temples in southern India. It was there, therefore, if anywhere, that I at one time hoped to find some remains that would help to elucidate the history of the style. It was, besides, so far removed from any capital city or frequented haunt of man that one might hope to find its original form unaltered.

[1] The view in this temple in my 'Picturesque Illustrations of Indian Architecture,' No. 21, is taken from the corner of this tank.

[2] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxi. p. 121 and vol. xxii. p. 221.

[3] Hultzsch's 'South Indian Inscriptions,' vol. ii. p. 253.

It is old, but, probably, not older than the Tanjor and Gangaikondapuram temples. The Kongadesa Râjakal relates a legend of Vîra Chôla Rayar who "one day saw on the sea-shore the Sabhâpati of Chidambara (Siva), attended by Pârvatî, dancing and beating the damaraka (a kind of drum); he therefore expended great sums of money in building the Kanaka, or Golden Sabhâ."[1] A little further on, it is said, "Arivarideva (A.D. 985) observing that his grandfather had built only a Kanaka-Sabhâ to the Chidambara deity, he built gopurams, maddals (enclosures), madapanas (image-houses), sabhâs (holy places or apartments), and granted many jewels to the deity." Though this work is not at all trustworthy, yet from an inscription we learn that Vîranârâyana or Parântaka I., early in the 10th century, covered the hall with gold, or erected the Kanaka-sabhâ. There is also in the temple an inscription of Râjadhirâja I. (1018 to 1052) which may be regarded as evidence that the two inner enclosures, BB, at the west end of the tank (Woodcut No. 220) were in existence in the 10th century.[2] They, indeed, measuring about 320 ft. square, appear to have been the whole of the original temple, at least in the 10th and 11th centuries. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that this inner temple is really the one referred to in the above extract as far as supported by the inscription. The temple of Pârvatî, C, on the north of the tank, was added afterwards, most probably in the 14th or 15th century, and to that age the great gopurams and the second enclosure also belong. The north gopuram, 140 feet high, is ascribed to Krishnadeva, about 1520, whilst that on the east has inscriptions of Sundara Pândya about 1250. The hall of 1000 columns, E, was almost certainly erected between 1595 and 1685, at which time, we learn from the Mackenzie MSS., the kings of the locality made many donations to the fane.[3] It was then, also, in all probability, the outer enclosure was commenced; but it never was carried out, being in most places only a few feet above the foundation.

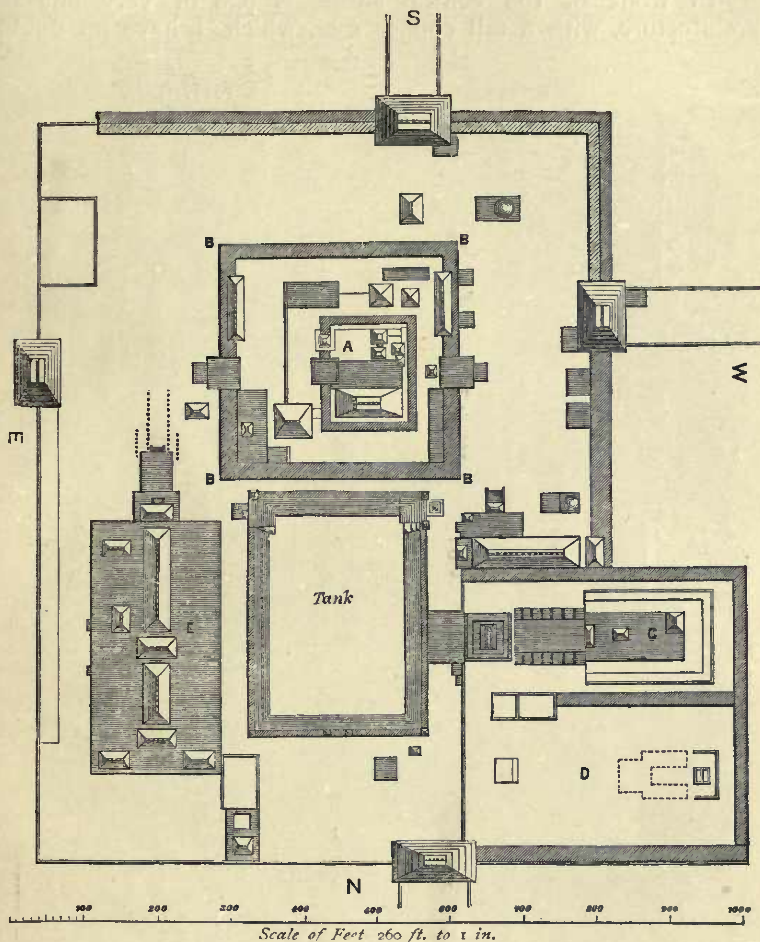
The oldest thing now existing here is a little shrine in the inmost enclosure (opposite A in the plan). A porch of fifty-six pillars about 8 ft. high, and most delicately carved, resting

[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. viii. p. 7. The Chidambaram temple is dedicated to one of the Pancha-lingams or five notable symbols of Siva in southern India. These are—(1) at Conjivaram, the "prithvi-lingam," made of earth,—claimed also by the Tiruvâlûr temple; (2) at Jambukesvaram, the "apa-lingam," exuding water; (3) at Tiruvannâmalai in S. Arkat, the "tejo-lingam," sparkling with light; (4) at Kâlahasti in N. Arkat, the "vayu-lingam," of which the lamp vibrates with the wind; and (5) this at Chidambaram is the "âkâsa-lingam," of ether—having no material representation.

[2] 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. iii. pp. 280-281.

[3] 'Madras Journal,' vol. viii. (1838), No. 20, p. 15.

on a stylobate, ornamented with dancing figures, more graceful and more elegantly executed than any others of their class, so



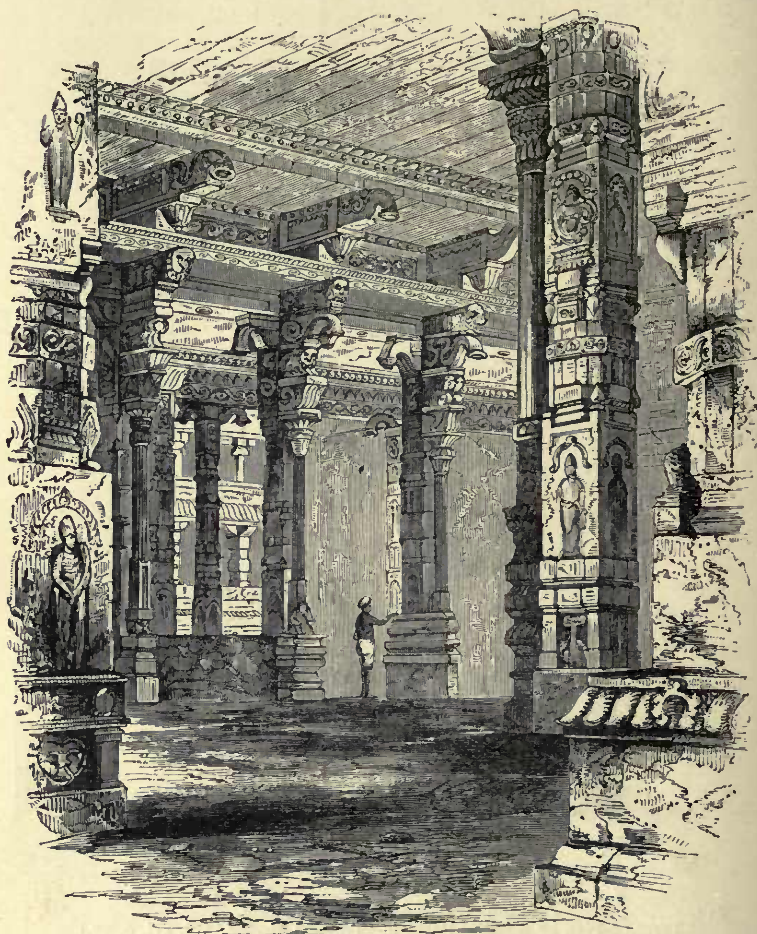
Scale of Feet 260 *ft. to* 1 *in.*

220. Plan of Temple of Chidambaram.
(From a Plan by Admiral Paris, in 'Tour du Monde,' vol. xvi. p. 35.)

far as I know, in southern India. At the sides are wheels and horses, the whole being intended to represent a car, as is frequently the case in these temples. Whitewash and modern alterations have sadly disfigured this gem, but enough remains to show how exquisite, and consequently how ancient, it was. It is the Nritya or Nritta Sabhâ, the hall of the dance, in allusion, probably, to the circumstance above mentioned as

leading to the foundation of the temple,[1] as well as to the chief idol of the temple—Natesa.

In front of the central shrine is one of very unusual architecture, with a tall copper roof, which, I have no doubt,



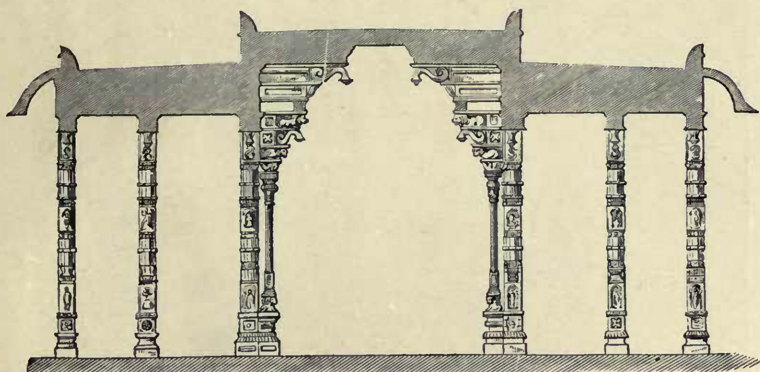
221. View of Porch of Chidambaram. (From Drawings by the Author.)

represents or is the golden or Kanaka-sabhâ above referred to, and in front of this is a gopuram and pillared porch, making up what seems to have been the original temple. The central

[1] The Nâthukôttai Chettis, who manage (or mismanage) the temples, propose to move this Nritya Sabhâ to make room for the extension of a new cloister they are now making.

temple is dedicated to Natê*s*a or *S*iva as god of the dance, and is a plain wooden building standing on a stone pavement; but behind it an apartment of polished black stone has recently been added, part of the roof of which is formed of gilt plates. The outer enclosure, with the buildings it contains, are, it appears, of later date.

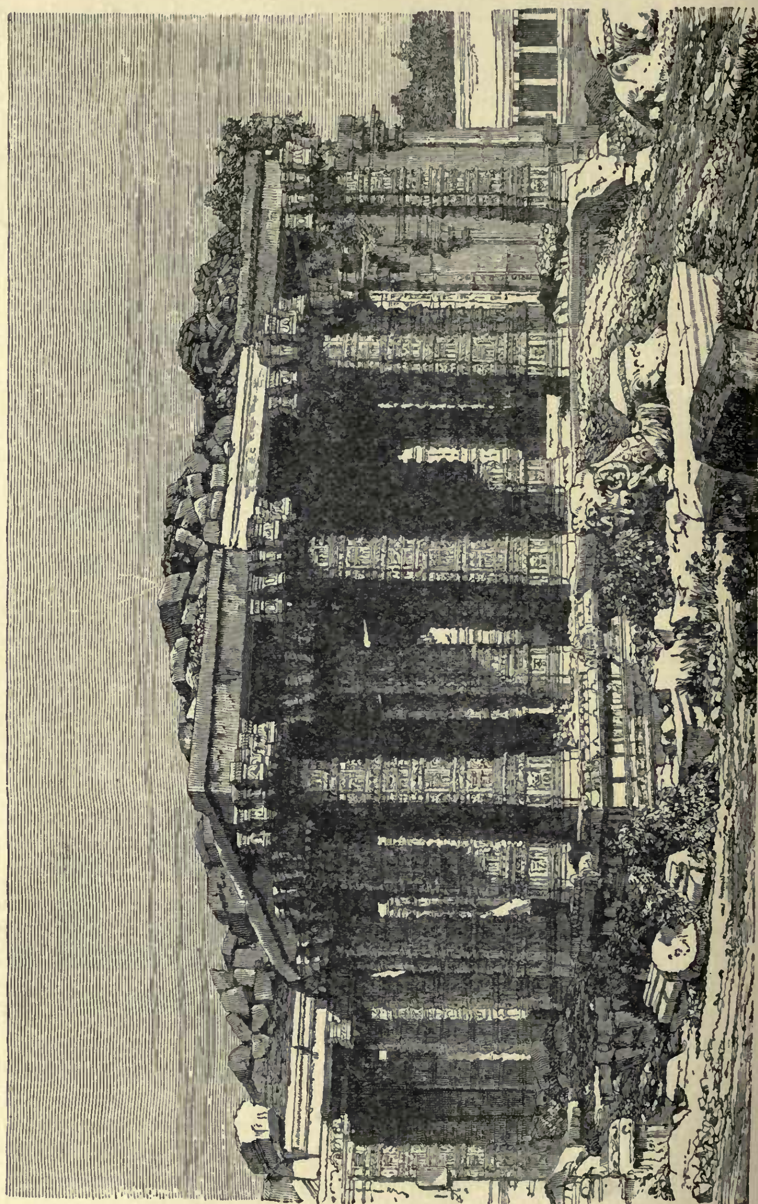
The temple of Pârvatî, C, is principally remarkable for its porch, which is of singular elegance. The preceding woodcut (No. 221) gives some idea of its present appearance, and the section (Woodcut No. 222) explains its construction. The



222. Section of Porch of Temple at Chidambaram. (From a Sketch by the Author.) No Scale.

outer aisles are 6 ft. in width, the next 8 ft., but the architect reserved all his power for the central aisle, which measures 21 ft. 6 in. in width, making the whole 50 ft or thereabouts. In order to roof this without employing stones of such dimensions as would crush the supports, recourse was had to vaulting, or rather bracketing, shafts, and these brackets were again tied together by transverse purlins, all in stone, and the system was continued till the width was reduced to a dimension that could easily be spanned. As the whole is enclosed in a court surrounded by galleries two storeys in height, the effect of the whole is singularly pleasing.

Opposite to this, across the *S*ivaganga tank, is the Râjasabhâ or hall of 1000 columns, E, similar in many respects to that at *S*rîrangam, above described, but probably slightly more modern. It is about 197 ft. wide by 338 ft. in length. Here the pillars are arranged twenty-four in front by forty-one in depth, making 984; but in order to get a central space, four in the porch, then twenty-eight, then two, and again twenty-four, have been omitted, altogether fifty-eight; but, on the other



223. Ruined Temple or Pagoda at Chidambaram. (From a Photograph.)

hand, those of the external portico must be added, which nearly balances the loss, and makes up the 1000. It must be confessed this forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented, does produce a certain grandeur of effect, but the want of design in the arrangement, and of subordination of parts, detract painfully from the effect that might have been produced. Leaving out the pillars in the centre is the one redeeming feature, and that could easily have been effected without the brick vaults, formed of radiating arches, which are employed here—another certain proof of the modern age of the building. These vaults are certainly integral, and as certainly could not have been employed till after the Muhammadans had settled in the south, and taught the Hindûs how to use them.

Although this temple has been aggregated at different ages, and grown by accident rather than design, like those at Tiruvâlûr and *S*rîrangam just described, it avoids the great defect of these temples, for though like them it has no tall central object to give dignity to the whole from the outside, internally the centre of its great court is occupied by a tank, round which the various objects are grouped without at all interfering with one another. The temple itself is one important object, to the eastward of it: the Pârvatî temple, another on the north, and forms a pleasing pendant to the 1000-columned châuari on the south. On the north side of the Pârvatî another temple (D) was commenced (Woodcut No. 220), called the Pândyanâyaka-kovil, with a portico of square pillars, four in front, and all most elaborately ornamented, but in such a manner as not to interfere with their outline or solidity. For long it stood in an unfinished and ruined state, but has of late been restored. This temple was dedicated to Shânmukha or Subrahmanya; but we cannot feel sure of its age. From its position, however, and the character of its ornamentation, there seems little doubt that it belongs to the end of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. From its style, however, I would be inclined to ascribe it to the earlier date. The main buildings are enclosed within high walls of dressed granite; outside are four "car streets," 60 feet wide; and the whole area belonging to the temple is about 39 acres.

A large portion of the innermost area, which is historically the most important, has of recent years been undergoing elaborate restoration and important additions at the hands of the Nâthukottai Chettis, that unfortunately will quite obliterate much that is most important for archæology. They are adding a wide cloister intended to run all round the enclosure, but the

Vaishnava Amman temple stands in the way of this, and the Chettis have been interdicted from removing it. This court contains also the Chita-sabhâ or central shrine—a plain wooden building, as already mentioned, on a stone platform. In it *S*iva is represented as Natarâja or Nate*s*a. Behind is the bedroom for the idol—a new structure of polished black stone.

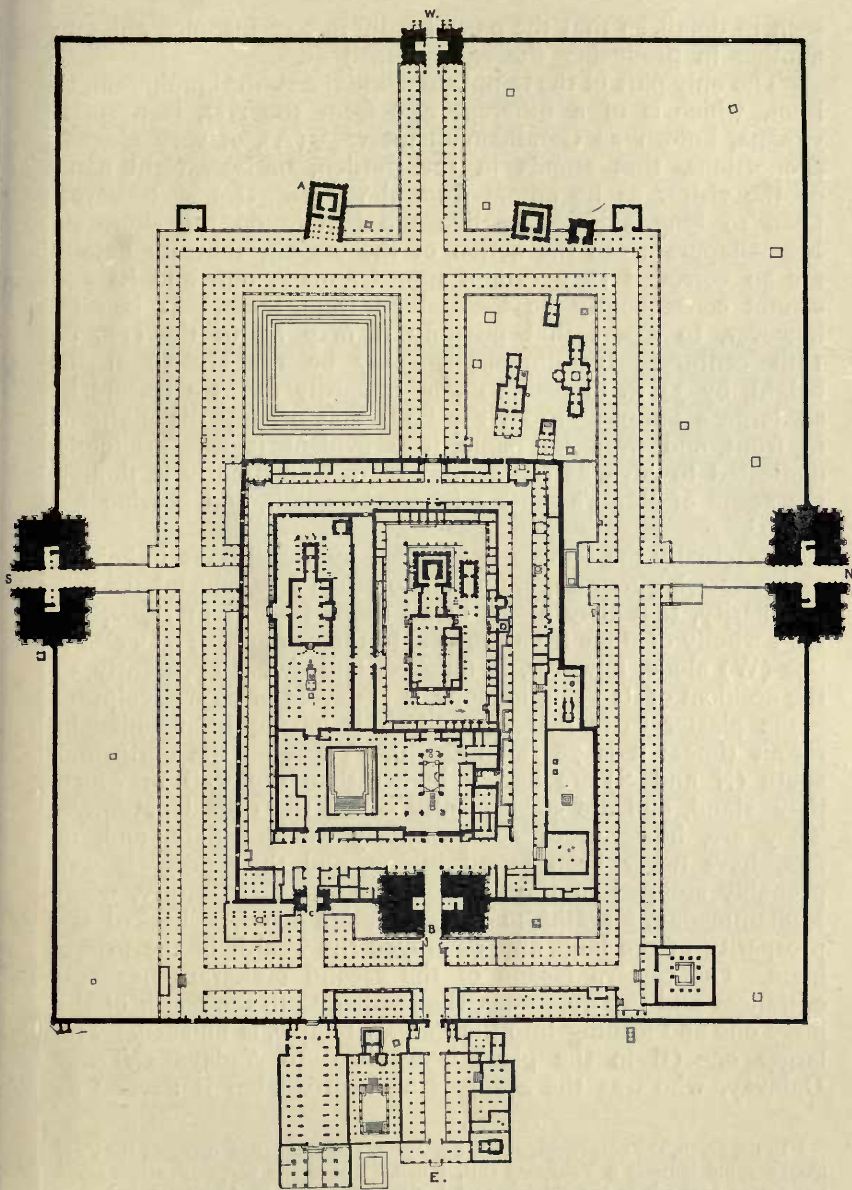
The special Lingam of the temple is supposed to be the Âkâ*s*a or "ether" lingam, which is said to stand behind the idol with a curtain and string of Bilva leaves suspended in front of it. In front of the Chita-sabhâ is the Kanaka-sabhâ, also of wood, where the daily worship of the Natarâja is performed. Almost adjoining is the temple of Vishnu or Ranganâtha. Besides these and the Nritta-sabhâ already mentioned, is the Deva Sabhâ used as an office, and near it a small building or old shrine, believed to be the original structure, round which the rest of the temple has grown.[1]

RÂME*S*VARAM.

If it were proposed to select one temple which should exhibit all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection, and at the same time exemplify all its characteristic defects of design, the choice would almost inevitably fall on that at Râme*s*varam, in the island of Pâmbâm[2] (Woodcut No. 224). In no other temple has the same amount of patient industry been exhibited as here, and in none, unfortunately, has that labour been so thrown away for want of a design appropriate for its display. It is not that this temple has grown by successive increments like those last described; for it was finished on a settled plan, as undeviatingly carried out as that at Tanjor, but on a principle so opposed to it, that while the temple at Tanjor produces an effect greater than is due to its mass or detail, this one, with double its dimensions and ten times its elaboration, produces no effect externally, and internally can only be

[1] Francis, 'Gazetteer of South Arcot,' vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

[2] Strictly speaking—the temple that till recently *was* here—for, like Chidambaram and other *S*aiva temples in southern India, the Nâthukottai Chettis (one of their number having got the management into his hands), have set about demolishing it, and it is reported that already almost the whole of the interior or oldest portions have been pulled down, and are to be replaced by erections in a nondescript style of building. Mr A. R. Gopalaiyar manfully opposed the manager in the Courts, but in vain; they would not interfere with the manager's plans, though he leased out the temple property to his own relatives, or destroyed the statues of former patrons and benefactors of the temple to substitute those of his wealthy caste fellows, that they may have the merits accruing to temple building hereafter.



224. Plan of the Great Temple at Râmesvaram, before 1905. Scale 168 ft. to 1 in.

A Gandhamâdana old temple.
B Great Gopuram and entry to the second Prâkâram.
C Small Gopuram for the Amman shrine.
N North, S, South, and W, West gopurams.

seen in detail, so that the parts hardly in any instance aid one another in producing the effect aimed at.

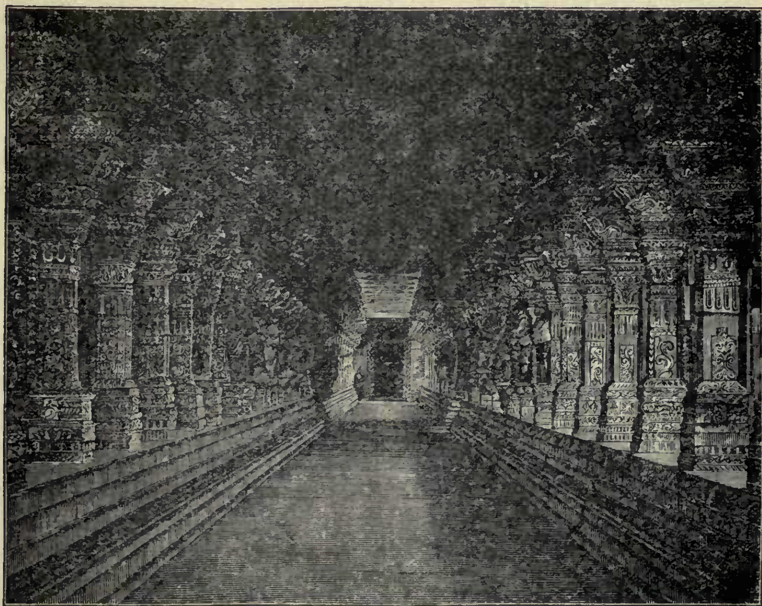
The only part of the temple, outside the central prâkâram, at least, which is of a different age from the rest, is a small vimâna, known as Gandhamâdhaneswara (A), of very elegant proportions, that stands in the garden, on the right hand of the visitor as he enters from the west. It has, however, been so long exposed — like the temple on the shore at Mâmallapuram—to the action of the sea-air, that its details are so corroded they cannot now be made out, and its age cannot consequently be ascertained from them. It is safe, however, to assert that possibly it may be of the 11th or 12th century. Its dimensions may be roughly 50 ft. in height, by 34 ft. in plan, so that it hardly forms a feature in so large a temple. From the bulls that occupy the platform in front, and from its name, it is evident it was originally dedicated to Siva, as the central temple apparently is, though the scene of Râma's most celebrated exploit, and bearing his name.[1]

Externally the temple is enclosed by a wall 20 ft. in height, and possessing four gopurams, one on each face, which have this peculiarity, that they alone, of all those I know in India, are built wholly of stone from the base to the summit. The western one (W) alone, however, is finished, and owing apparently to the accident of its being in stone, it is devoid of figure-sculpture —the plaster casts that now adorn it having been added in recent times: it is 78 ft. in height. Those on the north and south (N and S) are hardly higher than the wall in which they stand, and are consequently called the ruined gateways. They are, however, of comparatively modern date, and, in fact, have never been raised higher, and their progress was probably stopped in the beginning of the last century, when Muhammadan, Marâthâ, and other foreign invaders checked the prosperity of the land, and destroyed the wealth of the priesthood. The eastern façade of the second prâkâram has two entrances and two gopurams, the smaller, C, to the south of the large one and leading into the Pârvatî temple, is finished. The larger one (B in the plan) is ascribed to Sadayaka Tevar Dalavây, who was the Setupati about 1640, but it never was

[1] In the north, the affix *swâmin* to the names would indicate a Vaishnava cult, but not so here where the chief images —Râmâlingêswaraswâmin and Pârvatavardhinî in the central temples, and Viswanâthaswâmin and Visâlâkshî in the secondary shrines, are all essentially Saiva, and the Linga occupies the chief cell. The shrine of Sabhâpati—a name given to Siva at Chidambaram — is ascribed to Dalavây Setupati. For an account of the ritual of the Râmêswaram temple, see 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xii. (1883), pp. 315-326.

carried higher than we now see it. Had it been finished,[1] it would have been one of the largest of its class, and being wholly in stone, and consequently without its outline being broken by sculpture, it would have reproduced more nearly the effect of an Egyptian propylon than any other example of its class in India.

The glory, however, of this temple resides in its corridors. These, as will be seen by the plan, extend to nearly 4000 ft. in length. The breadth varies from 17 ft. to 21 ft. of free floor space, and their height is apparently about 30 ft. from the floor to the centre of the roof. Each pillar or pier is



225. Central Corridor, Râmesvaram. (From a Photograph.)

compound, 12 ft. in height, standing on a platform 5 ft. from the floor, and richer and more elaborate in design than those of the Pârvatî porch at Chidambaram (Woodcut No. 221), and are certainly more modern in date.

The general appearance of those corridors may be gathered from the annexed woodcut (No. 225), but no engraving, even on a much more extended scale, can convey the impression produced by such a display of labour when extended to an uninterrupted length of 690 ft. None of our cathedrals are

[1] There is a view of it in the Atlas of plates that accompanies Lord Valentia's travels; not very correct, but conveying a fair idea of its proportions.

more than 500 ft., and even the nave of St Peter's is only 600 ft. from the door to the apse. Here the side corridors are almost 700 ft. long, and open into transverse galleries as rich in detail as themselves. These, with the varied devices and modes of lighting, produce an effect that is not equalled certainly anywhere in India. The side corridors are generally free from figure-sculpture, and consequently, from much of the vulgarity of the age to which they belong, and, though narrower, produce a more pleasing effect. The central corridor leading from the inner enclosure is adorned on one side by portraits of the Setupati râjas of Râmnâd in the 17th century, and opposite them, of their ministers. Even they, however, would be tolerable, were it not that within the last few years they have been painted with a vulgarity that is inconceivable on the part of the descendants of those who built this fane. Not only they, however, but the whole of the architecture has first been dosed with repeated coats of whitewash, so as to take off all the sharpness of detail, and then painted with blue, green, red, and yellow washes, so as to disfigure and destroy its effect to an extent that must be seen to be believed. Nothing can more painfully prove the degradation to which the population is reduced than this profanity. No upper class, and no refinement, now remains, and the priesthood are sunk into a state of debasement.

Assuming, however, for the nonce, that this painting never had been perpetrated still the art displayed here would be very inferior to that of such a temple as, for instance, Halebîd in Mysore, to be described further on. The perimeter, however, of that temple is only 700 ft.; here we have corridors extending to 4000 ft., carved on both sides. It is the immensity of the labour here displayed that impresses us, much more than its quality, and that, combined with a certain picturesqueness and mystery, does produce an effect which is not surpassed by any other temple in India, and by very few elsewhere.

But for the wilful destruction of the inscriptions (less than fifty years ago), we might have had the whole history of this temple.[1] The central shrines are built of a dark hard lime-

[1] The Pandâram or manager of the temple raised a suit against the Zamîndâr of Râmnâd to deprive him of the hereditary right of patronage and supervision of the temple. It was conducted on the Pandâram's part by one Appâru Pillai, who destroyed the old inscriptions and forged others, inserting them in the walls, and then produced copies and translations of them as evidence against the claims of the Râmnâd Setupatis. The suit was appealed to the Privy Council, but, on such evidence, was given in favour of the forgers, and the Zamîndârs were deprived of their right to appoint the Dharmakartas or have any share in the management of the temple which their ancestors built and had so richly endowed.

stone, differing from that employed in the rest of the building, and are ascribed to a Setupati named Udaiyân, early in the 15th century.[1] To him also is ascribed the west gopuram and surrounding walls,[2] but they probably belong to the time of *S*adayaka Tevar Udaiyân, early in the 17th century. The first prâkâram or enclosure, containing the older shrines, measures about 190 ft. by 307 ft., and outside this—excepting the old vimâna—the style is so uniform and unaltered that its erection could hardly have lasted beyond a hundred years; and if so, it must have been during the 17th century, when the Râmnâd râjas were at the height of their prosperity, and when their ally or master, Tirumalai Nâyyak, was erecting buildings in the same identical style at Madurâ, that the second prâkâram, measuring 386 ft. by 314 ft., was completed by Raghunâth Tirumalai, about 1658, the south half of it having been built by his predecessor. Vijaya Raghunâth Tevar (1709-1723), erected some buildings in the Amman temple, with the mandapa in front, in which are statues of himself and of his father Kadamba Tevar; and in 1740 Muttu Raghunâtha began the third prâkâram, 690 ft. in length by 435 ft. from east to west, which was completed by Muttu Râmalinga Tevar in 1769. The central shrine may probably belong to the 15th or 16th century, but all the enclosing courts had been erected within 170 years after the end of the 16th century, and endowed exclusively by the family of the Setupati chiefs of Râmnâd. It is one of the last great works of Hindûs, and the last addition to it is the finest of all.

MADURÂ.

If the native authorities consulted by the late Professor Wilson in compiling his Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pândya could be relied upon, it would seem that the foundation of the dynasty ought to be placed some centuries before the Christian Era.[3] Even, however, if this is disputed, the fact of the southern part of the Peninsula being described as the "Regio Pandionis" by classical authorities, is sufficient to prove that a kingdom bearing that name did exist there in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Their first capital, however, seems to have been Korkai, near Cape Comorin.[4] The story of Kula*s*ekhara founding the dynasty, and the fabulous incidents

[1] It is said he was aided in the work by a Singhalese king or chief named Pararâja *S*ekhara, under whose supervision the stones were hewn and fitted at Trinkonamalai.

[2] He is said to have been assisted in this work by a rich merchant and his wife from Nâgûr, whose statues surmount the eastern wall.

[3] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iii. p. 202.

[4] *Ante*, p. 304.

with which the tale is adorned, is one of the favourite legends of the south, and is abundantly illustrated in sculptures of Tirumalai Nâyyak's chaultri and in other buildings of the capital.

For our present purposes it is not worth while to attempt to investigate the succession of the dates of the seventy-three kings who are said to have succeeded one another before the accession of the Nâyyak dynasty, in 1559, inasmuch as no building is now known to exist in the kingdom that can claim, even on the most shadowy grounds, to have been erected by any of these kings. It may have been that, anterior to the rise of the great Chola dynasty, in the 10th and 11th century, that of Madurâ may have had a long period of prosperity and power; but whatever they did build has been destroyed or so altered that its existence cannot now be identified. After that, for a while they seem to have been subjected to the Ballâla dynasty of Mysore, and the same Muhammadan invasion that destroyed that power in 1310 spread its baneful influence as far as Râmnâd, and for two centuries their raids and oppressions kept the whole of southern India in a state of anarchy and confusion. Their power for evil was first checked by the rise of the great Hindû state of Vijayanagar, on the Tungabhadrâ, in the 14th century, and by the establishment, under its protection, of the Nâyyak dynasty by Viswanâth Nâyyak, in the 16th. After lasting 177 years, Mînâkshî, the last sovereign of the race—a queen—was first aided, and then betrayed, by Chanda Sâhib the Nawâb of the Karnatik, who plays so important a part in our wars with the French in these parts.

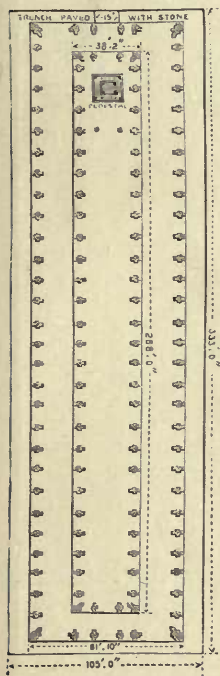
It may be—indeed, probably is the case—that there are temples in the provinces that were erected before the rise of the Nâyyak dynasty, but all those in the capital, with the great temple at Srîrangam, described above, were erected or extended during the two centuries of their supremacy, and of those in the capital nine-tenths at least were erected during the long and prosperous reign of the seventh king of this dynasty, Tirumalai Nâyyak, or as he is more popularly known, Trimal Nâyyak, who reigned from 1623 to 1659.[1]

Of his buildings, the most important, for our purposes at least, is the celebrated Vasanta or Pudu Mantapam,[2] known as 'Tirumalai's chaultri,' which he built for the reception of the

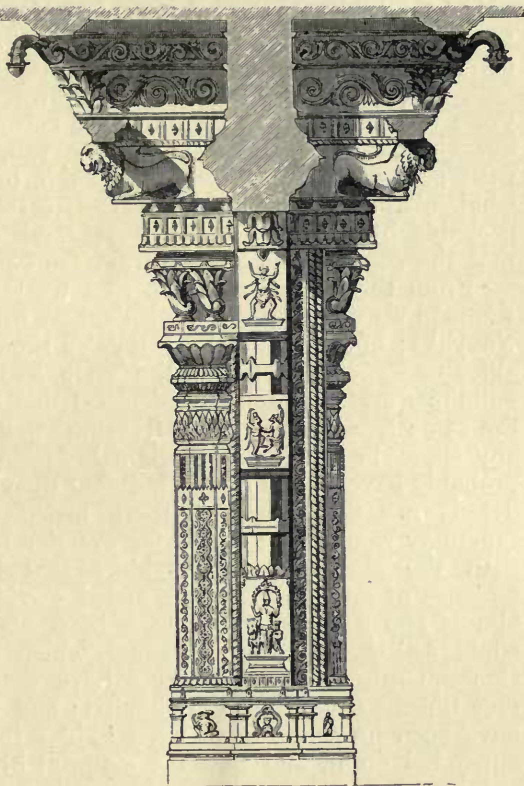
[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iii. pp. 230 *et seqq.*

[2] Fortunately this chaultri is also one of the best known of Indian buildings. It was drawn by Daniell in the end of the 18th century, and his drawings have been repeated by Langles and others. It was described by Mr. Blackadder in the 'Archæologia,' vol. x. p. 457; and by Wilson, 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. iii. p. 232. Volumes of native drawings exist in some collections containing representations of every pillar. A model in bronze of a porch exists at South Kensington Museum, and it has been abundantly photographed.

presiding deity of the place, who consented to leave his dark cell in the temple and pay the king an annual visit of ten days' duration in the hot month of May, on condition of his building a hall worthy of his dignity, and where he could receive in a suitable manner the homage of the king and his subjects. As will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 226)



226.
Plan of Tirumalai Nâyyak's Chaultri. (From a Drawing in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society.) Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.



227.
Pillar in Tirumalai Nâyyak's Chaultri. (From a Drawing in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

the hall is 333 ft. long by 105 ft. in width, measured on the stylobate, and consists of four ranges of columns, all of which are different, and all most elaborately sculptured. An elevation of one is given (Woodcut No. 227), but is not so rich as those of the centre, which have life-sized figures attached to them, and are even more elaborate in their details. In this instance it will be observed that the detached bracketing shaft at

Chidambaram has become attached to the square central pier, and instead of the light elegance that characterised that example, has become a solid pier, 5 or 6 ft. in depth — richer certainly, but far from being either so elegant or so appropriate as the earlier example.

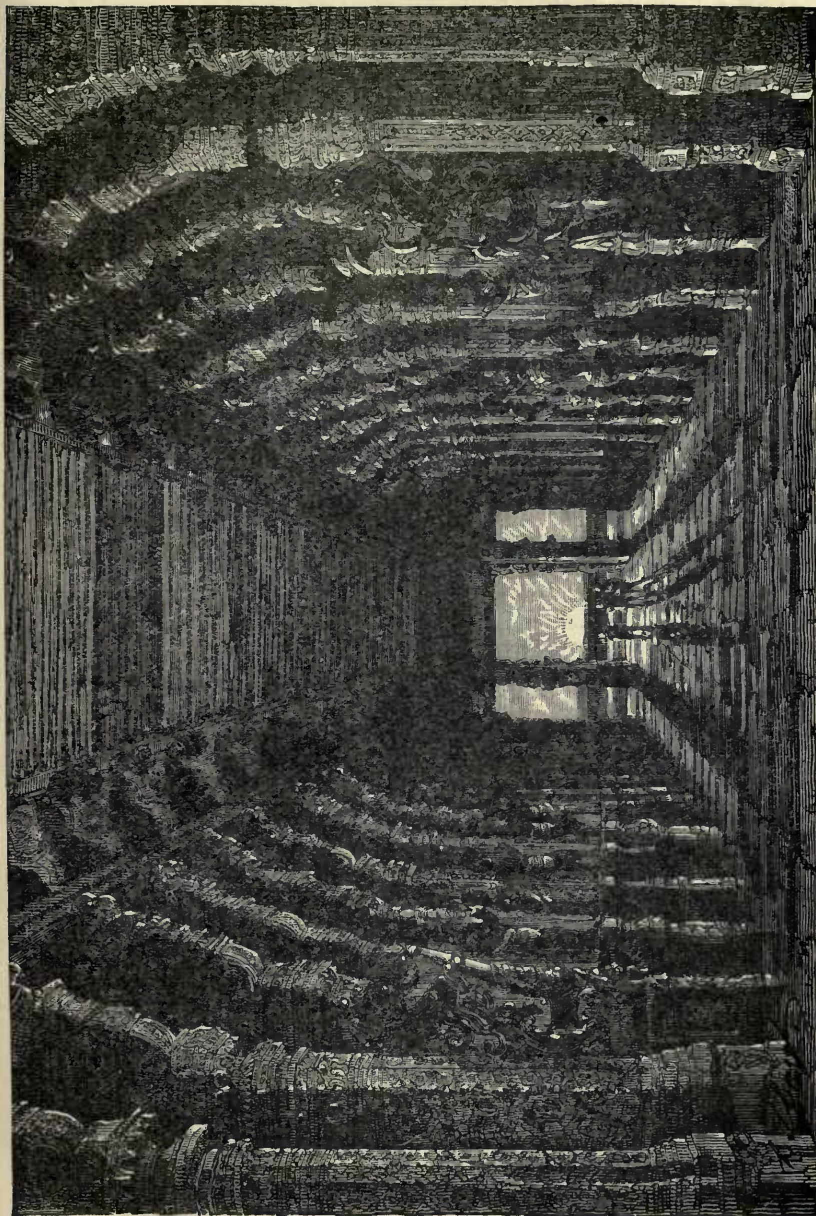
The view of the interior (Woodcut No. 228) gives some, but only a faint, idea of the effect. The sides are now closed with screens; but in effect, as in detail, it is identical with the corridors at Râmesvaram, where the light is abundant.

As the date of this hall is known — it took twenty-two years to erect it, 1623 to 1645 — it becomes a fixed point in our chronology of the style.[1] We can, for instance, assert with perfect certainty that the porch to Pârvatî's shrine at Chidambaram (Woodcut No. 221) is certainly anterior to this, probably by a couple of centuries, and, with equal certainty that the corridors at Ramesvaram are contemporary.

From the history of the period we learn that the râjas of Râmnâd were at times independent, at others at war with the Nâyyaks; but in Tirumalai Nâyyak's time they were either his allies or dependants; and the style and design of the two buildings are so absolutely identical that they must belong to the same age. If the king of Madurâ had indeed been allowed any share in making the original design, that temple would probably have been a nobler building than it is; for, though the details are the same, his three aisled hall leading to the sanctuary would have been a far grander feature architecturally than the single-aisled corridors that lead nowhere. The expense of one of the single-aisled corridors at Râmêsvaram, almost 700 ft. long, would have been about the same as the triple-aisled chaultri at Madurâ, which is half their length. Consequently the temple must have cost between three and four times as much as the chaultri; and the actual cost must have been immense when we consider the amount of labour expended on it, and that the material in both is the hardest granite.

The façade of this hall, like that of almost all the great halls in the south of India, is adorned either with Vyâlis—monsters of the lion type trampling on an elephant—or, even more generally, by a group consisting of a warrior sitting on a rearing horse, whose feet are supported on the shields of foot soldiers, sometimes slaying men, sometimes tigers. These groups are

[1] According to Wilson the mantapam was begun in the second year of Tirumalai's reign, and completed in twenty-two years, at a cost of upwards of a million sterling. But one of the Oriental Historical Manuscripts states the cost of it at a lâkh of Pons or £20,000, and that it was finished in seven years, 1626-1633.



228. View in Tirumalai Nayyak's Chaultri, Madura. (From a Photograph.)

found literally in hundreds in southern India, and, as works exhibiting difficulties overcome by patient labour, they are unrivalled, so far as I know, by anything found elsewhere. As works of art, they are the most barbarous, it may be said the most vulgar, to be found in India, and do more to shake one's faith in the civilisation of the people who produced them than anything they did in any other department of art. Where these monstrosities are not introduced, the pillars of entrances are only enriched a little more than those of the interior, when the ornamentation is in better taste, and generally quite sufficiently rich for its purpose.

Immediately in front of his chaultri, Tirumalai Nâyyak commenced his Râya gopuram, which, had he lived to complete it, would probably have been the finest edifice of its class in southern India. It measures 174 ft. from north to south, and 117 feet in depth. The entrance through it is 21 ft. 9 in. wide; and if it be true that its gateposts are 57 ft. in height, that would have been the height of the opening.[1] It will thus be seen that it was designed on even a larger scale than that at *S*rîrangam, described above, and it certainly far surpasses that celebrated edifice in the beauty of its details. Its doorposts alone are single blocks of granite, carved with the most exquisite scroll patterns of elaborate foliage, and all the other carvings are equally beautiful. Being unfinished, and consequently never consecrated, it has escaped whitewash, and alone, of all the buildings of Madurâ, its beauties can still be admired in their original perfection.

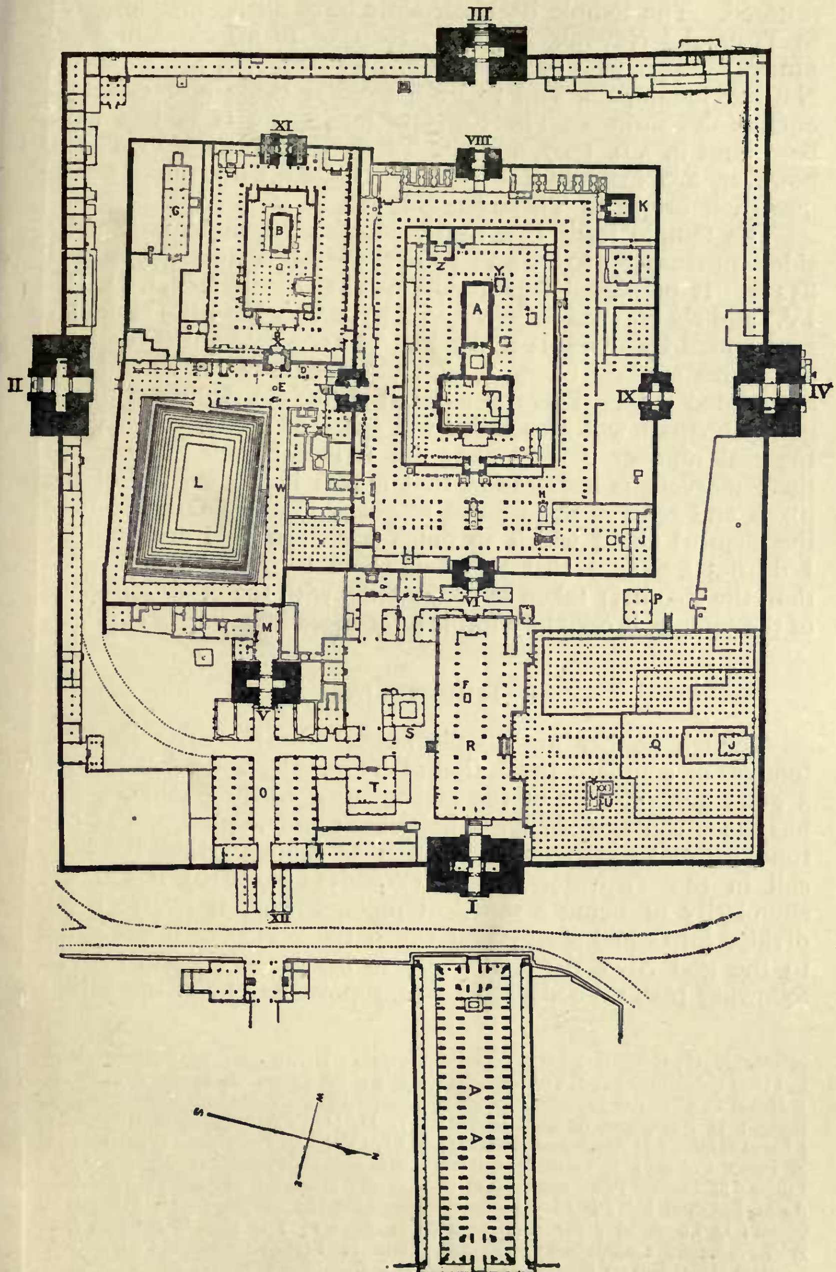
The great temple at Madurâ is a larger and far more important building than the Vasanta mantapam or Châwadi. It possesses all the characteristics of a first-class Dravidian temple, and, as its date is well known, it forms a landmark of the utmost value in enabling us to fix the relative date of other temples (Woodcut No. 229).

The sanctuary (A) is dedicated to *S*iva, under the name of Sundare*s*vara, and this clearly points to its having been founded by one of the Pândya princes who bore the name of Sundara, of whom there were four during the thirteenth century. The shrine of the goddess (B) is consecrated to Mînâkshi.[2]

The city and temple fell to the Muhammadans in 1324, who plundered it mercilessly, and it was only recovered by the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1372 when Hindû worship was

[1] Most of these particulars, regarding the temples, are taken from Capt. Lyon's description of his photographs of the places. He devoted twenty-four photos to this temple, of which the negatives are now in the India Office.

[2] Mînâkshî means "fish-eyed"; but, with the first vowel short, it would mean "bright-eyed." Traditionally she was the wife of Sundara, but as a goddess is the same as Pârvatî, the goddess wife of *S*iva.



229. Plan of Madurâ Temple. Scale 200 ft. to 1 in.[1]

[1] *Key to the plan:*—A Temple of Sundaresvar; AA Pudu mantapam; B Shrine of

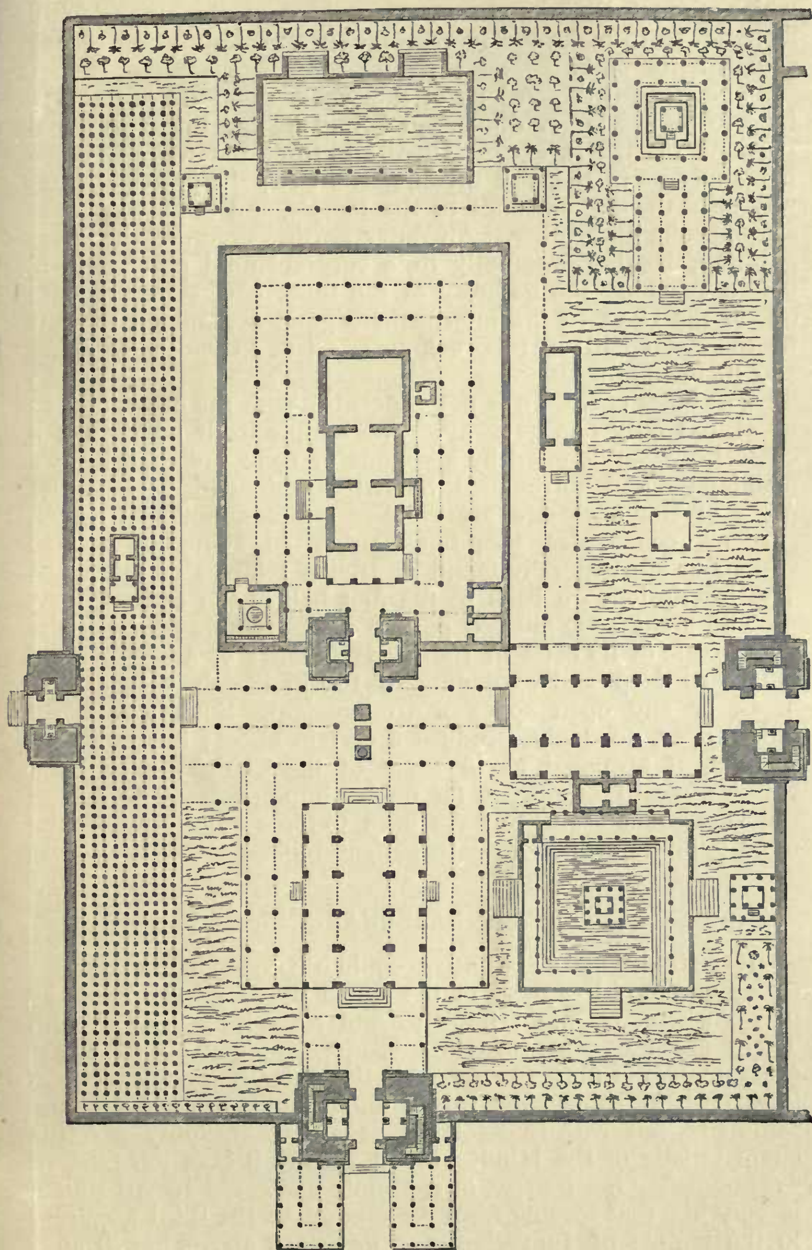
restored. The temple itself certainly owes all its magnificence to Tirumalai Nâyyak, A.D. 1623-1659, or to his elder brother, Muttu Vîrappa, who preceded him, and who built the Minâkshî Nâyyak mantapam, said to be the oldest thing now existing, outside the shrines. The Kalyâna mantapam is said to have been built in A.D. 1707, and the Tatta Suddhi in 1770. These, however, are insignificant parts compared with those which owe their origin to Tirumalai Nâyyak.

The temple itself is a nearly regular rectangle, two of its sides measuring 720 ft. and 729 ft., the other two 834 ft. and 852 ft. It possessed four gopurams of the first class (I. II. III. IV.), and six smaller ones (VI. to XI.); a very beautiful tank (L), surrounded by arcades; and a hall of 1000 columns (Q), whose sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with. There is a small shrine (J), dedicated to the god Sabhâpati, which occupies the space of fifteen columns, so the real number is only 985; but it is not their number but their marvellous elaboration that makes it the wonder of the place, and renders it, in some respects, more remarkable than the chaultri about which so much has been said and written. I do not feel sure that this hall alone is not a greater work than the chaultri; taken in conjunction with the other buildings of the temple, it certainly forms a far more imposing group.

Tinnevelly.

Though neither among the largest nor the most splendid temples of southern India, that at Tinnevelly will serve to give a good general idea of the arrangement of these edifices, and has the advantage of having been built on one plan, and at one time, without subsequent alteration or change. Like the little cell in the Tiruvâlûr temple (Woodcut No. 216), it has the singularity of being a double temple, the great square being divided into equal portions, of which the north one is dedicated to the god *S*iva, the south half to his consort Pârvatî. The following plan (Woodcut No. 230) represents one of the halves,

Minâkshîdevî; C Small shrine of Gane*s*a, and D of Subrahmanya; E Vedi or Altar; F Nandi Pavilion; G Javandî*s*vara mantapam; H Navagraha or nine planets; I Large Gane*s*a; JJ Shrines of Nate*s*var; K Poet's College; L Tank of Golden Lillies; M Mudali Pillai mantapam; O Ashta Lakshmî hall; P 16 pillar mantapam; Q Thousand pillar mantapam; R Vîravasantarâya mantapam; S Katyâna Sundara mantapam; T Servaikaran mantapam; U Lingam; V Tiruvachi Gopuram; W Chitra mantapam; Y Ellamvatta-siddha; Z Madura Nâyyak temple; I, II, III, IV, Four outer Gopurams; VI, VIII, IX, Three Gopurams of the second Prâkarâm; X, XI, Gates to the Minâkshî prâkarâm; VII, Gate between the temples; XII, Ashta-*S*akti mantapam; The plan is reduced from one in Francis's 'Madura Gazetteer,' vol. i.



230. Half-plan of Temple at Tinnevelly. (From a Plan in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society.) Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

which, though differing in arrangement from the other, is still so like it as to make the representation and description of one sufficient for both.

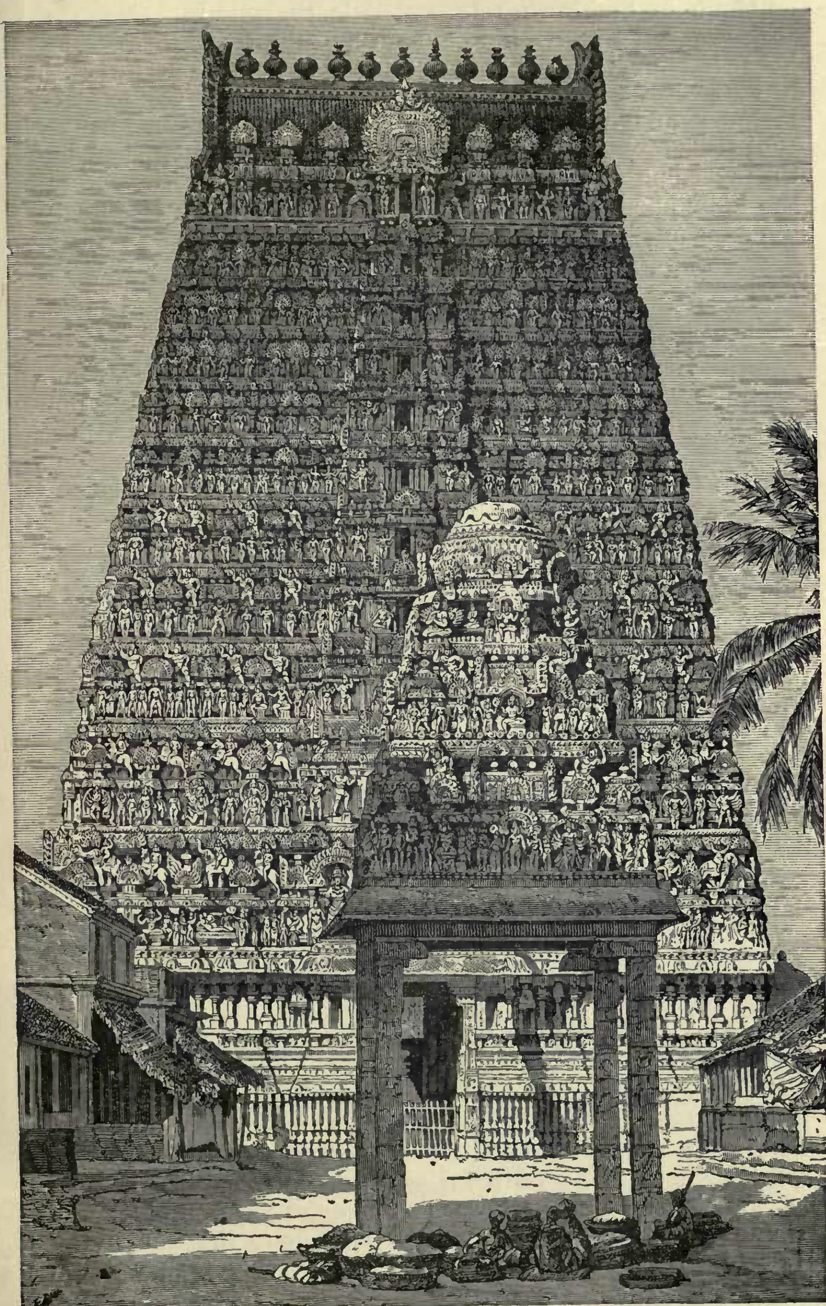
The general dimensions of the whole enclosure are 580 ft. by 756 ft., the larger dimension being divided into two equal portions of 378 ft. each. There are three gateways to each half, and one in the wall dividing the two; the principal gateway faces the east entrance to the temple, and the lateral ones are opposite each other. An outer portico precedes the great gateway, leading internally to a very splendid porch, which, before reaching the gateway of the inner enclosure, branches off on the right to the intermediate gateway, and on the left to the great hall of 1000 columns—63 ft. in width by about 520 ft. in depth.

The inner enclosure is not concentric with the outer, and, as usual, has only one gateway. The temple itself consists of a cubical cell, surmounted by a vimâna or spire, preceded by two mandapas, and surrounded by triple colonnades. In other parts of the enclosure are smaller temples, tanks of water, gardens, colonnades, etc., but neither so numerous nor so various as are generally found in Indian temples of this class. The inscriptions go back to the first half of the 13th century.

The great 1000-pillared portico in the temple is one of the least poetic of its class in India. It consists of a regiment of pillars 10 deep and extending to 100 in length, without any break or any open space or arrangement. Such a forest of pillars does, no doubt, produce a certain effect; but half that number, if arranged as in some of the Chalukyan or Jaina temples, would produce a far nobler impression. The aim of the Dravidians seems to have been to force admiration by the mere exhibition of inordinate patient toil.

Kumbakonam.

If the traditions of the natives could be trusted, Kumbakonam —one of the old capitals of the Chola dynasty—is one of the places where we might hope to find something very ancient. There are fragments of older temples, indeed, to be found everywhere, but none *in situ*. All the older buildings seem to have been at some time ruined and rebuilt, probably on the same site, but with that total disregard to antiquity which is characteristic of the Hindûs in all ages as it is of our modern "restorers." One portico, in a temple dedicated to *S*rî-Râma, is very like that leading from the second to the third gopuram in the temple of Jumbuke*s*wara, described above, but, if anything, it is slightly more modern. There is also one fine



231. Gopuram at Kumbakonam. (From a Photograph.)

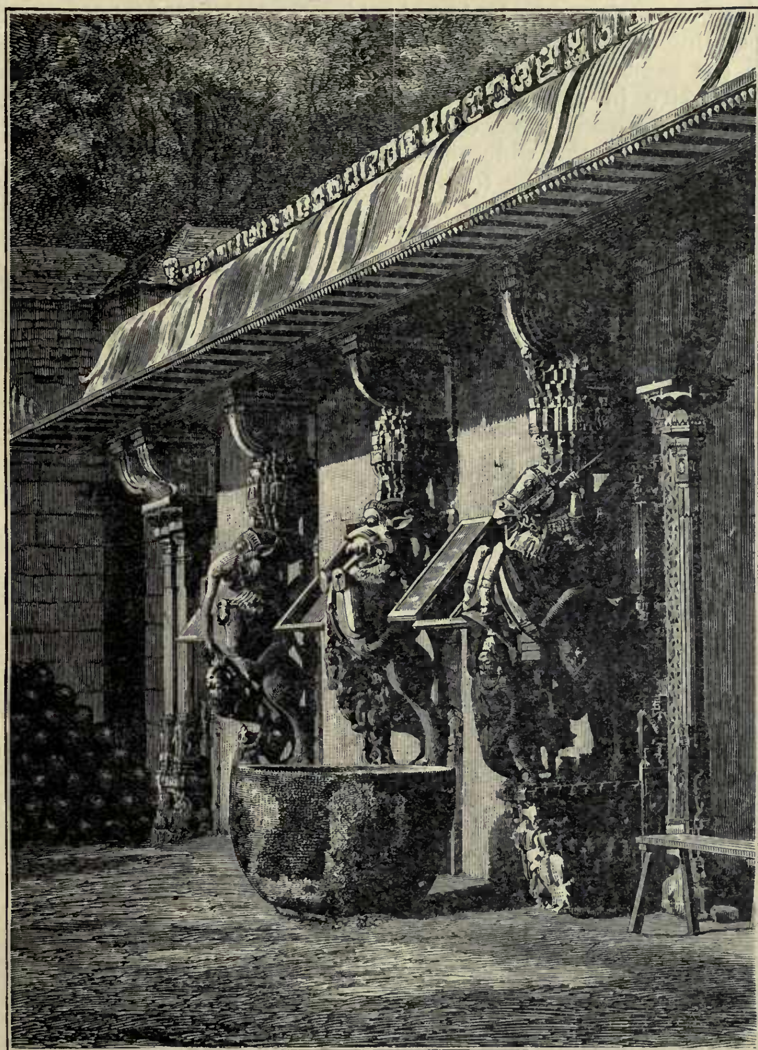
gopuram in the town, represented in the woodcut (No. 231). It is small, however, in comparison with those we have just been describing, being only 84 ft. across and about 130 ft. in height. Those of *S*rîrangam and Madurâ have, or were intended to have, at least double these dimensions.

It is, however, a richly-ornamented example of its class, and the preceding woodcut conveys a fair impression of the effect of these buildings generally. It is not old enough to be quite of the best age, but it is still not so modern as to have lost all the character and expression of the earlier examples.

Vellor and Pêrûr.

Although the temples at Vellor and at Pêrûr, near Koimbatur, can only rank among the second class as regards size, they possess porticos of extreme interest to architectural history, and are consequently worthy of more attention than has been bestowed upon them. That at Vellor, however, is unfortunately situated in the fort occupied by the British, and has consequently been utilised as a store. Walls have been built between its piers, and whitewash and fittings have reduced it to that condition which we think appropriate for the noblest works of art in India. Enough, however, still remains to enable us to see that the Kalyâna mantapam here, though not one of the most elegant, is one of the oldest porches in the south. As will be seen from the woodcut (No. 232), the Vyâlîs and rearing horsemen are clearly and sharply cut, and far from being so extravagant as they sometimes are. The great cornice, too, with its double flexures and its little trellis-work of supports, is not only very elegant in form, but one of those marvels of patient industry, such as are to be found hardly anywhere else. There are many such cornices, however, in the south: one at Avadaiyâr-kôvil, in Tanjor district, is deeper and more elaborate than even this one. The outer facing there is said to be only about an inch in thickness, and its network of supports is more elaborate and more delicate than those at Vellor, though it is difficult to understand how either was ever executed in so hard a material. The traditions of the place assign the erection of the Vellor mantapam variously to the year 1350, and according to other accounts to about 1485. The bracket shafts (Woodcut No. 233) are similar but even more elegant than those in Pârvatî's porch at Chidambaram; but they are—some of them at least—attached to the pier by very elegant open-work, such as is found in Pratâpa Rudra's temple at Worangal (Woodcut No. 252), or in the windows at Halebîd. As both these examples are earlier than 1300, it

might seem that this one was so also, but it is difficult to feel certain when comparing buildings so distant in locality, and belonging to different styles of art.



232. Portico of Temple at Vellor.

The date of the porch at Pêrûr (3 miles south-west of Koimbatur) is ascertained within narrow limits by the figure of a sepoy loading a musket being carved on the base of one

of its pillars, and his costume and the shape of his arm are exactly those we find in contemporary pictures of the wars of Aurangzîb, or the early Mârâthas in the beginning of the 18th century. As shown in Woodcut No. 234, the bracket shafts are there attached to the piers as in Tirumalai Nâyyak's buildings, and though the general character of the architecture is the same, there is a coarseness in the details, and a marked inferiority in the figure-sculpture, that betrays the distance of date between these two examples.

Slight as the difference may appear to the unpractised eye, it is within the four centuries that include the dates of these two buildings (1350 to 1750) that practically the whole history of the later Dravidian temple architecture is included. For it is safe to assert that nine-tenths, at least, or more, of those which are now found south of the Tungabhadrâ, were erected or largely extended and rebuilt between these dates.

The earlier works of the seven centuries that elapsed between the carving of the rocks at Mâmallapuram and the erection of the Vellor pagoda have almost totally perished. But during that period, a style was elaborated and so fixed that it should endure for five centuries afterwards, with so little change, and with only that degradation in detail, which is the fatal characteristic of art in India.

It seems impossible that the horsemen, the Vyâlîs, and above all, the great cornice of double curvature, shown in the woodcut (No. 232), could have been brought to these fixed forms without long experience, and the difficulty is to understand how they could ever have been elaborated in stone at all, as they are so unlike lithic forms found anywhere else; yet they are not wooden, nor is there any trace in them of any of their details being derived from wooden architecture, as is so evidently the case with the Buddhist architecture of the north. One suggestion that occurs to me is that they might be derived from terra-cotta forms. Frequently, at the present day, figures of men on horseback larger than life, or of giants on foot, are seen near the village temples made of pottery, their hollow forms of burnt clay, and so burnt as to form a perfect terra-cotta substance. Most of the figures also on the gopurams are not in plaster as is generally said, but are also formed of clay burnt. The art has certainly been long practised in the south, and if we adopt the theory that it was used for many ornamental purposes along with wood or stone, it will account for much that is otherwise unintelligible in the arts of the south. But we may further suppose that the broad sloping slabs of the earlier temples having no level bed to rest on the wall head, and being apt to slide down,

233. Compound Pillar at Vellor.
(From a Photograph.)

234. Compound Pillar at Pêrûr.
(From a Photograph.)

the curved form was devised to secure a flat rest on the wall and at the same time that the wall or roof above might have a flat plate on which to rest: and besides the outward curve afforded a better opportunity for supporting it upon brackets.

The loss of the earlier structures that would have made all this clear is largely due to the Muhammadan raids in the beginning of the 14th century, when these iconoclasts spared no shrine they found on their marches. What escaped them was either "restored" beyond recognition by zealous Hindû princes and temple builders, or is now in the innermost enclosures, inaccessible to any European capable of judging of their style and age. The few old shrines at Conjivaram, noticed above, and some scattered and neglected ruins do remain, and are very instructive; the desideratum is that adequate surveys of them are so slow in being published.

Vijayanagar.

The dates above quoted will no doubt sound strange and prosaic to those who are accustomed to listen to the childish exaggerations of the Brâhmans in speaking of the age of their temples. There is, however, luckily a test besides the evidence above quoted, which, if it could be perfectly applied, would settle the question at once.

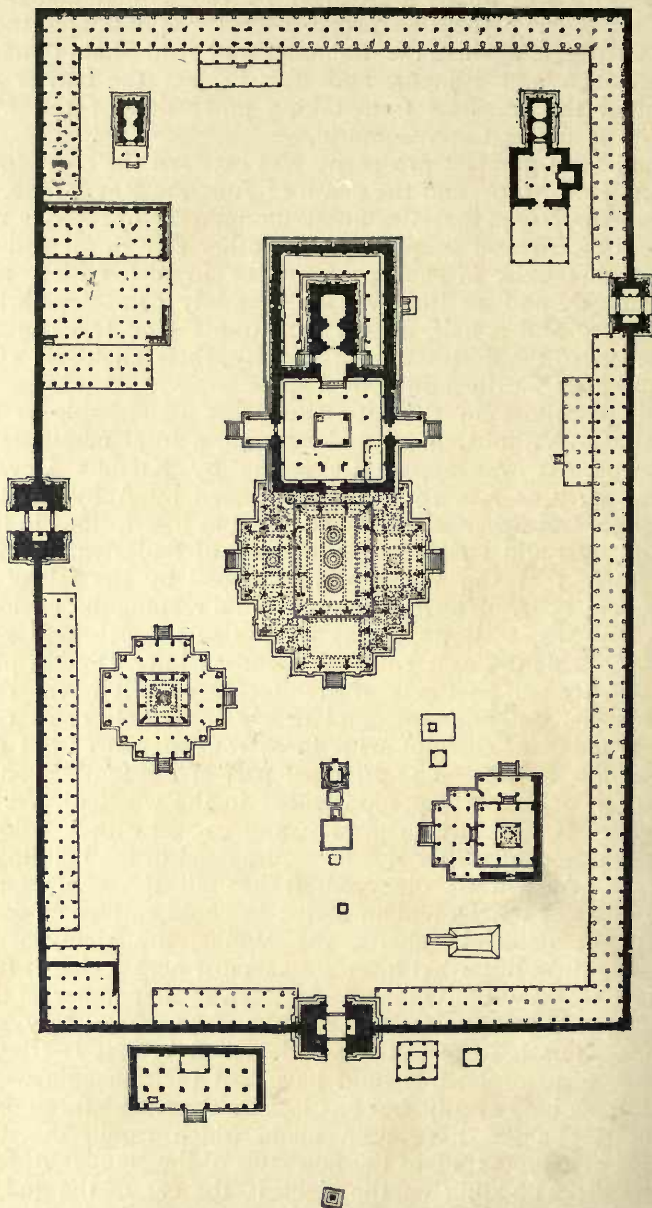
When in the beginning of the 14th century the Muhammadans from Delhi first made their power seriously felt in the south, they struck down the kingdom of the Hoysala Ballâlas in 1310, and destroyed their capital of Halebîd; and in 1322 Orangal or Worangal, which had been previously attacked, was finally destroyed, and it is said they then carried their victorious arms as far as Râmnâd. The Muhammadans did not, however, at that time make any permanent settlement in the south, and the consequence was, that as soon as the Hindûs were able to recover from the panic, Bukka and Harihara princes it is said of the deposed house of Orangal, gathered around them the remnants of the destroyed states, and founded a new state in the town of Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadrâ. An earlier city it is said had been founded there about the beginning of the 12th century, but only as a dependency of the Mysore Râj, and there is consequently no reason for supposing that any of the buildings in the city (unless it be some of the small Jaina temples), belong to that period, nor indeed till the new dynasty founded by Bukka had consolidated its power, which was certainly not before the middle of the 14th century.

The city was finally destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1565, but during the two previous centuries it maintained a gallant struggle against the Bahmanî and Âdil Shâhi dynasties of Kulbargâ and Bijâpûr, and was in fact the barrier that prevented the Moslims from taking possession of the whole country as far as Cape Comorin.

Its time of greatest prosperity was between the accession of Krishna Deva, 1508, and the death of Achyuta Râya, 1542, and it is to their reigns that the finest monuments in the city must be ascribed. There is, perhaps, no other city in all India in which ruins exist in such profusion or in such variety as in Vijayanagar, and as they are all certainly comprised within the century and a half, or—at the utmost—the two centuries that preceded the destruction of the city, their analogies afford us dates that hardly admit of dispute.

Among those in the city the most remarkable is that dedicated to Vithobâ, or Vitthalaswâmin, a local manifestation of Vishnu. It was apparently begun by Krishna Deva, at least as early as A.D. 1513, and continued by Achyuta Râya, 1529-1542, and never was finished ; and as inscriptions in it are dated in 1561 and 1564, recording grants of Sadâ*s*iva, we might fairly infer that the works were stopped by the fall of the kingdom in 1565. The temple stands in a rectangular enclosure 538 ft. by 310, with gopurams on the east, north, and south sides. Outside the east entrance stands a lofty Dipdân pillar, and there are two pavilions of architectural merit in the court, besides other buildings. Round nearly the whole court ran a deep verandah or corridor with three rows of piers; but most of it is now ruined. The principal part of the temple consists of a porch or mantapam, represented in the woodcut, No. 236, page 403. It is wholly in granite, and carved with a boldness and expression of power nowhere surpassed in the buildings of its class. As will be observed, it has all the characteristic peculiarities of the Dravidian style : the bold cornice of double flexure, the detached shafts, the Vyâlîs, the richly-carved stylobate, etc. But what interests us most here is that it forms an exact half-way house in style between such porches as those at Vellor and Chidambaram, and that of Tirumalai Nâyyak at Madurâ. The bracket shafts are detached here, it is true, but they are mere ornaments, and have lost their meaning. The cornice is as bold as any, but has lost its characteristic supports, and other changes have been made which would inevitably have led in a short time to the new style of the Nâyyak dynasty.

The little building on the right is the car of the god, the base and principal storey being formed of a single block of granite, with movable wheels, but they are the only parts that



235. Plan of Vitthalaswâmin Temple at Vijayanagar. (From a plan by Mr A. Rea.)
Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

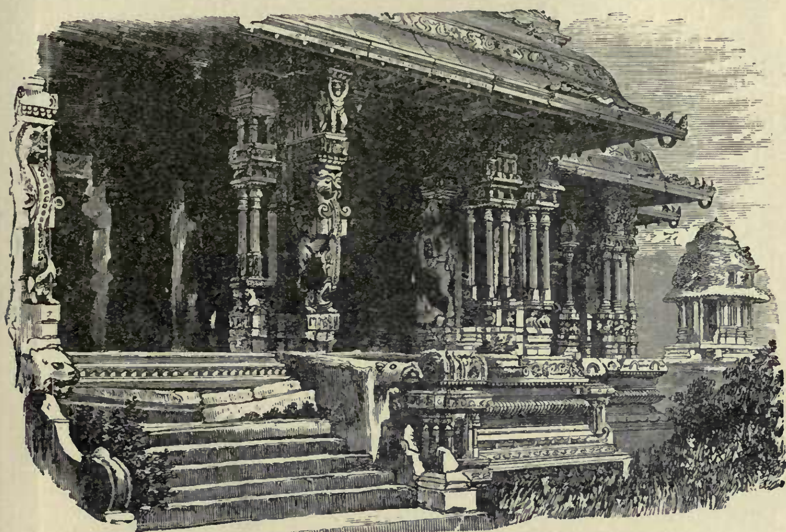
PLATE XI.



STONE CAR, AT THE TEMPLE OF VITTHALA, VIJAYANAGAR, 1881
(NOW DESTROYED).

[*To face page* 403, Vol. I.

move.[1] It is shown in Plate XI. as it appeared before its brick tower was taken down. There are, besides, either



236. View of Porch of Temple of Vitthalasvâmin at Vijayanagar. (From a Photograph by Mr Neill.)

one or two pavilions, smaller, but similar in design to that represented in the woodcut, a gopuram, and other adjuncts, which would be interesting, if we had the means of comparing and describing them.[2]

Although the temple of Vitthala is certainly one of the most remarkable ruins in India, and there are other temples of great beauty and extent in the capital, it is not quite clear that it is there the *chefs-d'œuvre* of this dynasty are to be found, but rather at a place called Tâdpatri about one hundred miles a little south of east from the capital. There are two temples there: the one now in use—the Chintala Tiruvenkataswâmin temple—dedicated to Vishnu, is slightly the later of the two, having been built in the time of Timma Nâyudu, the local governor, and son (or grandson) of Râmalinga Nâyudu, governor in the early part of Krishna Deva's reign, who began the Râmesvara temple here.[3] The wonders of the place are two

[1] The upper portion was of brick, but about twenty years ago, after an elaborate repair under the direction of Major H. Cole, the collector had it pulled down, lest it should crush the base, which had been cracked by fire. Similar stone cars exist at Tâdpatri and other temples in southern India.

[2] As Dr G. le Bon remarks, Vijayanagar is well worthy of a complete monograph on its architecture, as the culmination of the style. 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' pp. 161-162.

[3] Inscriptions belonging to this Râmesvara temple are dated from 1507 to 1531.

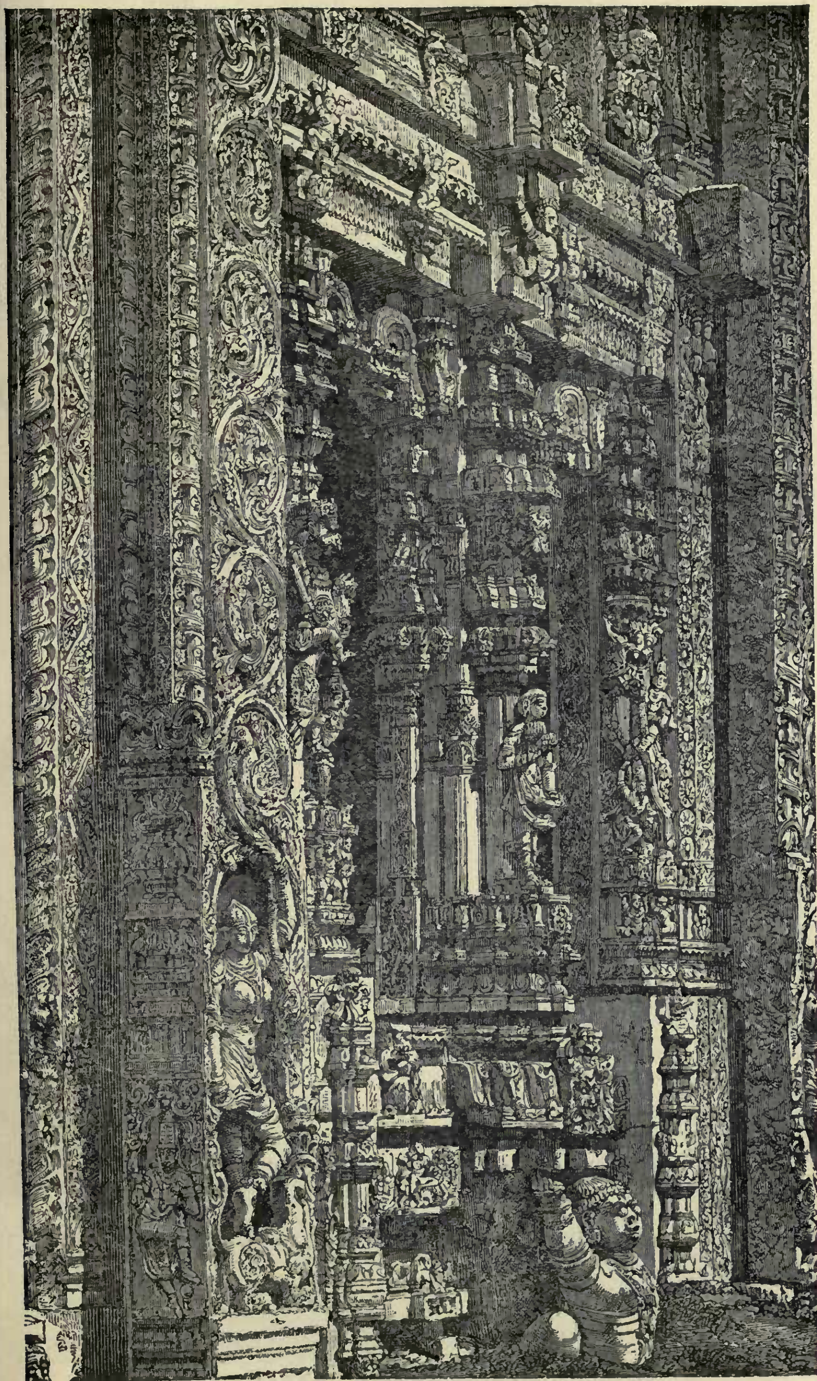
gopurams belonging to the second, which is now a deserted temple on the banks of the river, about a quarter of a mile from the other. One of these was apparently quite finished, the other on the north never carried higher than the perpendicular part. In almost all the gopurams of India this part is comparatively plain, all the figure-sculpture and ornament being reserved for the upper or pyramidal part. In this instance, however, the whole of the perpendicular part is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision, in a fine close-grained hornblende (?) stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole perhaps in better taste, than anything else in this style (Woodcuts Nos. 237, 238). It is difficult, of course, to institute a comparison between these gopurams and such works as Tirumalai Nâyyak's chaultri, or the corridors at Râme*s*varam ; they are so different that there is no common basis of comparison but the vulgar one of cost; but if compared with Halebîd or Belûr, these Tâdpatri gopurams stand that test better than any other works of the Vijayanagar Râjas. They are inferior, but not so much so as one would expect from the two centuries of decadence that elapsed between them, and they certainly show a marked superiority over the great unfinished gopuram of Tirumalai Nâyyak, which was commenced, as nearly as may be, one century afterwards.

About fifty miles still further east, at a place called Diguva Ahobalam, in Karnal district, there is a large unfinished mantapam in plan and design very like that of the temple of Vithobâ at Vijayanagar, but its style and details are much more like those of the Nâyyaks, though local tradition assigns it to Pratâpa Rudra about 1300. Traditions, however, usually refer to the original shrine, and if we are guided by style, it could hardly have been erected before the destruction of that capital in A.D. 1565. The dynasty, however, continued to exist for one or two centuries after that time, till the country was finally conquered by Tipu Sultân. The inscriptions have not yet been examined, but seem mostly to belong to the latter part of the 16th century.[1] Whoever may have built it, it is a fine bold specimen of architecture, and if the history of the art in the south of India is ever seriously taken up, it will worthily take a place in the series as one of the best specimens of its age, wanting the delicacy and elegance of the earlier examples, but full of character and merit.[2]

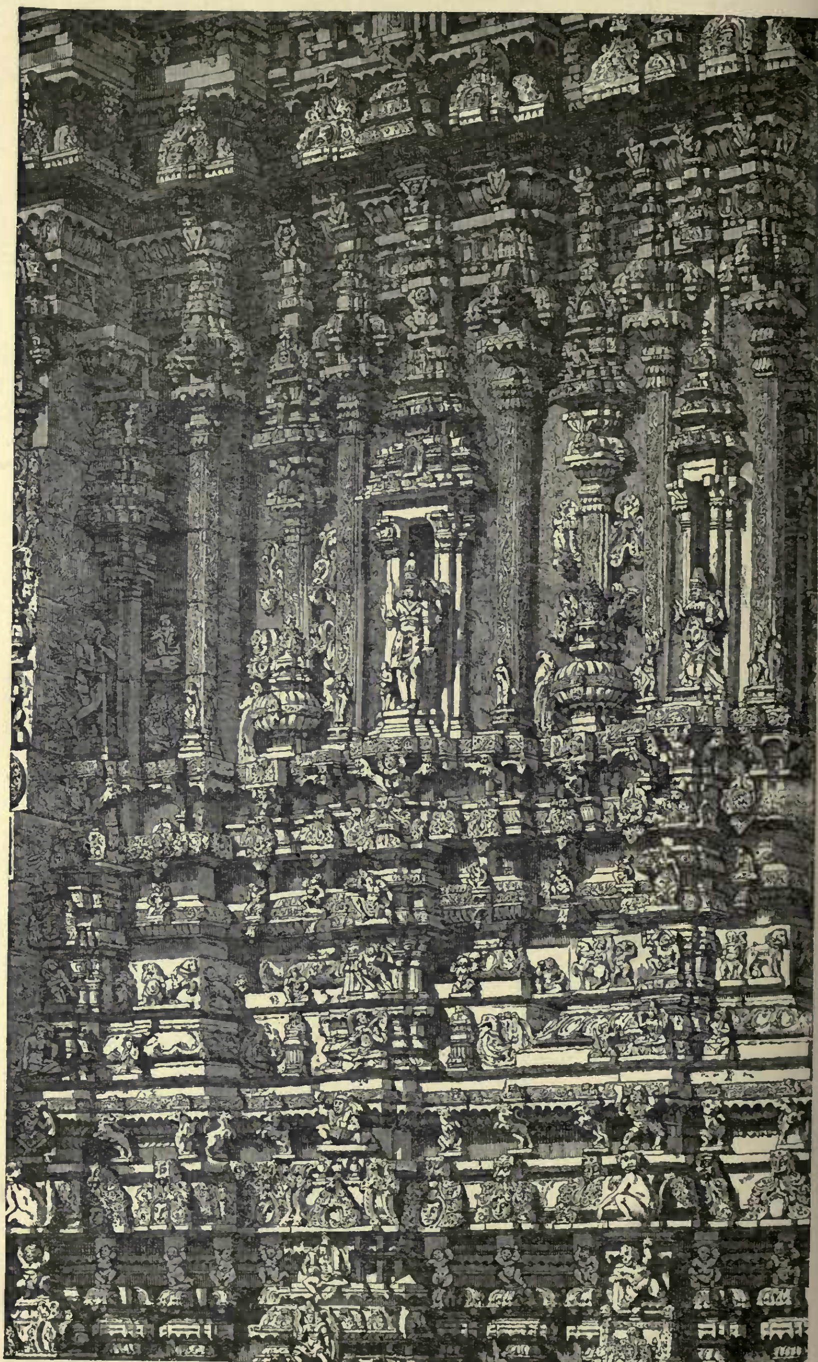
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[1] Among the Mackenzie MSS. at Madras there are copies of the inscriptions and other notices of the Ahobalam temples.

[2] For long the temple of Vishnu on the hill of Tripetty or Tirupati, in North Arkat district, was reputed to be the richest, the most magnificent, as it was



237. Entrance through Gopuram at Tâdpatri. (From a Photograph.)



238. Portion of Gopuram at Tâdpatri. (From a Photograph.)

CONCLUSION.

The buildings mentioned, and more or less perfectly described, in the preceding pages are in number rather less than one-third of the great Dravidian temples known to exist in the province. In importance and extent they certainly are, however, more than one-half. Of the remainder, none have vimânas like that of Tanjor, nor corridors like those of Râmesvaram; but several have gopurams quite equal to or exceeding those mentioned above, and many have mantapams of great beauty and extent. Several—such as Avadaiyâr-Kôvil, Virinjîpuram near Vellor, Târamangalam in Salem district, Kurugodu in Bellâri, and others—possess features unsurpassed by any in the south, especially the first named, which may, perhaps, be considered as one of the most elegant of its class, as well as one of the oldest. It would, however, be only tedious to attempt to describe them without plans to refer to, or more extensive illustrations than are compatible with a work of this class. They are, however, worthy of more attention than has yet been paid to them, and of more complete illustration than has hitherto been bestowed upon them. Taken altogether, they certainly do form as extensive, and in some respects as remarkable, a group of buildings as are to be found in provinces of similar extent in any part of the world—Egypt, perhaps alone excepted; but they equal even the Egyptian in extent, and though at first sight so different, in some respects present similarities which are startling. Without attempting to enumerate the whole, it may be mentioned that the gopurams both in form and purpose, resemble the pylons of the Egyptian temples. The courts with pillars and cloisters are common to both, and very similar in arrangement and extent. The great mantapams and halls of 1000 columns reproduce the hypostyle halls, both in purpose and effect, with almost minute accuracy.

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certainly the most sacred of all those in the Presidency. So sacred, indeed, was it declared, that no unbelieving foreigner had ever been allowed to climb the holy hill (2,500 ft. high) or profane its sacred precincts. In 1870, a party of police forced their way in, in pursuit of a murderer who had taken refuge there, and Mr J. D. B. Gribble, who accompanied them, published an account of what they saw in the 'Calcutta Review' in 1875 (vol. lxi. pp. 142-156). As he exclaims, "Another of the illusions of my youth destroyed." The temple is neither remarkable for its size nor its magnificence. In these respects it is inferior to Conjivaram, *S*rîrangam, and many others; and whatever may be done with its immense revenues, they certainly are not applied to its adornment. It is a fair specimen of a Dravidian temple of the second class, but in a sad state of dilapidation and disrepair. It was originally a *S*aiva temple, but was converted to the worship of Vishnu, by Râmanujâchârya, in the 12th century. For views of the Tirupati temples in the village below, see Dr G. Le Bon's 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' figs. 199-204.

The absence of any central tower or vimâna over the sanctuary is universal in Egypt, and only conspicuously violated in one instance in India. Their mode of aggregation, and the amount of labour bestowed upon them for labour's sake, is only too characteristic of both styles. There are, besides, many similarities that will occur to any one familiar with both styles.

Is all this accidental? It seems strange that so many coincidences should be fortuitous, but, so far as history affords us any information, or as any direct communication can be traced, we must for the present answer that it is so. The interval of time is so great, and the mode in which we fancy we can trace the native growth of most of the features in India seem to negative the idea of an importation; but there certainly was intercourse between Egypt and India in remote ages, and seed may then have been sown which possibly had fructified long afterwards.

A digression may be made in conclusion with reference to the famous monastery referred to (p. 171), as spoken of from hearsay, both by Fah Hian and Hiuen Tsiang. Its situation has long been a puzzle. The second pilgrim says it was built by one of the Andhra kings as a monastery for Nâgârjuna.[1] It had lofty halls in five tiers, each with four courts and temples containing golden images of Buddha. But after a time the Brâhmans had ousted the Buddhists and, he adds, "the way of access to it was no longer known." The Tibetan works state that Nâgârjuna died at the great monastery of *d*Pal-gyi-ri, a translation of *S*rî-*S*ailam or *S*rî-Parvata, both names of a very old place of pilgrimage on a rocky hill overlooking a gorge of the Krishnâ river, and which is one of the twelve Jyotir-lingas or great *S*aiva shrines of the Hindûs. The place is difficult of access, but was visited by Colonel Colin Mackenzie in 1794,[2] and perhaps by four or five Europeans before 1886, when the editor made a hurried excursion to it. Mackenzie had mentioned the animals carved on the surrounding walls in a way that seemed to follow the arrangement described by Fah-Hian. Though beyond the limits of the Kosala kingdom, with which Hiuen Tsiang seemed to connect it, it was most probably within the early Andhra dominions.

The reports made to the pilgrims were evidently exaggerated or vague and misunderstood; and if *S*rî-*S*ailam were the site of

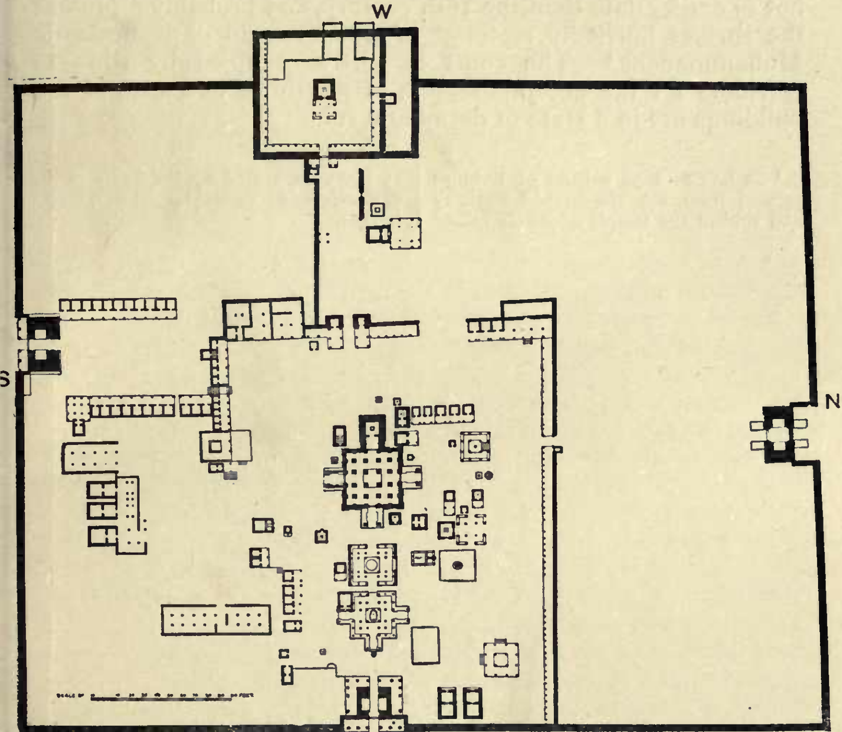
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[1] The Chinese syllabus by which Hiuen Tsiang represents its name may be transliterated as Bhrâmara-giri—"black bee mountain." He says it meant "black peak," which is equivalent to "Nallamallai," the name of the hills on the south of the Krishnâ river, to the west and south of *S*rî-*S*ailam in Karnal district.

[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. v. pp. 303-314.

this wonderful monastery, there are no traces of Buddhism there now. The earliest structures were possibly of wood, and the place has been often destroyed. It was near Chandraguptapur, the capital of an early kingdom of *S*rî-*S*ailam, occasionally mentioned in inscriptions.

The present temples stand within a rectangular enclosure about 630 ft. from north to south by 510 ft. from east to west,



239. Plan of the Temples at *S*rî-*S*ailam. Scale 150 ft. to 1 in.

with a slight extension on the west side and gopurams on the other three, all in the style of the 16th and 17th centuries, having the lower storeys in stone and the upper in brick—though stone is more easily procurable in such a locality. The temples are now dedicated to Mallikârjuna, a form of *S*iva, and to Bhrâmarambhâ or Mâdhava and Pârvatî. The sculptures on the walls of the court are irregularly disposed in blocks in the upper four courses on the outer face. They are almost a counterpart of those on the walls of the Hazâra-Râma temple at Vijayanagar, and belong to the same period. Indeed, one is led to suppose

that they were carved for the construction of a shrine rather than for the enclosure wall, into the upper courses of which they are now built in an irregular way.

From the plan (Woodcut No. 239), it may be inferred that when this wall was erected the court was considerably enlarged to the north and west. The temples inside are all mean and insignificant, and, though older than the outer enclosure, they are not of earlier date than the 16th century, and probably represent the shrines hurriedly restored after some raid of iconoclastic Muhammadans.[1] The court is partly occupied by rows of corridors for the accommodation of pilgrims; but most of the buildings are in a state of decay and ruin.

[1] So late as 1855 a band of Rohillas crossed from the Haidarâbâd territory and robbed the temple of jewels valued at Rs. 20,000, dug up the floors of the shrines, and destroyed the ancient images.

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE.

CONTENTS.

Palaces at Madurâ and Tanjor—Garden Pavilion at Vijayanagar—Palace at Chandragiri.

ALTHOUGH the Dravidians were extensive and enthusiastic builders, it is somewhat singular that till they came in contact with the Muhammadans all their efforts in this direction should have been devoted to the service of religion. No trace of any civil or municipal building is to be found anywhere, though from the stage of civilisation that they had attained it might be expected that such must have existed. What is, however, even more remarkable is, that kingdoms always at war with one another, and contending for supremacy within a limited area, might have been expected to develop some sort of military architecture. So far, however, as is now known, no castle or fortification of any sort dates from the Pândya, Chera, or Chola days. What is still more singular is that they have no tombs. They seem always to have burnt their dead, and never to have collected their ashes or raised any mounds or memorials to their departed friends or great men. There are, it is true, numberless "Rude stone monuments" all over the south of India, but, till they are more thoroughly investigated, it is impossible to say whether they belong to the Dravidians when in a lower stage of civilisation than when they became temple builders, or whether they belong to other underlying races who still exist, in scattered fragments, all over the south of India.[1] Whoever these Dolmens or stone circles may have belonged to, we know, at least, that they never were developed into architectural objects, such as would bring them within the scope of this work. No Dravidian tomb or cenotaph is known to exist anywhere.

When, however, the Dravidians came in contact with the Musalmâns this state of affairs was entirely altered, in so far, at least, as civil buildings were concerned. The palaces, the kacherîs, the elephant-stables, and the dependencies of the

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[1] What I know on this subject I have already said in my work on 'Rude Stone Monuments,' pp. 455 *et seqq.* Conf. 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. i. p. 8, and plate; 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. iii. pp. 53-54, and 306-308; vol. v. pp. 159, 255; and vol. vi. p. 230.

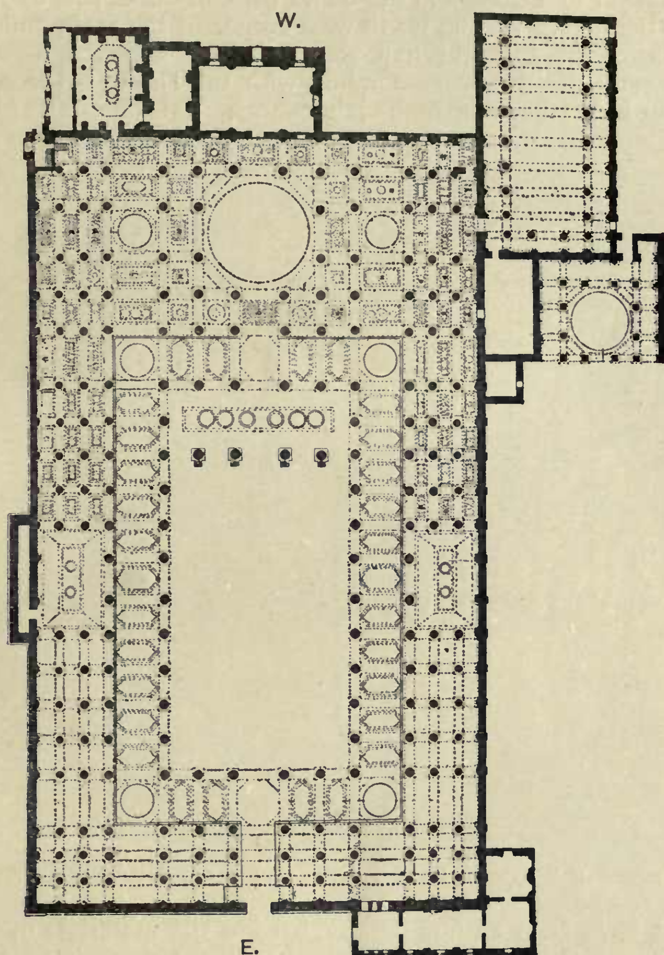
abodes of the râjas at Vijayanagar and Madurâ, rival in extent and in splendour the temples themselves, and are not surpassed in magnificence by the Muhammadan palaces of Bijâpûr or Bidar.

One of the most interesting peculiarities of these civil buildings is, that they are all in a new and different style of architecture from that employed in the temples, and the distinction between the civil and religious art is kept up to the present day. The civil buildings are all in what we would call a pointed-arched Moorish style — picturesque in effect, if not always in the best taste, and using the arch everywhere and for every purpose. In the temples the arch is never used as an architectural feature. In some places, in modern times, when they wanted a larger internal space than could be obtained by bracketing without great expense, a brick vault was introduced —it may be said surreptitiously—for it is always concealed. Even now, in building gopurams, they employ wooden beams, supported by pillars, as lintels, to cover the central openings in the upper pyramidal part, and these having decayed, many of the most modern exhibit symptoms of decay which are not observable in the older examples, where a stone lintel always was employed. But it is not only in construction that the Dravidians adhere to their old forms in temples. There are, especially, some gopurams erected within the limits of last century, which it requires a practised eye to distinguish from older examples; but with the civil buildings the case is quite different. It is not, indeed, clear how a convenient palace could be erected in the trabeate style of the temples, unless, indeed, wood was very extensively employed, both in the supports and the roofs. My conviction is that this really was the case, and its being so, to a great extent at least, accounts for their disappearance.

The principal apartments in what is called the palace at Madurâ are situated round a courtyard which measures about 160 ft. east and west by 100 ft. north and south, surrounded on all sides by arcades of very great beauty. The pillars which support the arches are of stone, 40 ft. in height, and are joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance of design, carrying a cornice and entablature rising to upwards of 60 ft. in height. The whole of the ornamentation is worked out in the exquisitely fine stucco called "chunnam" or shell lime, which is a characteristic of the Madras Presidency.[1] On the west side of the court stands the

[1] For a fuller account of the palace, see a paper by Mr R. F. Chisholm in the 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' vol. xxvi. (1875-1876), pp. 159ff. with plan and sections, from which the ground plan (fig. 240) is reduced, and the measurements have been taken from it. Details of the ornamentation are given by Dr G. Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' figs. 233-235.

Swarga Vilâsam or Celestial Pavilion, now used as the High Court of Justice. It measures 235 ft. from north to south by



240. Plan of Tirumalai Nâyyak's Palace at Madurâ.
(From a Plan by Mr R. F. Chisholm.)
Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

105 ft. across, and is arranged very much on the plan of a great mosque with three domes—in fact, the whole structure, if not first erected as a splendid mosque, is marvellously like one. The large central dome is supported by twelve columns enclosing a square 64 ft. across. These columns are first linked together by massive Saracenic arches. Four similar arches are then thrown across

the corners, and the octagonal drum rises from these, pierced by a clerestory. Above this, at the cornice, 45½ ft. up, the octagon is changed to a circle and the dome rises, in the centre, to 75 ft. from the floor. At the north-west corner of the main building is placed the splendid hall shown in the annexed woodcut (No. 241),[1] the two corresponding with the Dîwân-i-Khâss and Dîwân-i-'Âmm of Muhammadan palaces. This one, in its glory,

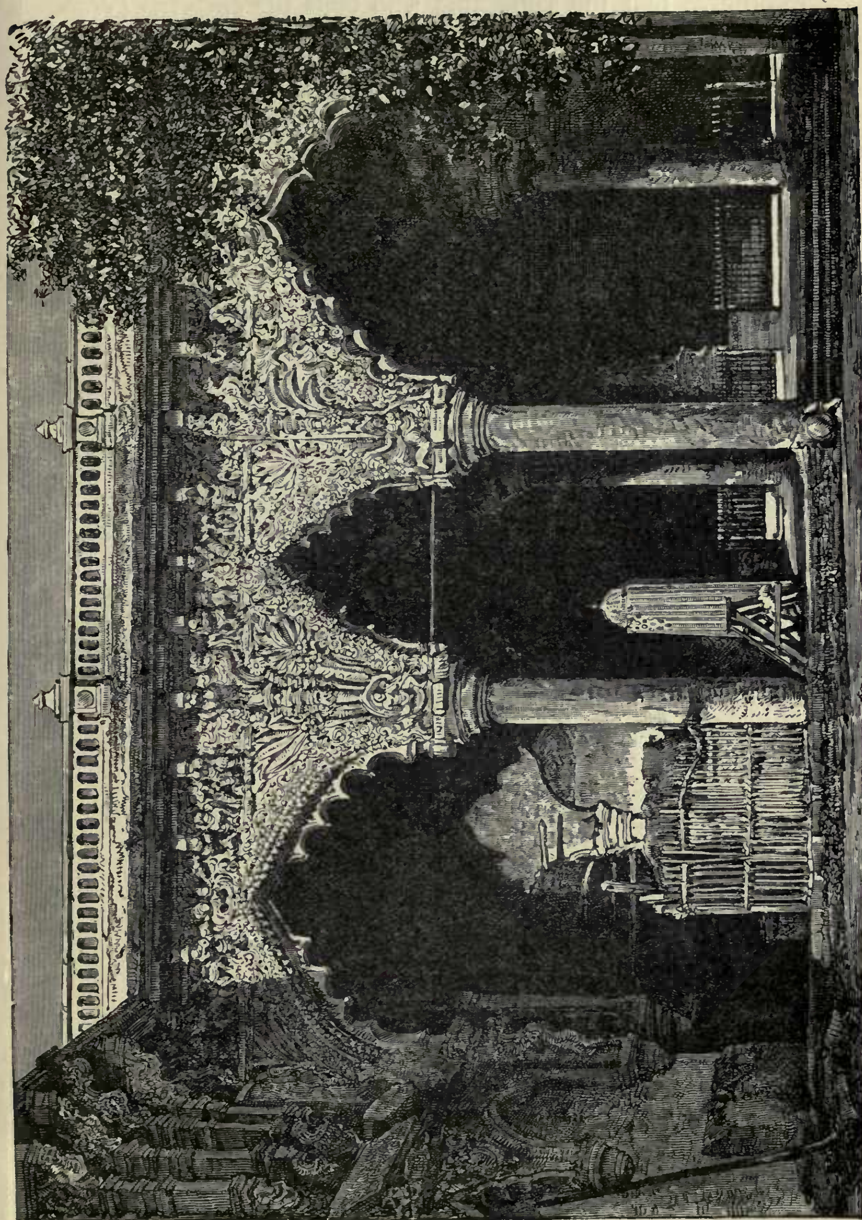


241. Hall in Palace, Madurâ. (From Daniell's 'Views in Hindostan').

must have been as fine as any, barring the material: most of the connected buildings, however, have long since disappeared. This hall itself is 125 ft. long by 69 ft. wide, and its height to the centre of the roof is 56 ft.; but, what is more important than its dimensions, it possesses all the structural propriety and character of a Gothic building. It is evident that if the Hindûs had persevered a little longer in this direction they might have

[1] In this view "a more decidedly Saracenic character is given to the work than it actually possesses." Mr Chisholm's paper, *ut sup.* p. 161. The dimensions appear much exaggerated if we take the two small human figures as supplying a scale.

accomplished something that would have surpassed the works of



242. Court in Palace, Tanjor. (From a Photograph.)

their masters in this form of art. In the meanwhile it is curious to observe that the same king who built the chaultris (Woodcuts Nos. 226, 227, and 228), built also this hall. The style of the one is as different from that of the other as Classic Italian from Mediæval Gothic ; the one as much over ornamented as the other is too plain for the purposes of a palace, but both among the best things of their class which have been built in the country where they are found.

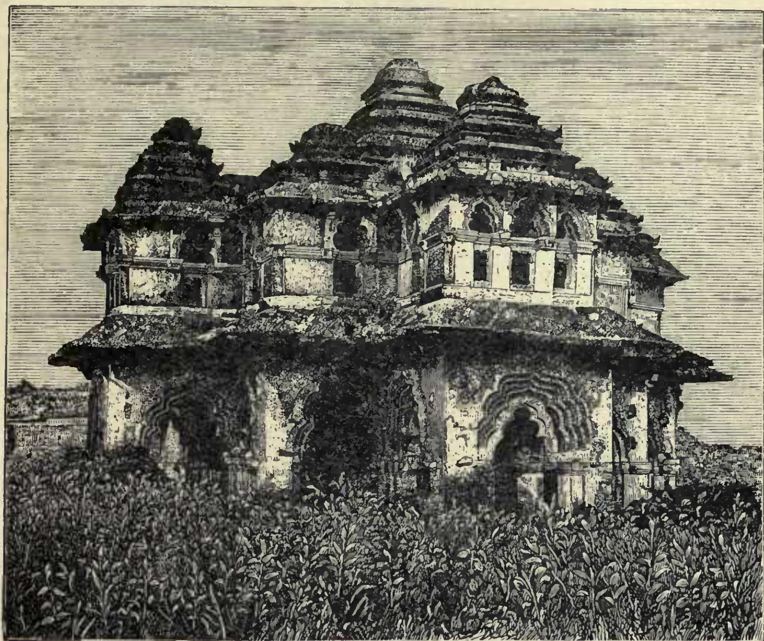
The last dynasty of Tanjor was founded by Ekojî or Venkâjî, a half brother of *S*ivaji, the great Marâthâ chief, during the decline of the Madurâ dynasty in 1674-1675. The palace was probably commenced shortly afterwards, but the greater part of its buildings belong to the 18th century, and some extend even into the 19th.

It is not unlike the Madurâ palace in arrangement—is, indeed, evidently copied from it—nor very different in style; but the ornamentation is coarser and in more vulgar taste, as might be expected from our knowledge of the people who erected it (Woodcut No. 242). In some of the apartments this is carried so far as to become almost offensive. One of the most striking peculiarities of the palace is the roof of the great hall externally. As you approach Tanjor, you see two great vimânas, not unlike each other in dimensions or outline, and at a distance can hardly distinguish which belongs to the great temple. On closer inspection, however, that of the palace turns out to be made up of dumpy pilasters and fat balusters, and ill-designed mouldings of Italian architecture, mixed up with a few details of Indian art! A more curious and tasteless jumble can hardly be found in Calcutta or Lucknow.

The palace buildings at Vijayanagar are much more detached and scattered than those either at Tanjor or Madurâ, but they are older, and probably represent only some of the detached and less important buildings of what existed previous to the sack of the city in 1565, when the Musalmâns rased the chief buildings to the ground.[1] What still remains reproduces more nearly the style of a Hindû prince's civil buildings, before they fell completely under the sway of Moslim influence. The remains of the palace consists of a number of detached pavilions, baths, harems, and other buildings, that certainly were situated in gardens, and may, consequently, have had a unity we miss in their present state of desolation. One of these pavilions is represented in the next woodcut (No. 243). It is a fair specimen of that picturesque mixed style which arose from the mixture of the Saracenic and Hindû styles.

[1] Briggs's translation of Ferishta's 'Mahomedan Power in India,' vol. iii. p. 131.

Examples of Indian civil architecture are so few in the south, that some notice may be included here of the old palace at Chandragiri, about 30 miles N.N.E. from Chittur in North



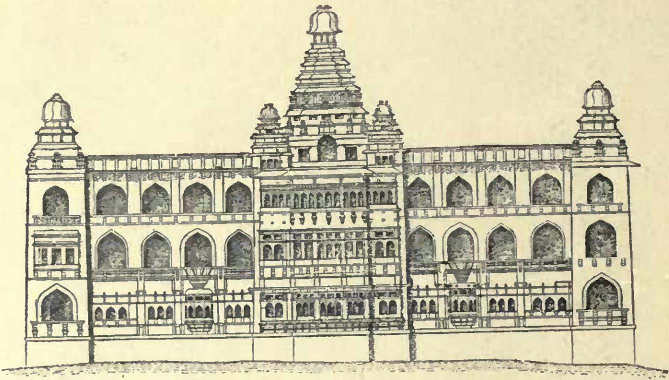
243. Garden Pavilion at Vijayanagar. (From a Photograph.)

Arkot district. It was from Chandragiri in 1639 that Srî Rangarâya, the last representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty, granted the British permission to erect the fort at Madras: six years later he was overthrown by Jamshîd Qutb Shâh of Golkondâ.[1]

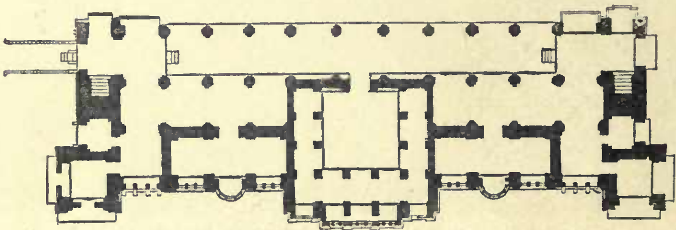
The principal building now left, as shown in Woodcuts Nos. 244 and 245, presents a well-balanced façade of three storeys surmounted by turrets which pleasingly break the sky-line. Each floor consists mainly of a pillared hall—the piers arched across both ways, corbelled at the angles and closed with flat domes. The floors have projections of 6 or 7 ft. beyond the face of the outer pillars and rest on stone corbels. On the north side the walls pierced by the arches are built of brick; but the vaults, especially in the lower storey, are worked

[1] After the battle of Tâlikot in 1565, the representatives of the dynasty made Pennakonda in Anantapur district their capital till 1592, when Venkatapati-Râya removed to Chandragiri, where the family resided till 1645.

in stone from stone corbels. No ornament now appears above the basement, and how the exterior of the building was first



244. South Elevation of Chandragiri Palace.



245. Plan of the ground floor of Chandragiri Palace.
(From Drawings by R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A.) Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

finished it would be hard to say: we may be certain that it was originally much finer than it now exists.[1]

Even the mixed style above mentioned, however, died out wherever the Europeans settled, or their influence extended. The modern palaces of the Nawâbs of the Karnatik, of the Râjas of Râmnâd and Travankor, are all in the bastard Italian style, adopted by the Nawâbs of Lucknow and the Bâbus of Calcutta. Sometimes, it must be confessed, the buildings are imposing from their mass, and picturesque from their variety of outline, but the details are always detestable; first, from being bad copies of a style that was not understood or appreciated, but also, generally, from their being unsuited for the use to which

[1] Fuller details will be found in a paper illustrated by plans, elevations and sections, by Mr R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., in the 'Indian Antiquary,' vol xii. (1883), pp. 295-296.

they were applied. To these defects, it must be added, that the whole style is generally characterised by a vulgarity it is difficult to understand in a people who have generally shown themselves capable of so much refinement in former times.

In some parts of the north of India matters have not sunk so low as in the Madras Presidency, but in the south native civil architecture as a fine art is quite extinct, and though sacred architecture still survives in a certain queer, quaint form of temple-building, it is of so low a type that, as exemplified especially in the temples which the Nâthukottai Chettis are engaged in renovating or reconstructing, it would be no matter of regret if it, too, ceased to exist, and the curtain dropped over the graves of both, as they are arts that practically have become extinct.

BOOK IV.

CHALUKYAN STYLE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

CONTENTS.

Chalukyan Architecture—Dhârwâr temples—Ittagi—Gadag—Kuruvatti—Dambal—Hanamkonda—Kirtti Stambhas at Worangal—Mysore—Temples at Somnâthpûr and Bêlûr—Temples at Halebîd.

OF the three styles into which Hindû architecture naturally divides itself, the Chalukyan is neither the least extensive nor the least beautiful, but till about sixty years ago, it certainly was the least known. The very name of the people was hardly recognised by early writers on Indian subjects, and the first clear ideas regarding them were put forward, in 1836, in a paper by Sir Walter Elliot, in the fourth volume of the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.' To this he added another paper, in the twentieth volume of the 'Madras Journal': and since then numerous inscriptions of this dynasty and of its allied families have been found and translated, largely by Dr. J. F. Fleet, in the 'Indian Antiquary' and 'Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society.'

From all this we gather that early in the 6th century of our era, this family rose into importance at Bâdâmi, about 65 miles south of Bijâpûr in the Bombay Presidency[1]—and spread eastwards as far as the shores of the Bay of Bengal between the mouths of the Krishnâ and Godâvarî, establishing the capital of an eastern kingdom at Vengî early in the 7th

[1] It is sometimes incorrectly stated that Kalyân, in the Nizam's territory, was their early capital; but it was not so before the middle of the 10th century, and under the later Châlukyas.—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. v. p. 318.

century. They extended, in fact, from shore to shore, right across the peninsula, and occupied a considerable portion of the country now known as Mysore, and northward extended as far, at least, as Nâsik and Daulatâbâd.

The first prince of whom we know more than the name is Pulike*s*in I., who began to rule at Bâdâmi about A.D. 550, under whose two sons in succession the kingdom was largely extended, towards the west at the expense of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi, and — pushing northwards into Gujarât, where they were checked by *S*îlâditya I. of Valabhi. Early in the next century Pulike*s*in II. (609-642) further extended his dominions, held at bay the forces of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj, invaded the Chola and Pallava territories, and placed his brother Kubja-Vishnuvardhana over the country about the deltas of the Godâvarî and Krishnâ rivers, who—about 617—established the eastern Chalukya dynasty at Vengî. About 626 Pulike*s*in II. seems to have received an embassy from Khosru II. of Persia;[1] and in 640 or 641, Hiuen Tsiang traversed his kingdom and apparently visited his temporary capital—probably at Nâsik.[2] But very soon after, towards the close of his reign, his rule was upset by the Pallava King Narasimhavarman, who took and plundered Bâdâmi or Vâtâpi, as it was then called. By 655 Vikramâditya I. had recovered the Chalukya dominions and even entered Kânchî.[3]

The family religion of the early kings was Vaishnava, but they seem to have been very tolerant, if not eclectic, and made grants liberally to *S*aiva and Jaina temples as well as to Vaishnava ones.

Like all the dynasties of central and northern India, the Chalukyas suffered eclipse in the 8th century. They were overthrown by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhed about 756, and it was not till 973 that a descendant recovered the kingdom and made his capital at Kalyâni in the Dekhan. The temples at Aihole and Pattadakal described above (Woodcuts Nos. 181 and 205) belong to their age, and we know they were erected by early kings of this race; but they do not belong to their style. Their *s*ikharas, or towers, either show the curvilinear outline of the northern style, or the storeyed pyramids of the

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[1] 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' N.S., vol. xi. p 165.

[2] Hiuen Tsiang does not appear to have visited Bâdâmi. From Kânchîpuram he went north-west (according to the 'Life') to Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, the position of which is not known. From that he went to the chief city of Mahârâshtra, which he does not name, but being not more than 150 miles from Bharoch, Dr. J. F. Fleet has pointed out that Nâsik best suits the conditions. — 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xxii. pp. 113ff.

[3] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xix. pp. 151f.; or for a detailed outline of the historical materials, by Dr. J. F. Fleet, see 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 335-381.

Dravidian. It is as if this intrusive race adopted hesitatingly the earlier styles of the country, but that it was not till they had consolidated their power, and developed peculiar institutions of their own, that they expressed them in the style to which their name has been affixed.

The materials doubtless exist for settling these and most other questions connected with this style; but, unfortunately, much of them are locked up in the offices of the Archæological Survey; and probably more are to be found in the Nizam's territory, which is still almost a *terra incognita* to us in so far as architecture is concerned. No extended survey has yet been made of such remains as may exist there by any one having a knowledge of the art or of the interest attaching to the forms and age of the buildings.

The Muhammadan invaders from the beginning of the 14th century spared no temples that came in their way on any of their raids, and doubtless the largest were the greater sufferers. But after the final conquest and the rise of the Musalmân dynasties — the line of their capitals — Bijâpûr, Kulbargâ, Bîdar, and Haidarâbâd—which have long occupied the native country of the Chalukyas, is painfully suggestive of the destruction of Hindû temples; and the ruins and broken sculptures that lie all round the neighbourhood of Kalyâni—at Nârâyanpur, Sitâpur, Tiprâd, etc., bear abundant testimony to the iconoclastic zeal of the conquerors.[1] But still the wealth of remains that exists in Dhârwâr and Mysore on the south and west, and in the Berars on the north of the Nizam's territories, is so great that all certainly cannot have perished, and many will probably yet be found to solve the historical enigmas, though they may not be sufficient to restore the style in its integrity.

The Chalukyan style was naturally evolved from the Dravidian, and the earliest temples within its area are not always clearly marked off from that type: it was only by degrees that it acquired its distinctive character. Unfortunately, most of the earlier and the finer examples perished during the early Moslim invasions and under the later rule of the various Muhammadan dynasties of the Dekhan. The area over which the style extended includes Mysore and all the Kanarese country—its birthplace—in the west; eastwards its southern limit was the Tungabhadrâ and Krishnâ rivers; and on the north it perhaps extended to a line drawn from the south end of the Chilkâ lake towards Nâgpur, and thence westwards and south-westwards to the coast. But we know too little as yet of

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iii. pp. 20, 23, 38-40.

the remains in the Haidarâbâd districts to define the northern boundary with any certainty.

From the remains that have escaped entire destruction in this area, we gather that the earlier Chalukyan temples preserved on the whole the general plan of the Dravidian shrines, but the corners were made more prominent by flat increments placed on them, whilst the projections on the walls were but slight, the central one on each face of the shrine being made much broader and important. The *s*ikhara and roof soon lost the distinctively southern storeyed form and became stepped, forming pyramids of different heights, with breaks corresponding to those of the walls, and with broad bands up the sides of the *s*ikhara answering to the larger face in the middle of each side of the shrine. Later, the plan often became star-shaped, the projecting angles lying in circles whose centres were in the middle of the shrine and mandap respectively.[1] The broader faces on the sides, however, were retained for the principal images of the cult. The pillars supporting the roof of the halls or mandaps were arranged in squares; the device of placing twelve pillars so disposed in a square that eight of them could be connected by lintels to support a roof or dome of larger dimensions was almost unknown to the style.[2]

A favourite arrangement in the later temples was the grouping of three shrines round a central mandapa or hall. The pillars are markedly different from the Dravidian type; they are massive, often circular, richly carved and highly polished. They are usually in pairs or fours of the same pattern, the whole effect being singularly elegant. Their capitals are wide with numerous thin mouldings immediately below the abacus; and under these is a square block, whilst the middle of the shaft is carved with circular mouldings. Frequently the capitals and shafts have been actually turned in a sort of lathe in which the shaft was held vertically.

In Dravidian temples at Bâdâmi, Pattadakal, Elûrâ, and elsewhere, pierced stone windows are not unfrequent, but the most richly carved examples of these belong specially to the Chalukyan style. Generally the temples stand on a terrace, sometimes 10 to 15 ft. wide, quite surrounding them, and from

[1] 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iii. p. 21 and plate 18. The star-shaped plan is obtained by the overlapping of equal squares having a common centre with their corners all equidistant; and as projecting angles must always correspond to the corners of the cella and mandapa, the number of angles between the wider faces on two adjacent sides are usually three or five. The re-entrant angles will then always be larger than right angles. With unequal projections the corners, in a plan similar to that in the Northern style, may also lie in a circle.

[2] In the outer mandapa of the great temple at Hangal, however, it was introduced.

3 to 6 feet in height—a feature which adds considerably to the architectural effect. The structures were erected without mortar, and the joints very carefully fitted. The whole outer surface was covered with great variety of sculpture, of floral and geometric patterns intermixed with mythological figures; and generally the mouldings of the base were carved with the succession of animal patterns prescribed in the '*S*ilpa *S*âstras' or architectural treatises.

The Dhârwâr district may be regarded as the cradle of the style, and it may help to make its features better understood, if before describing the remains farther east and south, we first notice some of the larger temples near and in that district.

At Ittagi, a small village in the Haidarâbâd districts, lying some 21 miles east-north-east from Gadag, is a large *S*aiva temple surrounded by the ruins of smaller shrines, etc., belonging at latest to the early half of the 11th century, which, though deserted and partly ruinous, must be regarded as one of the most highly finished and architecturally perfect of the Chalukyan shrines that have come down to us. In the opinion of the late Meadows Taylor, the principal temple is perhaps superior in decorative art even to the Gadag temples. In it "the carving on some of the pillars and of the lintels and architraves of the doors is quite beyond description. No chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer. . . . By what tools this very hard, tough stone could have been wrought and polished as it is, is not at all intelligible at the present day; nor indeed from whence the large blocks of greenstone rock were brought."[1] A plan of the group is given on Woodcut No. 246, and it may be noted that the plan of the shrine is not star-shaped, but follows the old Dravidian form. The outer walls of the small shrines have been stripped for building stone by the villagers.

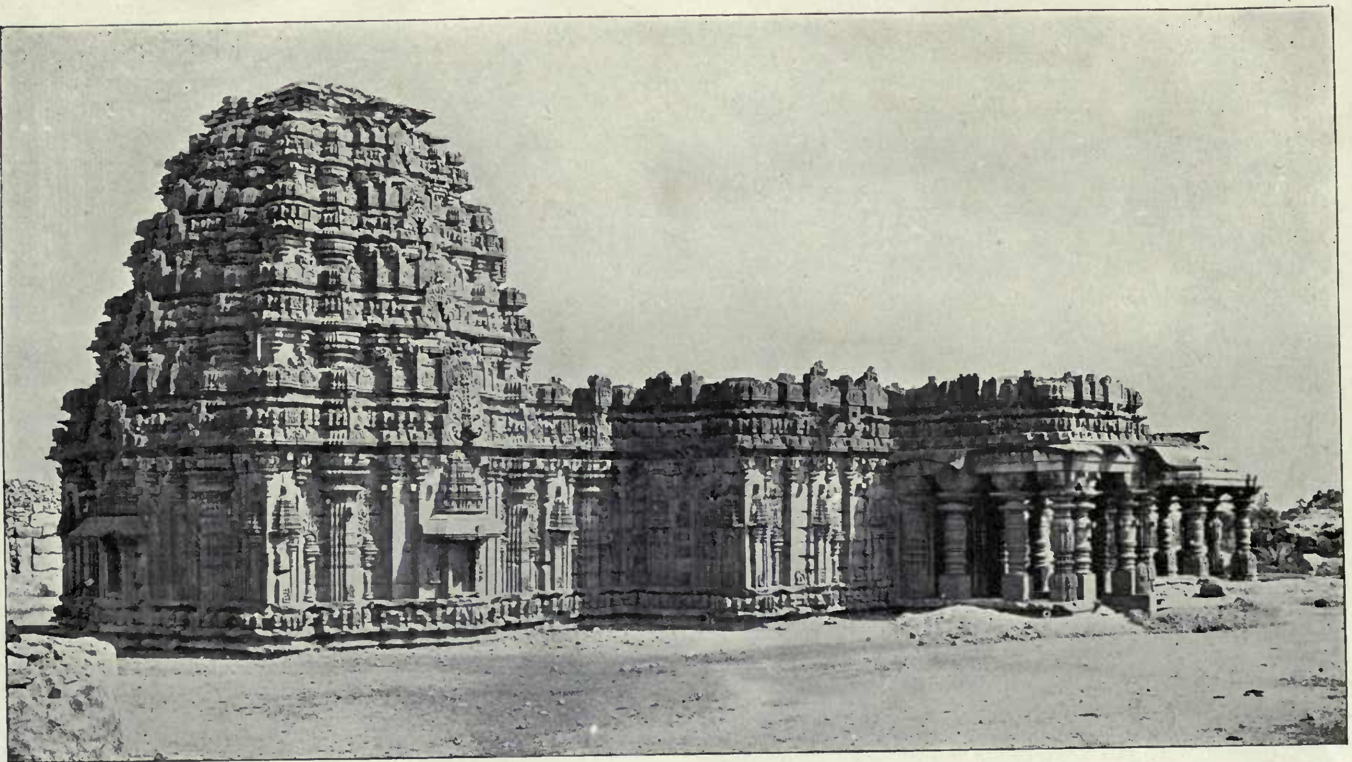
The temple, shown in Plate No. XII., consists of an open mandap and a closed hall with antechamber and linga shrine. The square dome that once crowned the *s*ikhara and the superstructures on the roofs of the mandapas, with most of the screen wall round the outer one, are now lost, as well as much of the projecting cornice round the latter and over the entrance porches.

The form of these cornices, it may be remarked, indicates to some extent the age of individual structures, as it is probable the flat sloping form preceded the more ornamental one with double flexure. The inner hall is 27 ft. square, and besides the entrance from the front mandap, has also doorways on the north and south sides, with pillared porches. The jambs and lintels of all the entrances, as is usual in temples from the earliest

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[1] 'Architecture of Dharwar and Mysore,' pp. 47-48. The stone is not so "very hard," however, as Meadows Taylor had supposed.

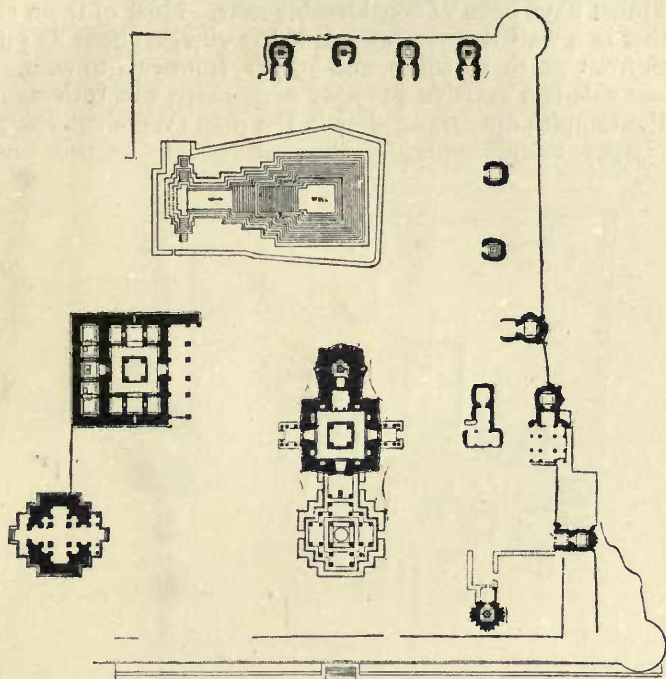
PLATE XII.



GREAT TEMPLE AT ITTAGI, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

[*To face page* 424, Vol. I.

period and in the caves, are very elaborately carved; and their porches have ribbed roofs of beautiful and ingenious designs.

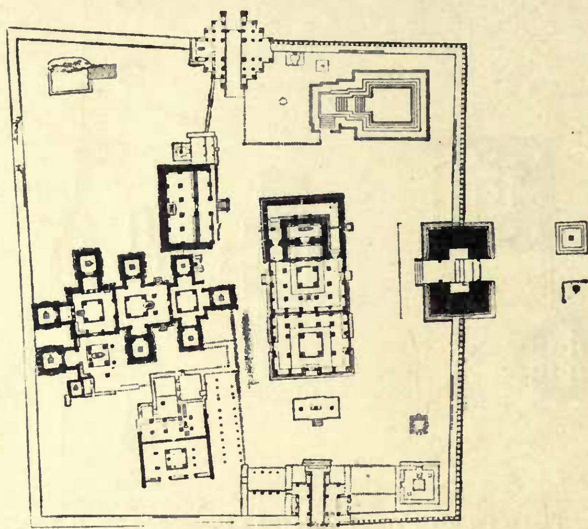


246. Plan of the Ittagi Temples. (From a Drawing by Mr. H. Cousens.) Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

The central niches on the outsides of the shrine walls here are larger and more prominent than in most other temples, and have a half *s*ikhara minutely carved over each. The niches themselves, once occupied by characteristic *S*aiva images, are now quite empty. Above each of these is a succession of highly ornamental carved frontons, rising one above another, in decreasing sizes to the summit. The pillars in the open mandap are of varied patterns, richly carved, the central four being star-shaped in plan, as are also the two outer pillars of each side porch,—a form that was a favourite one, as it occurs in various temples of this period and later, as in the Dambal temple of Doddâ Basavanna. The central panel in the roof, 8 ft. 5 in. square, is also richly sculptured, with a figure of Nate*s*a in the middle and, in the corners, are artistic arabesques in high relief round kirttimukh faces.[1]

[1] For a drawing and section of this panel, which is in five stages, fully 4 ft. in total depth, the uppermost being 3 ft. 11 in. square, with descriptive note, see 'Technical Art Series of Illustrations of Indian Architectural Decorative Work,' 1888, plate 6.

At Kukkanûr, within 4 miles northwards from Ittagi is a notable group of temples, indicating that at an early period the place must have been of considerable note. Most of them stand together in a walled enclosure inside the village, about 82 yds. in length from north to south, and 75 yds. from east to west. On the east side is a massive gateway of perhaps the 16th century, and the temples are arranged as in the plan (Woodcut No. 247). The larger temple opposite the entrance is in use, and is



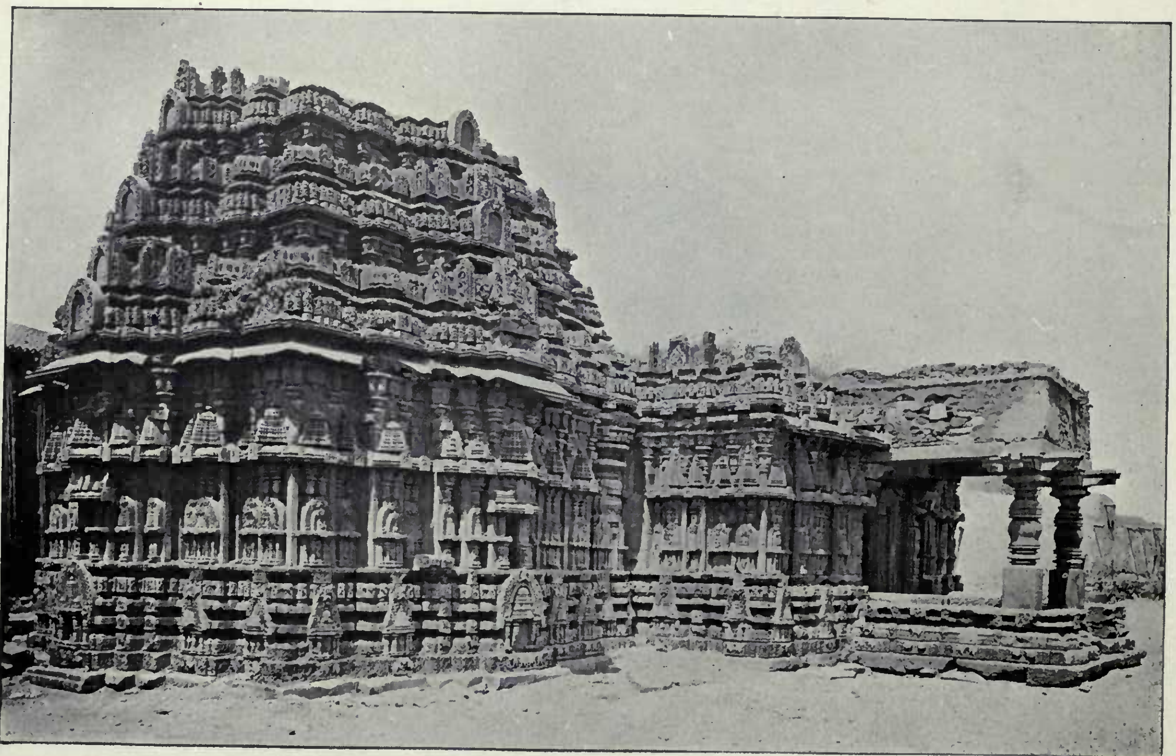
247. Plan of Temples at Kukkanûr. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

perhaps, in its present form, of about the age of the enclosure. But on the west side of it is an interesting congeries of nine shrines, now containing lingas, of an earlier date—possibly going back to the 9th century. The śikharas of these are more Dravidian in contour than Chalukyan; but the pillars inside with round shafts and spreading capitals, and the tendency to reduce and render less emphatic the storeys of the spires, mark them as indicating an early advance towards the latter style. The outer surfaces of the walls also are overlaid with carving after the Chalukyan fashion; but the red sandstone of which they are built has decayed considerably from exposure and obliterated much of the detail.

There are other temples here of which some are probably of about the same age as these. To the south-west of the village is one, in tolerably good preservation, which is quite Dravidian in outline with indications of a tendency to the more



PLATE XIII.

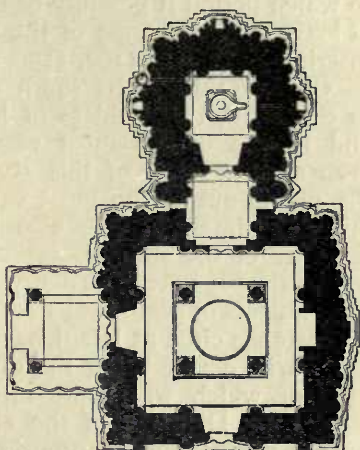


TEMPLE OF SOMESVAR AT GADAG, FROM NORTH-EAST.

[*To face page* 427, Vol. I.

elegant proportions of the Chalukyan forms, and with gablets on the middle of each tier of the *s*ikhara, indicative of the beginning of the continuous band up each face that is so prominent a feature in the later examples.

Among the five more notable temples at Gadag, that of Some*s*var, now appropriated as a school, though small, is worth notice. Except the upper portion of the *s*ikhara and the outer open mandap that stood on the east, it is still fairly entire. From the plan (Woodcut No. 248) and the photograph (Plate XIII.), it appears to be a typical example of the style. The mandap is 21 ft. 10 in. square inside with four round pillars, 9 ft. 4 in. between centres, supporting the roof; the antarâla or antechamber to the shrine is here cut off from the mandap by a screen with a door of its own, and is 9 ft. square with a narrow window on each side. The shrine itself is 9 ft. 3 in. square, and, as is common in Chalukyan temples, it has no pradakshina. The doorways and all the outside walls are very richly decorated with carving. The whole temple, however, seems to be silted up to the level of the top of the raised basement on which these temples usually stand, and which gave the rich wall sculptures that elevation at which they could be seen to advantage. As in other instances, the materials of the basement had probably been, at least partly, removed before the ground level was raised to its present height.[1]



248. Plan of Some*s*var Temple, Gadag.
Scale 25 ft. to 1 in.
(From a Plan by Mr. H. Cousens.)

Of quite as much interest is the temple of Trikûte*s*var in the fort of Gadag.[2] As the name may imply, it is a triple-shrined temple with two mandapas in line with the east and west shrines, and the third cella built off at a later date from between the mandapas on the north side. The carving has been exceedingly good, but the figures have been much defaced by violence, and the whole overlaid by successive coats of whitewash. Round the

[1] Close to this temple is another known as that of Râme*s*vara, of the same plan and style, but much plainer, having scarcely any sculpture on its walls, and is more dilapidated.

[2] Trikûte*s*vara — 'lord of the three-crested mountain.' Trikûta is the mountain in Ceylon on which Râvana's capital stood, also a range on the south of the fabled Mount Meru.

mandapas the perforated screen work is well worth attention. The original *s*ikhara had been ruined, and is replaced by a modern brick tower, altogether unworthy of the rest of the building, which otherwise may be compared with the Bêlûr temple mentioned below. An inscription records the restoration, or perhaps reconstruction, of this temple in the 10th century, to which period it possibly belongs; but there were later repairs at least, as under some of the images on the exterior are tablet inscriptions of A.D. 1192, 1199, and 1213.

Close to this, on its south side, is a small temple dedicated to Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning and consort of Brahmâ, and is one of the most remarkable for elaborate sculpture even among those of this style. It is sadly dilapidated, but the pillars are of the most varied patterns, and carved in the minutest detail, as are also the screen walls, the roof, and doorway of the shrine.[1]

As already noted, the doorways of Indian temples have always been objects of sculptural decoration. Panels in the roofs, as in the instance cited at Ittagi, have also been treated with like care, a favourite device being the division into nine compartments in each of which was represented the mythological guardians, regents, or Dikpâlas of the eight points of the compass, the central panel being appropriated to the presiding divinity of the temple.[2] The rich sculptures on the Muhammadan Mihrâbs may be, and probably are largely due to the taste of Hindû workmen, who applied to them the decorative style they had been accustomed to employ on the doorways of their own shrines.

The subject cannot be adequately illustrated in a work of this compass, but a single example (Plate No. XIV.),[3] may help to convey some idea of the character of the doorways of Chalukyan temples. This is from one of the many very interesting old temples at Lakkundi, a village 7 miles east-south-east from Gadag. These temples are mostly fallen to ruin, having suffered severely from the Chola invasion in the 11th century, when those at Lakshme*s*var were also destroyed. And, at a much later date, in the feuds between the Brâhmans and Lingayats, they further suffered. The finest and one of the largest of these temples is that of Kâ*s*ivi*s*ve*s*var, which is a double one, a western temple consisting of a shrine, hall and porch, and a smaller eastern shrine with antarâla, connected with the porch to the west by a raised platform.

The doorways on the south and east of the hall are beautiful

[1] For a fuller description of the temples at Gadag by the editor, see 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol. xxii. (Dharwar) pp. 713ff.

[2] A good example of this, from Ganginkatti in Dhârwâr, is given in 'Technical Art Series,' 1888, plate 1.

[3] From 'Technical Art Series,' 1887, plate 3.

PLATE XIV.



DOORWAY OF THE SHRINE IN KÂSÎVISVESVAR TEMPLE AT LAKKUNDI.
Scale 1-25th.

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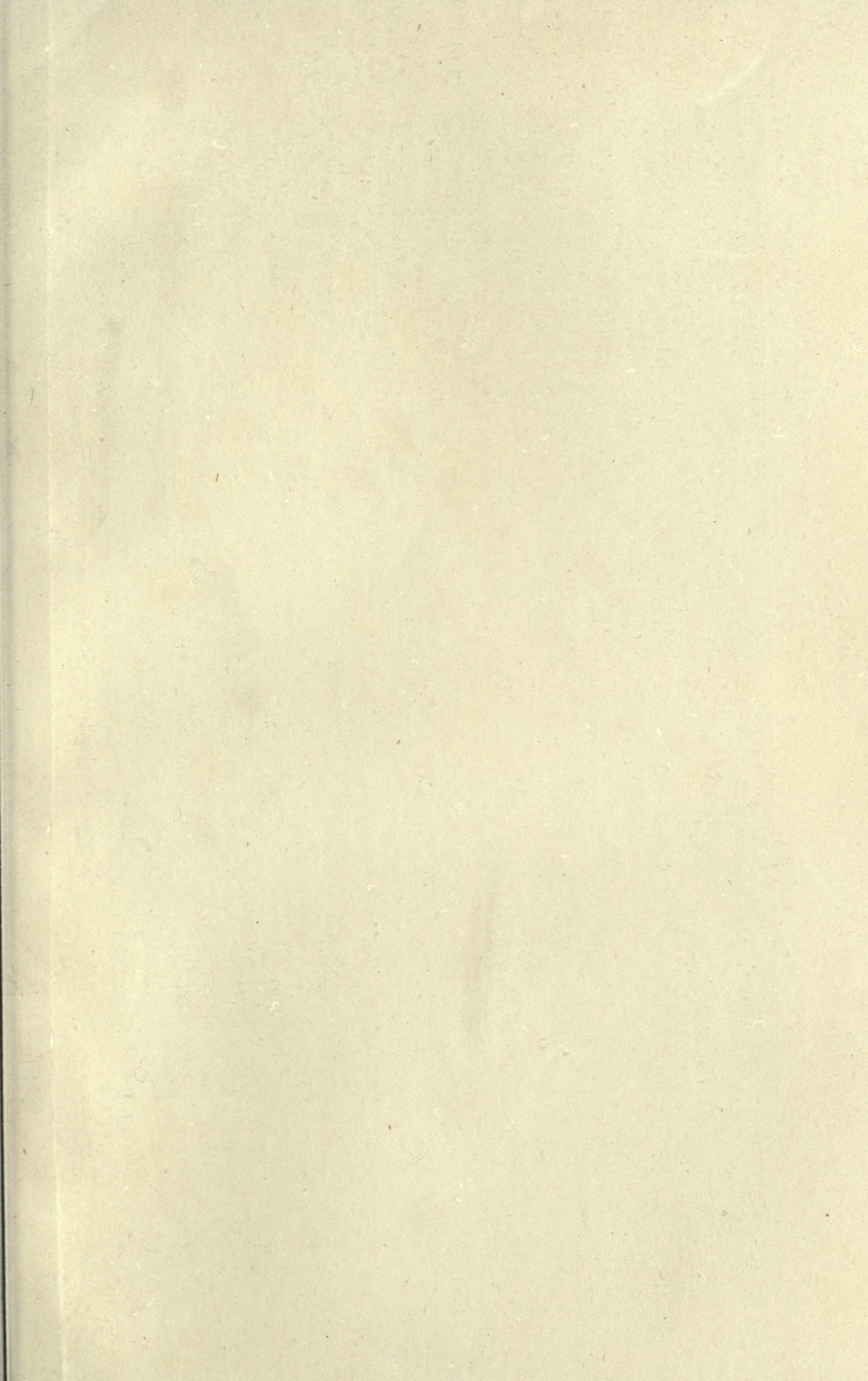
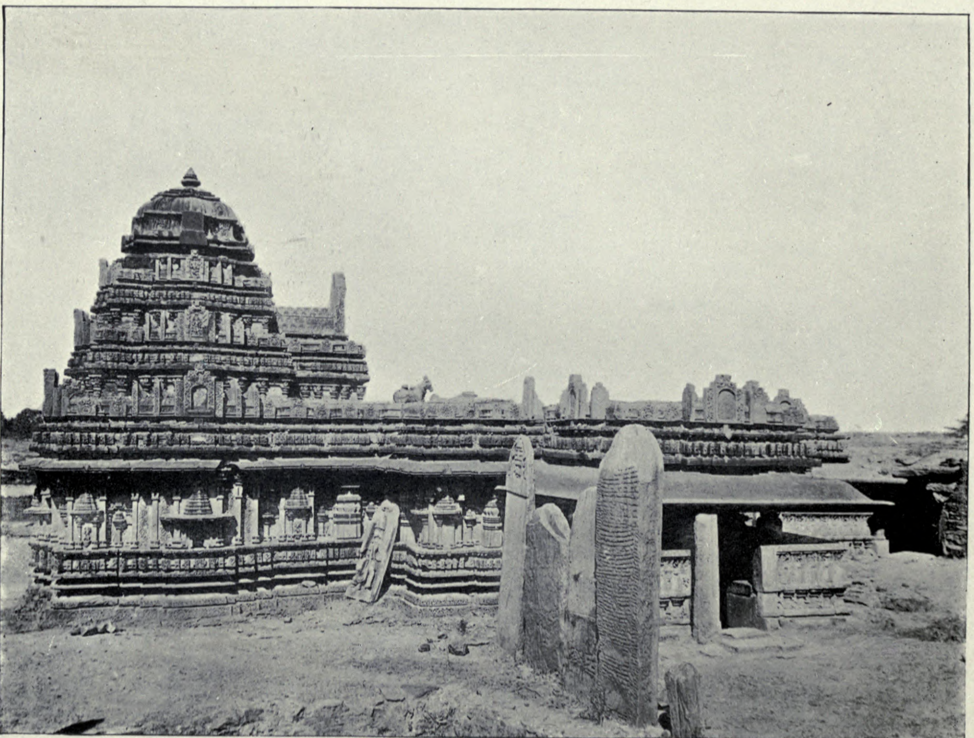


PLATE XV.



CHAUDADAMPUR TEMPLE OF MUKTESWAR FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

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examples of intricate and delicate chiselling; but the shrine doorway, here represented, rivals the others in design and workmanship. This doorway, though small—the entrance being only 2 ft. 9 in. wide by 5 ft. 8 in. high—is of good proportions. The variety of ornamental detail on the three fascias within the pilasters may be studied on the illustration. It is so delicately chiselled and in parts so undercut as to be almost detached from the stone. The pilasters support a cornice over the door frame, and from its centre depends a shield presenting Gaja-Lakshmî or *S*rî, the goddess of success, bathed by elephants. On the upper side of the cornice are elephants fighting, soldiers and other figures, spiritedly executed, but now much damaged. Above is a frieze divided into five panels by carved uprights, and containing figures of *S*iva and Pârvatî with attendants in the central one, Brahmâ and Vishnu in those to left and right, and devotees in the end panels. This is surmounted by a projecting moulding carved with a leaf ornament that appears in all ages of Hindû art. In the recesses between the mouldings of the doorway and the pilasters, supporting the roof, a single figure is inserted and a rod or stalk with leaf tracery branching off but stopping below the capitals of the door pilasters. The three fascias of the architrave are also very richly and beautifully sculptured.

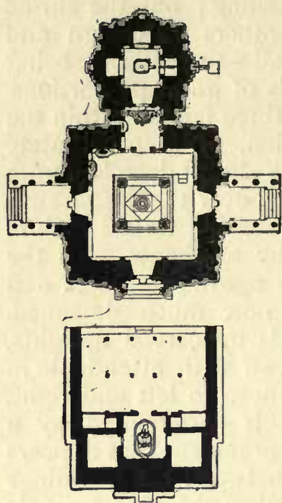
At Chaudadâmpur on the Tungabhadrâ, about 12 miles north from the railway at Rânibennûr, is a fine bold temple of black stone belonging to the 11th century, with all its details more completely finished than in some others. As will be noticed in the photograph (Plate XV.), its defects in design are the form of its dome and the insignificance of its crowning member or finial, which latter, however, is probably not the original Kalas.

KURUVATTI.

At Kuruvatti on the right bank of the Tungabhadrâ, 17 miles west from Harpanahalli, and about 3 miles from Chaudadâmpur, is a temple now dedicated to Malikârjuna (Woodcut No. 249). It is on the same general plan as that of Some*s*var at Gadag, but with a porch and doorway on the north as well as the south side of the mandap. In the shrine are three recesses in the walls, either for so many important images, where the temple had only one shrine, or for the vessels used in the worship.[1]

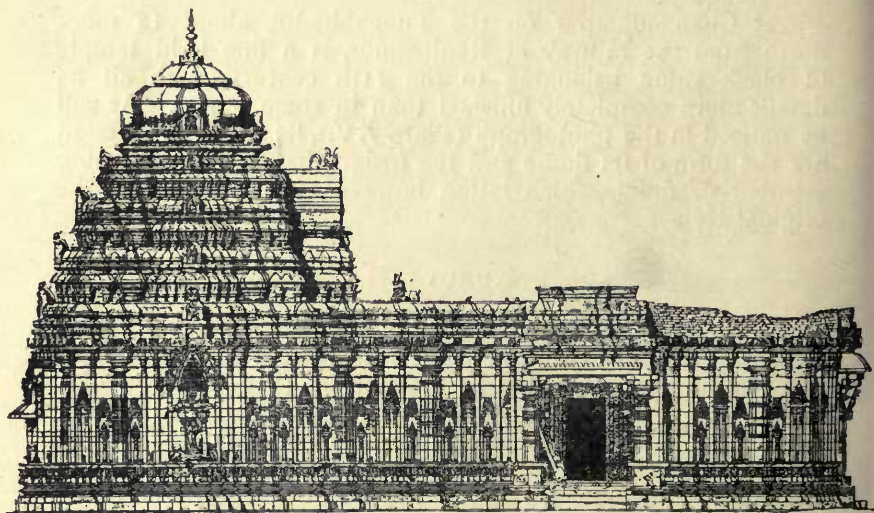
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[1] In the Ke*s*ava temple at Huvinahadagalli, in the old Chalukya temple at Nagai, 25 miles south-east from Kulbargâ, and in others, are similar deep recesses. —Rea's 'Chalukyan Architecture,' p. 21 and plate 92; H. Stone, 'The Nizam's State Railway,' plan at p. 198.



249. Plan of Kuruvatti Temple. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The square antechamber has two narrow windows and a richly-carved doorstep—the "moonstone" of Ceylon—in front of the cell door. As may be seen from the plan, the mandap is small—only about 19 ft. square, with the usual four pillars supporting the roof. They have square bases, highly carved on each face, and round shafts broken into numerous members. As will be seen from the south elevation (Woodcut No. 250),[1] the roof of the mandap has been destroyed, but the *s*ikhar is entire—except the finial which is a modern restoration. The projecting porches to the north and south entrances have three pillars on each side—square in plan with the corners slightly recessed. The panels in the walls, formed by very attenuated pilasters, are carved above, some with imitations of *s*ikharas and others with a sort of festoon issuing from the mouths of makaras on each side. In



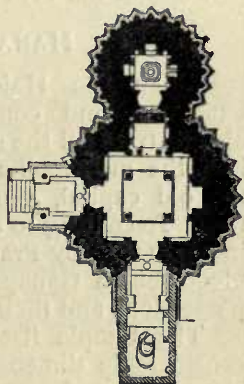
250. Kuruvatti Temple, south elevation. Scale 1-200th.

the south door stands a loose slab over 6 ft. high by 4 ft.

[1] From Rea's 'Chalukyan Architecture.'

broad, carved with a male figure with two arms and attended by four females. All the details are sharp and the carving so good that even at Halebîd it would be difficult to point out any individual piece showing more complete mastery over the material than the brackets representing female figures with encircling wreaths on the fronts and inner sides of the capitals at the east entrance.[1] The temple is probably of somewhat later date than the preceding.

Dambal, some 13 miles south-east from Gadag, and 16 miles south-west from Ittagi, must have been, in early days, a seat of Buddhism, for we find that in A.D. 1095 a Buddhist inscription there makes mention of a vihâra built by sixteen Settis, and of another vihâra of Târâdevî at Lakkundi.[2] It has still three old *S*aiva temples—all much injured. That of Dodda Basappa or Basavanna, outside the town to the north-east, differs in plan from any of the known temples in Dhârwâr districts (Woodcut No. 251). It presents us with what appears to be a late form of the Chalukyan *s*ikhara, without the broad faces on the north, west and south sides. The plan is star-shaped on the outside, being formed of numerous rectangular points, which represent the corners of six squares whose diagonals vary round a common centre by 15 degrees each. The plan of the mandap is similarly formed with eight squares at equal angles. The angles are carried up the walls and roofs of shrine and hall. The smaller string-courses of the roof being left in block, may indicate that the work was not entirely finished, though the effect is as sparkling as if they had been completed to the extent originally intended. But even as it stands it would not be easy to point to a more graceful form of roof for the shrine. At first sight it may appear somewhat strange and *outré*, but its form gains with familiarity on the judgment of the architectural critic.



251. Plan of Dambal Temple of Dodda Basavanna. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

The hall measures 23½ ft. square inside, and, like the Some*s*var temple at Gadag and others of the same class, it has an entrance from the south as well as from the east. A long porch has been roughly built at some late date, projecting from the front to cover a gigantic Nandi or bull of *S*iva. The two pillars of the south porch and the doorway have been

[1] Rea's 'Chalukyan Architecture,' pp. 21-24 and plates 56-68.

[2] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. x. pp. 185-190.

elaborately carved; and the dome of the mandap is supported by four pillars also equally richly chiselled. Spanning the two slender pillars in front of the antechamber or antarâla is a frieze, 8 ft. in length and between 3 and 4 ft. in height, richly carved with unrivalled care though now damaged. And at the entrance of the shrine is a doorstep—perhaps the most beautiful in design in any temple in Western India. This temple was perhaps one of the latest, designed late in the 12th century, before the Muhammadan raids put an end to temple building.

Lastly, about 9 miles north from Chaudadâmpur, at the sacred junction of the Varadâ with the Tungabhadrâ, in the small village of Galaganâth is another Chalukya temple, dedicated to Galage*s*vara (Plate XVI.). It is built of black granite, and its appearance is striking owing to the base of the shrine or vimâna being entirely surrounded by a peculiar stepped abutment that looks somewhat like an afterthought, and is quite out of place as an architectural feature. Had it been below the shrine walls it might have been contrived to add dignity to the tower; but as it is it gives the whole spire a much more pyramidal form than in other temples, and it is not elegant. It may be, however, that, to prevent the sinking of the foundations in deep sandy soil, the base was extended, at a later date, to great thickness to support the superincumbent weight of the *s*ikhara. Otherwise, though of no great dimensions—about 80 ft. by 40 over all—this temple is a good example of the period when it was erected, or about the first half of the 11th century.

Hanamkonda and Worangal.

When the Haidarâbâd or Nizam's territory has been examined and completely surveyed, we shall probably be able to trace all the steps by which earlier examples developed into the metropolitan temple of Anamkond or Hanamkonda, the old capital, 4 miles north-west of Orangal or Worangal fort. According to an inscription on it, this temple was erected in A.D. 1162,[1] by Pratâpa Rudra, who, though not a Chalukya in blood, but a Ganapatîya or Kâkatîya, had succeeded to their possessions and their style.

The temple itself is triple, having three shrines of very considerable dimensions, dedicated to *S*iva, Vishnu, and Sûrya, arranged round a central hall. In front of this temple is a great mandapa or portico, supported on pillars, of which one hundred and thirty-two are free standing, disposed in a varied pattern, but without any sign of the octagonal arrangement for a dome. Between this portico and the temple was the pavilion for the

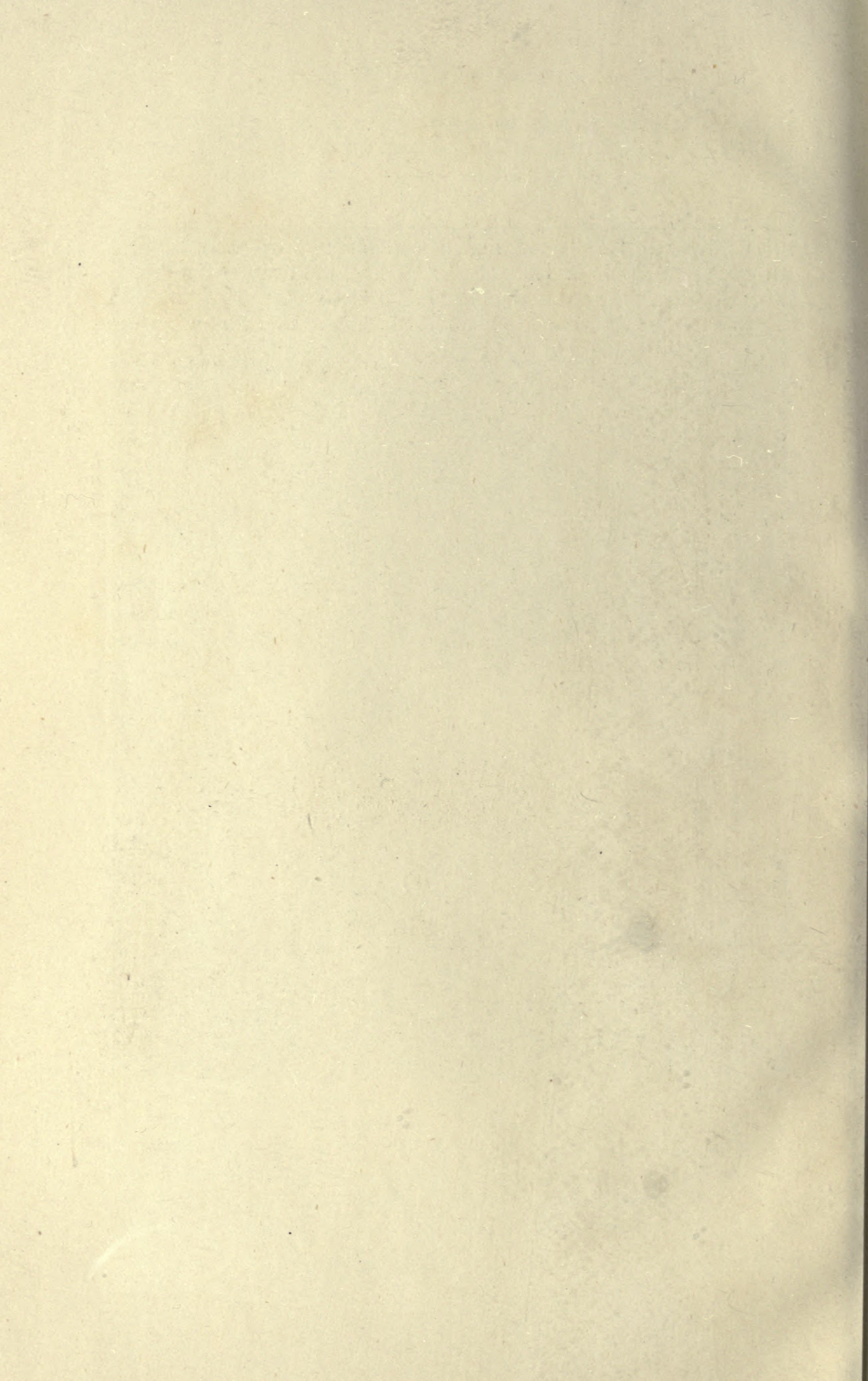
[1] 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xi. pp. 9ff.

PLATE XVI



GALAGANÂTH TEMPLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

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Nandi which has fallen within the last twenty-five years, and the huge granite bull still remains among the fallen pillars and lintels. This Nandi pavilion and the great pillared hall were all of granite



252. Doorway of Great Temple at Hanamkonda. (From a Photograph.)

and comparatively plain and devoid of ornament. The temple itself measures outside 102 ft. from east to west, by 83 ft. 8 in. from north to south, and stands on a raised basement or podium 10 ft. wide all round it.[1] Like others of these late temples, this one was never finished. It was too extensive for one king's reign,

[1] Views of the hall or mantapam and the temple are given in Workman's 'Through Town and Jungle,' pp. 127 and 129.

even for one so powerful as he was who undertook it, and before it was heartily taken up again the Muhammadans were upon them (in A.D. 1310), and there was an end of Hindû greatness and of Hindû art.

Some of its details, however, are of great beauty, especially the entrances to the shrines, which are objects on which the architects, as usual, lavished their utmost skill. The preceding woodcut (No. 252) will explain the form of those of the great temple, as well as the general ordinances of the pillars of the



253. Kirtti Stambha at Orangal. (From a Photograph.)

great mandapa. Nothing in Hindû art is more pleasing than the pierced slabs which the Chalukyas used for screens and windows. They are not, so far as I recollect, used extensively in other styles, but as used by them are highly ornamental and appropriate, both externally and internally.

The pillars, too, are rich, without being overdone;[1] and as the central four in the main hall are of the same design and beautifully carved, the effect of the whole is singularly varied, but at the same time pleasing and elegant. The roof also is covered by great slabs richly sculptured.

In Orangal or Worangal fort there are four Kirtti Stambhas, as they are called (Woodcut No. 253), of one pattern, facing one another, which have formed the gateways to a large temple that once occupied the centre of the area, but of which only a group of pillars and lintels belonging to its south-west corner now remains. The distance between the north and south gateways is 480 ft., and between those on the east and west 433 ft., leaving ample space for a temple of unusual size and splendour.[2] It cannot be said they are particularly elegant specimens of art. Their main interest lies in their being the lineal descendants of the four gateways at Sânchi (Woodcut No. 38), and they are curious as exemplifying how, in the course of a thousand years or thereabouts, a wooden style of building may lose all traces of its origin as clearly as they do; for it seems most unlikely that any such form could have been invented by any one using stone constructions, and that only.

There are also in the Orangal fort a great number of smaller temples and shrines, in the same style as the great temple, and, like it, apparently mostly dedicated to *S*iva, from the presence of his bull almost everywhere. Most are ruined; and, judging from appearances, I am inclined to believe this is owing to Moslim violence. The mode of building is without mortar, and the joints are by no means well fitted. The style is also remarkably free from figure-sculpture, which is generally the thing that most easily excites the iconoclastic feelings of the followers of the Prophet.

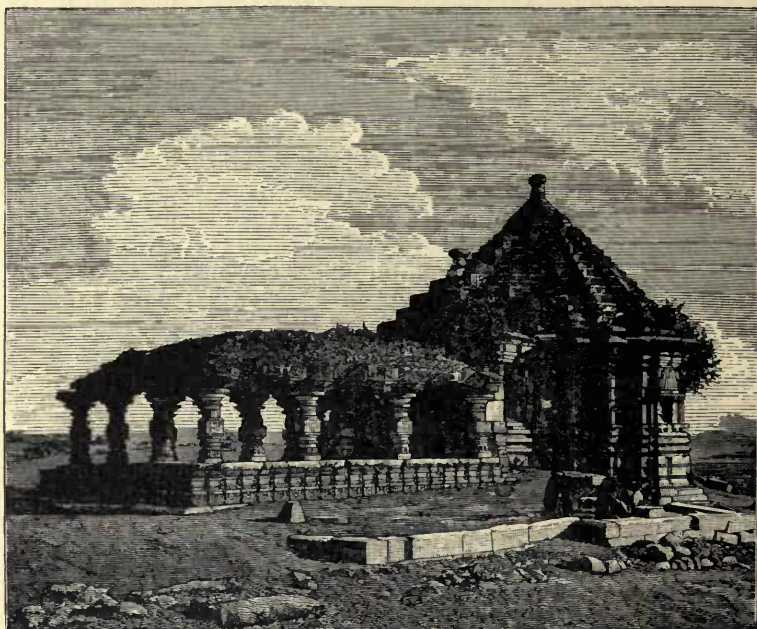
Lastly a simple example of the style in a village temple has been cited at a place called Buchhanapalli, not far from Haidarâbâd[3] (Woodcut No. 254). There are four principal faces on the walls of the shrine, larger than the others: three

[1] The most elaborately chased pillars of this style are to be seen in the temple of Râmâppâ near Pâlampet, about 30 miles north-east from Hanamkonda.

[2] Cousens' 'Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Nizam's Territory,' pp. 46f. To Mr Cousens is due the materials for the revision of this account of the Worangal and Hanamkonda remains.

[3] 'Buchropully' was placed on Mr Fergusson's map 50 miles west from Haidarâbâd, and in that position (Lat. 17° 31′ N., Long. 77° 48′ E.) is the village of Buchhanapalli, 14 miles north from Dharûr railway station. Mr Cousens ('Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Nizam's Territories,' p. 2) conjectured that it might be 'Bachropully,' 12 miles north-west of Secundarabad. In 'Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions' by A. Claude Campbell' (1898), pp. 452 and 459, are two views of the shrine of a Hindû temple at 'Bichpalli.' This place is 10 miles south-east from Indur; and the temple, which is of unusual plan and considerable merit, stands on a rocky

occupied by niches, the fourth by the entrance. The roof is in steps, and with a flat band on each face in continuation of the larger face below. The summit ornament is a vase, in this instance apparently incomplete. The porch is simple, consisting only of sixteen pillars, disposed equidistantly, without any attempt at the octagonal dome of the Jains or the varied



254. Temple at Buchhanapalli. (From a Photograph.)

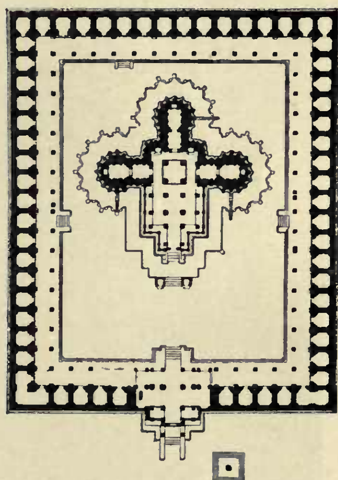
arrangements subsequently attempted. The *s*ikhara is a straight-lined cone, and its decorations in steps is as unlike the Dravidian spire in storeys as it is to the curvilinear outline of the Jaina and northern temples. The porch too, is open, and consists of columns spaced equidistantly over its floor, without either the bracketing arrangements of the southern or the domical forms of the northern styles. Situated as it was locally, half-way between the Dravidian and northern styles, the Chalukyan retained or borrowed occasionally a feature or form from one or from the other, but not to such an extent as to obliterate its individuality, or to prevent its being recognised as a separate and distinct style of architecture.

knoll near the village. It consists of shrine, hall, and porch, but the *s*ikhara and roof are ruined. Round the shrine is an open *pradakshina*, in which are inserted short circular pillars surmounted by rampant Vyâlîs.—Cousens, 'Lists of Antiquarian Remains: Nizam's Territory,' p. 63.

MYSORE.

It is in the province of Mysore, however, that the Chalukyan style attained its fullest development and highest degree of perfection during the three centuries — A.D. 1000 to 1300 — in which the Hoysala Ballâlas had supreme sway in that country. Several temples, or rather groups of temples, were erected by them—one at a place called Somnâthpûr, a small village on the left bank of the Kâverî, south of Mysore, built by Soma, the general of Narasimha Ballâla III., and was completed in 1270;[1] another at Bêlûr, in the centre of the province, owed its origin apparently to Vishnuvardhana, in or about A.D. 1117; the last and greatest at a place they called Dorsamudra — now known as Halebîd, 10 miles east by north from the last-named, from which the capital was removed by Vishnuvardhana about 1135. It continued to be the metropolis of the kingdom, till it was destroyed, and the building of the great temple stopped by the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1310-1311.

Like the great temple at Hanamkonda, the Kesava temple at Somnâthpûr is triple, the cells, with their sikharas, being attached to a square pillared hall, to the fourth side of which a portico is attached, in this instance of very moderate dimensions (Woodcut No. 255). The whole stands in a square cloistered court, measuring 210 ft. by 172 ft. over all, and has the usual accompaniments of entrance-porch, stambha, etc.

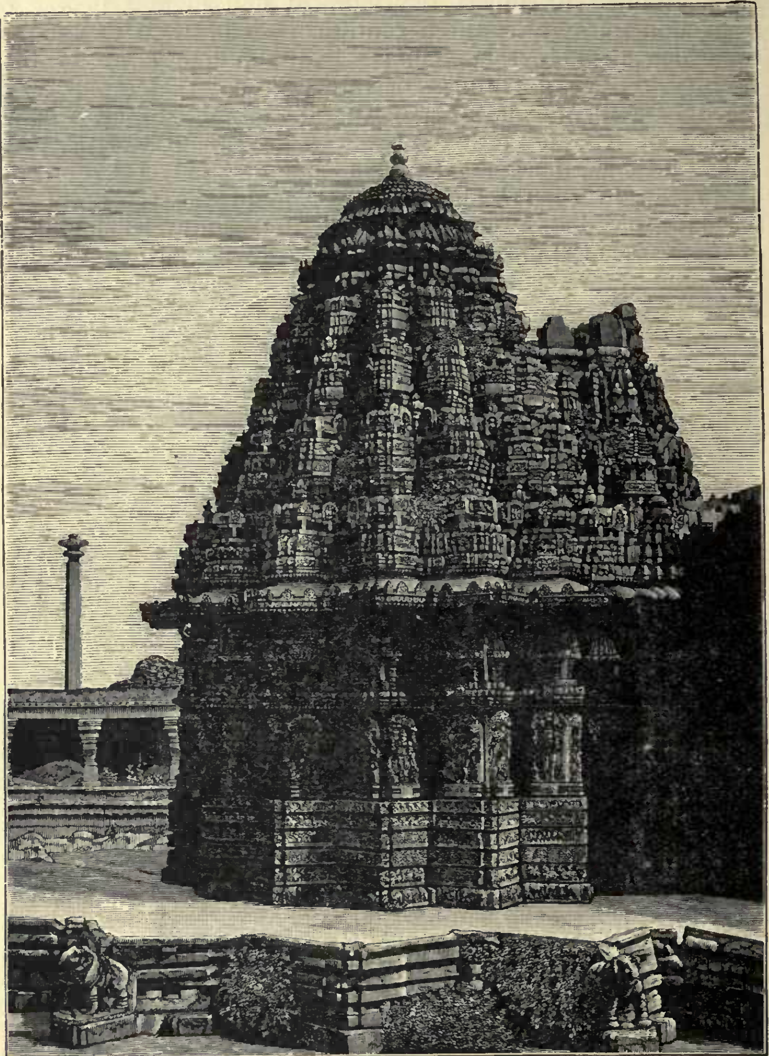


255. Plan of the Kesava Temple at Somnâthpûr. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.[2]

The following woodcut (No. 256) will give an idea — an imperfect one, it must be confessed —of the elegance of outline and marvellous elaboration of detail that characterises these shrines. Its height seems to be only about 30 ft., which, if it stood in the open, would be almost too small for architectural effect; but in the centre of an enclosed court, and where there are no larger objects to contrast with it, it is sufficient, when judiciously treated, to produce a

[1] Rice's 'Mysore Gazetteer,' vol. i. p. 514.
[2] From a lithographed plan in Rice's 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. iii. pt. i.

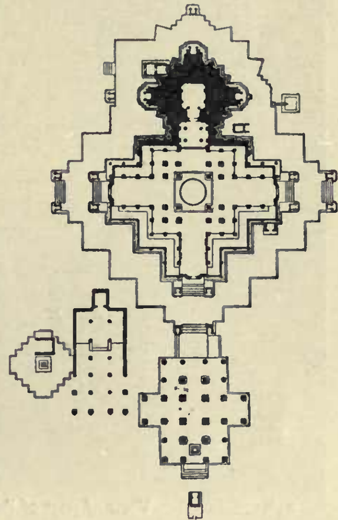
considerable impression of grandeur, and apparently does so in this instance.



256. Temple at Somnâthpûr. (From a Photograph.)

The temple at Somnâthpûr is a single but complete whole; that at Bêlûr, on the other hand, consists of one principal

temple, surrounded by four or five others and numerous subordinate buildings, enclosed in a court by a high wall measuring 380 ft. by 425 ft., and having two very fine gateways or gopurams in its eastern front.[1] As will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 257), the great temple consists of a very solid vimâna, with an antarâla, or vestibule; and in front of this a porch or mahâmantapam of the usual star-like form, measuring 90 ft. across. The entire length of the temple, from the east door to the back of the cell, is 115 ft., and the whole stands on a terrace about 3 ft. high, and from 10 ft. to 15 ft. wide. This is one of the characteristic features of Chalukyan design, and adds very considerably to the effect of their temples.



257. Plan of Chenna Kesava Temple at Bêlûr. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in. (From Rice's 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. v.)

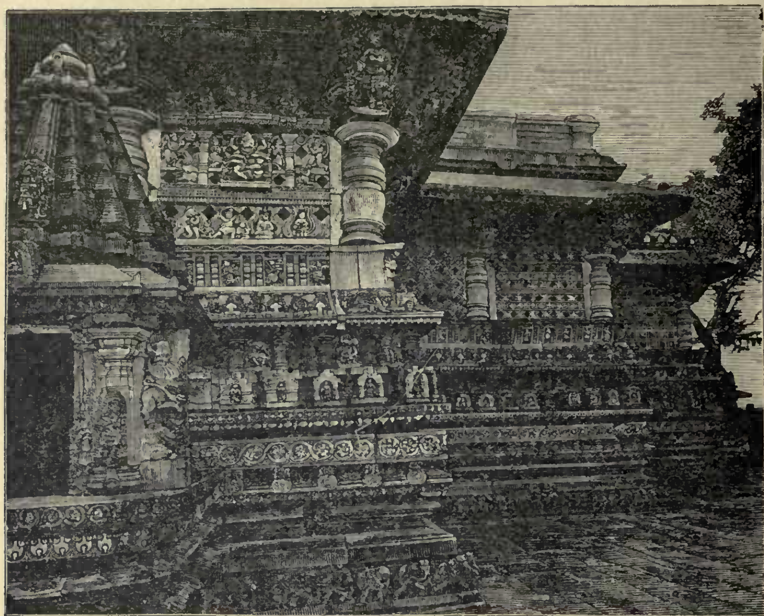
The arrangements of the pillars have much of that pleasing subordination and variety of spacing which is found in those of the Jains, but we miss here the octagonal dome, which gives such poetry and meaning to the arrangements they adopted. Instead of that, we have only an exaggerated compartment in the centre, which fits nothing, and, though it does give dignity to the centre, it does it so clumsily as to be almost offensive in an architectural sense.

It is not, however, either to its dimensions, or the disposition of its plan, that this temple owes its pre-eminence among others of its class, but to the marvellous elaboration and beauty of its details. The effect of these, it is true, has been, in modern times, considerably marred by the repeated coats of whitewash which the present low order of priests consider the most appropriate way of adding to the beauty of the most delicate sculptures. Notwithstanding this, however, their outline can always be traced, and where the whitewash has not been applied, or has been worn off, their beauty comes out with wonderful sharpness.

The following woodcut (No. 258) will convey some idea of the richness and variety of pattern displayed in the windows

[1] By the plan in Mr Rice's 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. v. pt. i., the court is about 404 ft. long on the north side, and 426 on the south.

of the porch. These are twenty-eight in number, and all are different. Some are pierced with merely conventional patterns, generally star-shaped, and with foliaged bands between; others

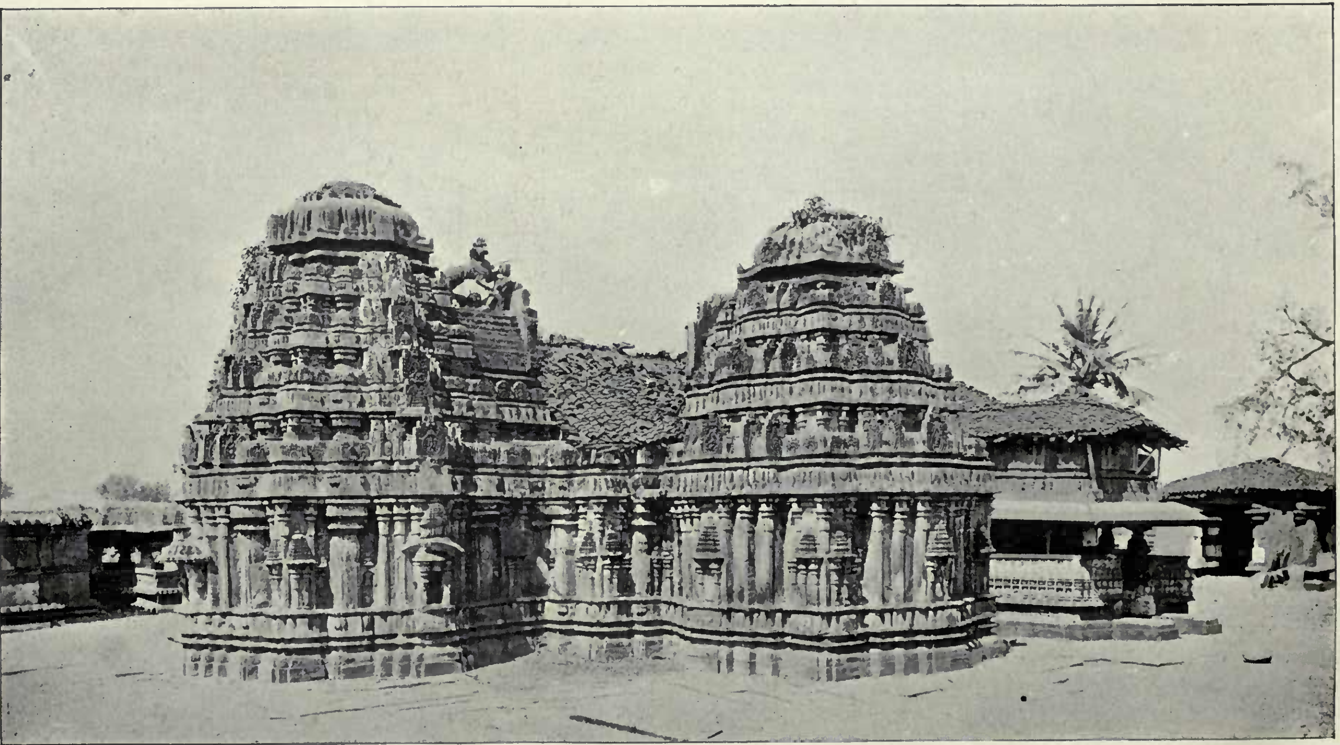


258. View of part of Porch at Bêlûr. (From a Photograph.)

are interspersed with figures and mythological subjects, the nearest one, for instance, on the left, in the woodcut, represents the Narasimha Avatâra, and other different scenes connected with the worship of Vishnu, to whom the temple is dedicated. The pierced slabs themselves, however, are hardly so remarkable as the richly-carved base on which they rest, and the deep cornice which overshadows and protects them. The amount of labour, indeed, which each facet of this porch displays is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world; and though the design is not of the highest order of art, it is elegant and appropriate, and never offends against good taste.

The sculptures of the base of the vimâna, which have not been whitewashed, are as elaborate as those of the porch, in some places more so; and the mode in which the undersides of the cornices have been elaborated and adorned is such as is only to be found in temples of this class. The upper part of the tower is anomalous. It may be that it has been white-

PLATE XVII.



TEMPLE OF KEDÂRESVARA AT BALAGÂMI, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

[*To face page* 441, Vol. I.

washed and repaired till it has assumed its present discordant appearance, which renders it certainly a blot on the whole design. My own impression rather is, that, like others of its class, it was at first left unfinished, and the upper part added at subsequent periods. Its original form most probably was that of the little pavilions that adorns its portals, one of which is represented in the following woodcut (No. 259), which has all the peculiar features of the style—the flat band on each face, the three star-like projections between, and the peculiar crowning ornament of the style. The plan of the great tower, and the presence of the pavilions where they stand, seems to prove almost beyond doubt that this was the original design; but the design may have been altered as it progressed, or it may, as I suspect, have been changed afterwards.



259. Pavilion at Bêlûr. (From a Photograph.)

There seems to be little or no doubt about the date of this temple. It was erected by Vishnuvardhana, the fourth king of the race, to commemorate his conversion by the celebrated Râmânujya from the Jaina to the Hindû faith. He ascended the throne, A.D. 1114, and his conversion took place about 1117; and it is probable that the temple was finished before his death in 1141, but as the capital was removed by the same king to Halebîd, it is just possible that the vimâna of the great temple, and the erection of some at least of the smaller shrines, may belong to a subsequent period.

Mysore abounds in remains of this style, but they have not been adequately surveyed.[1] In the north-west of the province, at Balagâmi or Belagâvi, an ancient site, there are some five ruined temples whose rich sculpture is equal in taste and perfection of workmanship to any of the class. Among these, the temple of Kedâresvara is perhaps the oldest, and a view of it from the north-east is given in Plate No. XVII.

[1] A number of lithographed ground plans, to small scales, are published in Rice's 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' but without descriptions. In Workman's 'Through Town and Jungle' (1904) are some well-selected photographic views of Somnâthpûr, Koravangula and other Mysore temples.

In plan it bears a general resemblance to the Somnâthpûr temple, having three shrines round a hall (Woodcut No. 255), but, as in the Bêlûr temple (No. 257), with projecting entrances to the mandap or porch on both sides as well as on the east front.[1] The roof of the mandap is quite destroyed, probably by Moslim violence, and a miserable covering of tiles replaces it; but the three vimânas or *s*ikharas are fairly entire, with the *S*yâla or leogriff emblem of the Hoysala kings seen over the block on the roof, projecting in front of the central spire. Beyond, to the west, is seen part of a ruined temple; and to the south is the old Nandi pavilion, now also covered with tiles; and the base of a dhwaja-stambha near the corner of it. These Balagâmi temples are ascribed to Jakanâchârya, the celebrated architect and sculptor of the Hoysala kings, to whom is ascribed also the Halebîd, Somnâthpûr, Mûlbâgal and, by tradition, many other temples in this region.

There are also at Kubbatûr, near Balagâmi, and at Hâranhalli, Arasikere, Koravângula, Nâglapur, Turuvekere, and other places in Mysore, monuments that await and deserve, more than almost any others, to be fully illustrated.[2]

Halebîd.

The earliest temple known to exist at Halebîd was a small detached shrine dedicated to *S*iva as Kedâre*s*vara,[3] and was erected by Vira Ballâla and one of his queens, probably about 1219. Its general appearance, nearly forty years ago, will be understood from the next woodcut (No. 260). It was star-shaped in plan, with sixteen points, and had a porch, so entirely ruined and covered up with vegetation that it was difficult to make out its plan. Its roof was conical, and from the basement to the summit it was covered with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they imparted to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindû art. If this little temple had been illustrated in anything like completeness, there was probably nothing in India which would have conveyed a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing. But, alas,

[1] There is a plan of this Balagâmi temple and some details in 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. vii.

[2] Dr. G. Le Bon remarks: 'Si jamais il m'arrive de retourner dans l'Inde, je ferai certainement une étude spéciale du Mysore. Cette région, presque vierge, offrira sûrement une abondante moisson au explorateurs.'—'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 173.

[3] This has been erroneously called Kaite*s*var and Kaitabhe*s*vara by some writers. — 'Mysore Gazetteer,' vol. i. p. 514n.

this cannot be: this gem of Indian architecture is no more;



260. Kedâresvara, Halebîd. (From a Photograph by Capt. Tripe.)

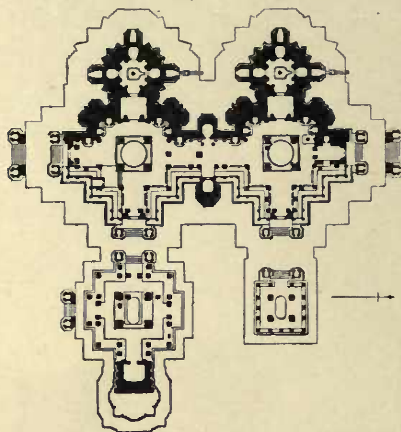
vegetation did its relentless work unchecked, and the pile is long ago a shapeless mound.[1]

The Kedâresvara temple was, however, surpassed in size

[1] In 1876 Mr. Fergusson wrote :—" In a very few years this building will be entirely destroyed by the trees, which have fastened their roots in the joints

and magnificence by its neighbour, the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebîd, which, had it been completed, is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindû architecture would desire to take his stand. Unfortunately, it never was finished, the works having probably been stopped by the Muhammadan conquest in 1311 A.D.[1]

The general arrangements of the building are given on the annexed plan (Woodcut No. 261), from which it will be perceived that it is a double temple. If it were cut into halves, each part would be complete with a pillared mantapam of the same type as that at Bêlûr above referred to, an antarâla or intermediate vestibule, and a sanctuary containing a lingam, the emblem of *S*iva. Besides this, each half would have in front of it a detached, pillared porch as a shrine for the Bull Nandi, which, of course, would not be required in a Vaishnava temple. Such double temples are quite common in India, but the two sanctuaries usually face each other, and have the porch between them. Its dimensions may roughly be stated as 200 ft. square over all, including all the detached pavilions. The



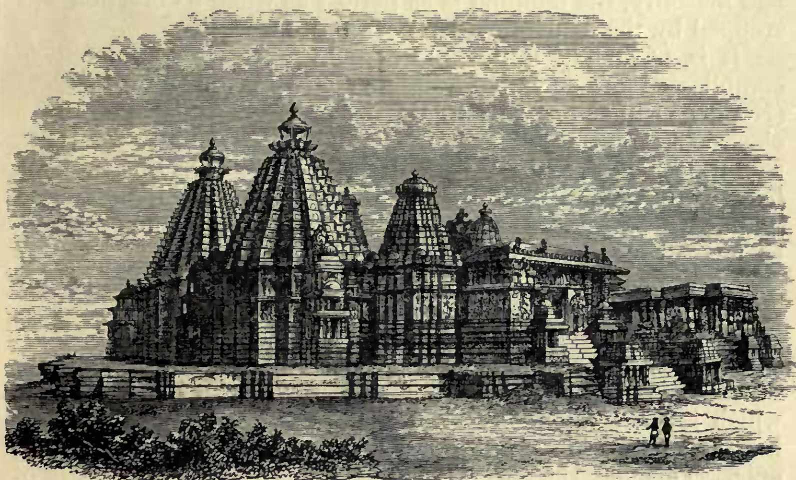
261. Plan of Hoysalesvara Temple at Halebid. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

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of the stones. In a drawing in the Mackenzie collection in the India Office, made in the early part of this century, the building is shown entire. Twenty years ago it was as shown at p. 443. A subsequent photograph shows it almost hidden; a few years more, if some steps are not taken to save it, it will have perished entirely. A very small sum would save it; and, as the country is in our charge, it is hoped that the expenditure will not be grudged." But no attention was paid to this warning, and as Mr. L. Rice says:—"With shame be it written—Mr. Fergusson's gloomy anticipations have been completely fulfilled. . . . Some of the most perfect figures have been conveyed to Bangalor, and set up in the Museum, but divorced from their artistic setting they have lost their meaning. A proposal has been made, I believe, to convey the ruins to Mysore, and erect the restored temple there as a memorial to the late Mahârâja."—'Mysore Gazetteer' (1897), vol. i. p. 515. Mr. Rice has preserved for us two photographs of the temple in 1866, and 1886 in 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' vol. v. pt. i. Later, in 1907, the Mysore Government tried to restore the temple, but the result is reported as not very successful, as empty spaces had to be filled in with plain slabs. But these are much better than the crude attempts made in other cases to imitate the old work.

[1] The date of its foundation is not known, but as Halebîd or Dôrasamudra became the capital only in the middle of the 12th century, it was probably begun somewhat later, and possibly well into the next century.

temple itself is 160 ft. north and south by 122 ft. east and west. Its height, as it now remains, to the cornice is about 25 ft. from the terrace on which it stands. It cannot, therefore, be considered by any means as a large building, though large enough for effect. This, however, can hardly be judged of as it now stands, for there is no doubt but that it was intended to raise two great pyramidal spires over the sanctuaries, four lower ones in front of these, and two more, as roofs—one over each of the two central pavilions. Thus completed, the temple would have



262. Restored view of Temple at Halebîd.

assumed something like the outline shown in the woodcut (No. 262),[1] and if carried out with the richness of detail exhibited in the Kedâresvara (Woodcut No. 260), would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere.

The material out of which this temple is erected is an indurated potstone of volcanic origin, found in the neighbourhood. This stone is said to be soft when first quarried, and easily cut in that state, though hardening on exposure to the atmosphere. Even this, however, will not diminish our admiration of the amount of labour bestowed on the temple, for, from the number of parts still unfinished, it is evident that, like most others of its class, it was built in block, and carved after the stone had become hard. As we now see it, the stone is of a

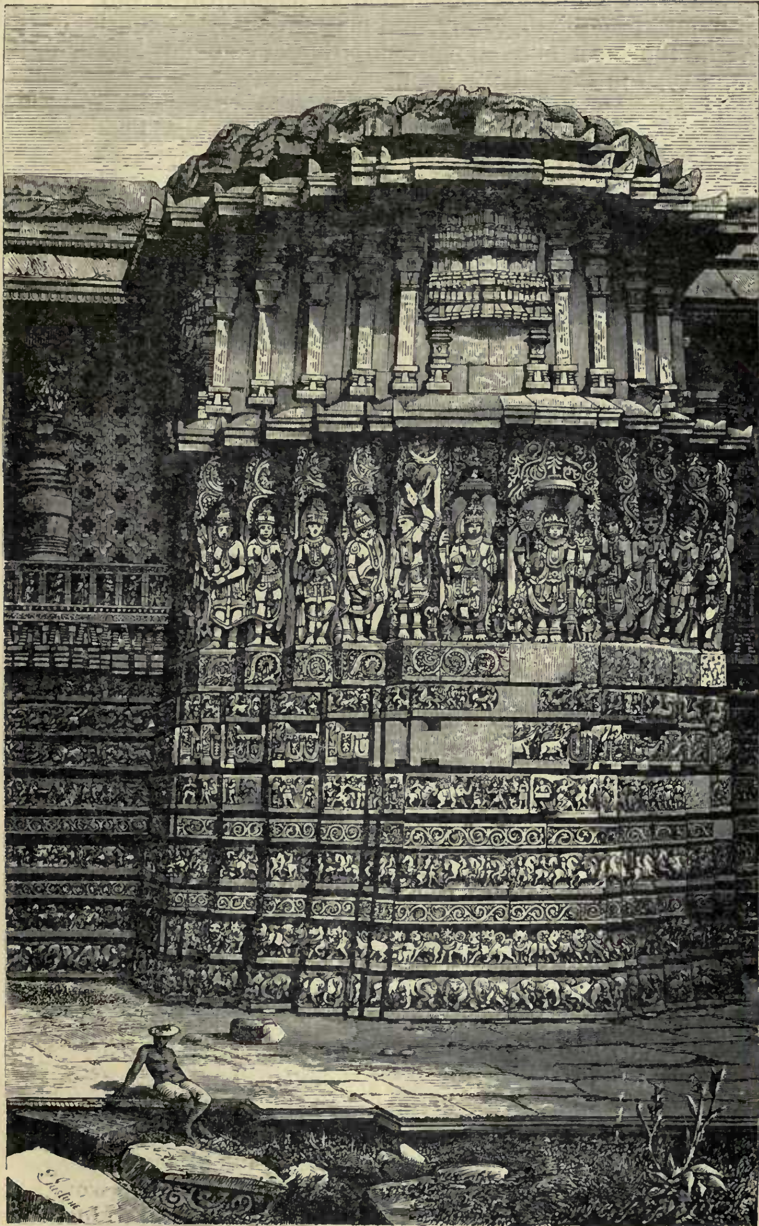
[1] The finials on the two principal sikharas, by some mistake of the engraver, have been wrongly presented. A vase supported on a small dome is to be understood.—G. Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' fig. 265.

pleasing creamy colour, and so close-grained as to take a polish like marble. The pillars of the great Nandi pavilion, which look as if they had been turned in a lathe,[1] are so polished as to exhibit what the natives call a double reflection—in other words, to reflect light from each other. The enduring qualities of the stone seem to be unrivalled, for, though neglected and exposed to all the vicissitudes of a tropical climate for seven centuries, the minutest details are as clear and sharp as the day they were finished. Except from the splitting of the stone arising from bad masonry, the building is as perfect as when its erection was stopped by the Muhammadan conquest.

It is, of course, impossible here to illustrate completely so complicated and so varied a design; but the following woodcut (No. 263) will suffice to explain the general ordonnance of its elevation. The building stands on a terrace ranging from 5 ft. to 6 ft. in height, and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants, following all the sinuosities of the plan and extending to some 710 ft. in length, and containing not less than 2000 elephants, most of them with riders and trappings, sculptured as only an Oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these is a frieze of "*s*ârdûlas," vyâlas, or conventional lions or tigers—the emblems of the Hoysala Ballâlas who built the temple. Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design; over this a frieze of horsemen and another scroll; over which is a bas-relief of scenes from the Râmâyana, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of that epic. This, like the other, is about 700 ft. long. (The frieze of the Parthenon is less than 550 ft.) Then come celestial or conventional beasts and birds, and all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and then a cornice, with a rail, divided into panels, each containing two figures. Over this are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Bêlûr, though not so rich or varied. These windows will be observed on the right and left of the woodcut. In the centre, in place of the windows, is first a scroll, and then a frieze of gods and heavenly apsarasas—dancing girls and other objects of Hindû mythology. This frieze, which is about 5 ft. 6 in. in height, is continued all round the western front of the building, and extends to some 400 ft. in length. *S*iva, with his consort Pârvatî seated on his knee, is repeated at least fourteen times; Vishnu in his various Avatâras even oftener. Brahmâ occurs several times, and every great god of the Hindû Pantheon finds his place. Some of these are

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[1] They were, in fact, set vertically in a sort of pit and turned, probably in water, giving them a very smooth surface and chasing out the very fine mouldings with an accuracy and uniformity that could hardly have been otherwise attained.



263. Central Pavilion, Halebîd, East Front. (From a Photograph.)

carved with a minute elaboration of detail which can only be reproduced by photography, and may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East.

It must not, however, be considered that it is only for patient industry that this building is remarkable. The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by the larger masses, so as to give height and play of light and shade, is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by their transepts and projections. This, however, is surpassed by the western front, where the variety of outline, and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed, must be considered as a masterpiece of design in its class. If the frieze of gods were spread along a plain surface it would lose more than half its effect, while the vertical angles, without interfering with the continuity of the frieze, give height and strength to the whole composition. The disposition of the horizontal lines of the lower friezes is equally effective. Here again the artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what the mediæval architects were often aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebîd.

Before leaving Halebîd, it may be well again to call attention to the order of superposition of the different animal friezes, alluded to already, when speaking of the rock-cut monastery described by the Chinese Pilgrims (*ante*, p. 171). There, as here, the lowest were the elephants; then the lions; above these came the horses; then the oxen; and the fifth storey was made with shapes of pigeons. The oxen here is replaced by a conventional animal, and the pigeon also by a bird of a species that would puzzle a naturalist. The succession, however, is the same, and, as mentioned above, the same five genera of living things form the ornaments of the "moonstone" thresholds of the various monuments in Ceylon. Sometimes in modern Hindû temples only two or three animal friezes are found, but the succession is always the same, the elephants being the lowest, next above them are the lions, and then the horses, etc. When we know the cause of it, it seems as if this curious selection and succession might lead to some very suggestive conclusions. At present we can only call attention to it in hopes that further investigation may afford the means of solving the mystery.

If it were possible to illustrate the Halebîd temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not

that the two buildings are at all like one another; on the contrary, they form the two opposite poles — the alpha and omega of architectural design; but they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art. The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every defect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. All the curves are hyperbolas, parabolas, or other developments of the highest mathematical forms—every optical defect is foreseen and provided for, and every part has a relation to every other part in so recondite a proportion that we feel inclined to call it fanciful, because we can hardly rise to its appreciation. The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry — severe and godlike, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

The Halebîd temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan, and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little—less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon.

It would be possible to arrange all the buildings of the world between these two extremes, as they tended toward the severe intellectual purity of the one, or to the playful exuberant fancy of the other; but perfection, if it existed, would be somewhere near the mean. My own impression is, that if the so-called Gothic architects had been able to maintain for two or three hundred years more the rate of progress they achieved between the 11th and the 14th century, they might have hit upon that happy mean between severe constructive propriety and playful decorative imaginings which would have combined into something more perfect than the world has yet seen. The system, however, as I have endeavoured to point out elsewhere, broke down before it had acquired the requisite degree of refinement, and that hope was blighted never to be revived. If architecture ever again assumes an onward path, it will not be by leaning too strongly towards either of the extremes just named, but by grasping somewhere the happy mean between the two.

For our present purpose, the great value of the study of

these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself, and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means. On the other hand, it is only by taking this wide survey that we appreciate how worthless any product of architectural art becomes which does not honestly represent the thoughts and feelings of those who built it, or the height of their loftiest aspirations.

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